For Reference
Do Not Take
From the Library

Every person who maliciously cuts, defaces, breaks or injures any book, map, chart, picture, engraving, statue, coin, model, apparatus, or other work of literature, art, mechanics or object of curiosity, deposited in any public library, gallery, museum or collection is guilty of a misdemeanor.

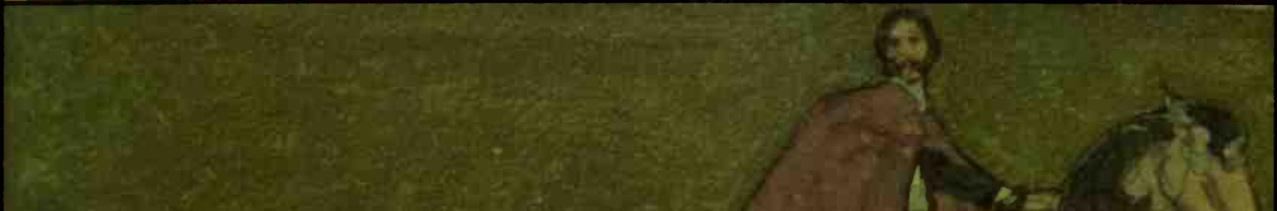
Penal Code of California
1915, Section 623

3 9042 02350277 3

$5.95

SPRING 1990

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BURLINGAME
AUG 24 1990
LIBRARY ✓

Milestones in California History—
The Donahoe Higher Education Act, 30 Years After

Assemblywoman Dorothy M. Donahoe (1911-1960).
Courtesy California State Library.

In the spring of 1960, the California legislature passed the Donahoe Higher Education Act, a major educational reform measure. Signing it into law on April 26, Governor Edmund G. "Pat" Brown termed it "the most significant step California has ever taken in planning for the education of our youth."

The governor correctly assessed the act's historic significance. It created a master plan for higher education that guided the phenomenal expansion of higher education in the state during the 1960s and, though it since has been amended, still provides direction today. The Donahoe Act spelled out the functions of the three units of public higher education—the University of California system, the State Colleges (now the State University), and the Community Colleges. It created a new State College system with a twenty-member Board of Trustees (removing the colleges from the control of the State Department of Education). Further, it established a fifteen-member Coordinating Council with representatives from the three segments of public education, private colleges, and the general public to oversee the growth of education in the state and submit recommendations to the legislature.

In 1960, college enrollments were rising rapidly because of post-war migration, government programs, and the "baby boom." New colleges had been created in helter-skelter fashion by local communities and the state, however, and the legislature was under constant pressure to fund new ventures. In this near-anarchical situation, the Donahoe Act brought ordered planning and, if not harmony, a measure of control. In the past thirty years, the master plan has provided a model for other states and nations, many of which sent consultants to California to study its educational operations and subsequently established similar governing structures.

Many individuals played a role in shaping the master plan, but perhaps none so much as an assemblywoman from Bakersfield, Dorothy M. Donahoe, who has yet to receive the historic recognition she deserves. Donahoe was born in Los Angeles in 1911, but moved to Bakersfield in 1914 and graduation from secondary school there. Rather than attend college, she took a secretarial job to support her mother. For sixteen years she served as registrar of Bakersfield High School. Handicapped as the result of infantile paralysis and asthma, she nevertheless joined a wide variety of civic and philanthropic organizations. As state president of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs, she urged women to become active in politics, vowing that "they belong in government as equal partners of men." When friends asked her to run for the assembly in a new district in 1952, she recalled, "I was caught in my own sermon; I had to practice what I preached." She won easily.

In Sacramento, Donahoe was assigned to the Education and the Ways and Means committees. There she developed her legislative specialties: youth, education, the handicapped, and mental hospitals. She became vice-chair of the Education Committee in January 1955, and chair in January 1959.

As a committee leader, Donahoe drafted ACR 88, a resolution directing the state Board of Education and the university Board of Regents to establish a Master Plan Survey Team in 1959 to study the state's higher-education needs. She attended many hearings of the team and its advisory committees, participating in policy discussions. On December 18, 1959, when the Regents and the Board met to approve the team's recommendations, Donahoe urged Governor Brown, the presiding officer, to "give us the opportunity of building a structure so these architects and their plans might be consummated to true fulfillment."

Donahoe then shepherded the recommendations through the legislature. Tragically, on the eve of their passage, on April 4, 1960, she was rushed to a Sacramento hospital with pneumonia and died within an hour. In part because of their respect for her, her colleagues enacted the master plan with rare unanimity. Assembly Speaker Ralph Brown praised Dorothy Donahoe as the most outstanding woman legislator in California history. Thirty years later, the Donahoe Act is still a working document and a living monument to the woman whose name it bears.

JUDSON A. GRENIER
Editorial Consultant, *California History*
California State University, Dominguez Hills

On the cover: Maynard Dixon sketch, gouache on paper, depicting one of the phases of California history for his Mark Hopkins Hotel mural, San Francisco, 1926. This sketch portrays the Spanish period. The Mark Hopkins Hotel mural is discussed in an article by Beverly Denenberg and Paul Bingham in this issue. *Courtesy Bingham Gallery, San Jose, California.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIX No. 1

Spring 1990

SAMUEL B. KERMOIAN
Acting Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
Pamela Challinor, Frederick J. Isaac, Keith Kennedy, Brenda Sutton

2

22

52

2
California Indians and the Workaday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival
by Albert L. Hurtado

12
Thomas Starr King in California, 1860-64: Forgotten Naturalist of the Civil War
by Richard Peterson

22
A Fresh Voice From the West: Mary Austin, California, and American Literary Magazines, 1892-1910
by Karen S. Langlois

36
Sequoia Seminar: The Sources of Religious Sectarianism
by Steven M. Gelber

52
Maynard Dixon as Muralist: Sketches for the Mark Hopkins Hotel Mural
by Paul O. Bingham and Beverly Bubar Denenberg

61
Reviews

74
California Checklist

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.

CALIFORNIA INDIANS AND THE WORKADAY WEST:

Labor, Assimilation, and Survival

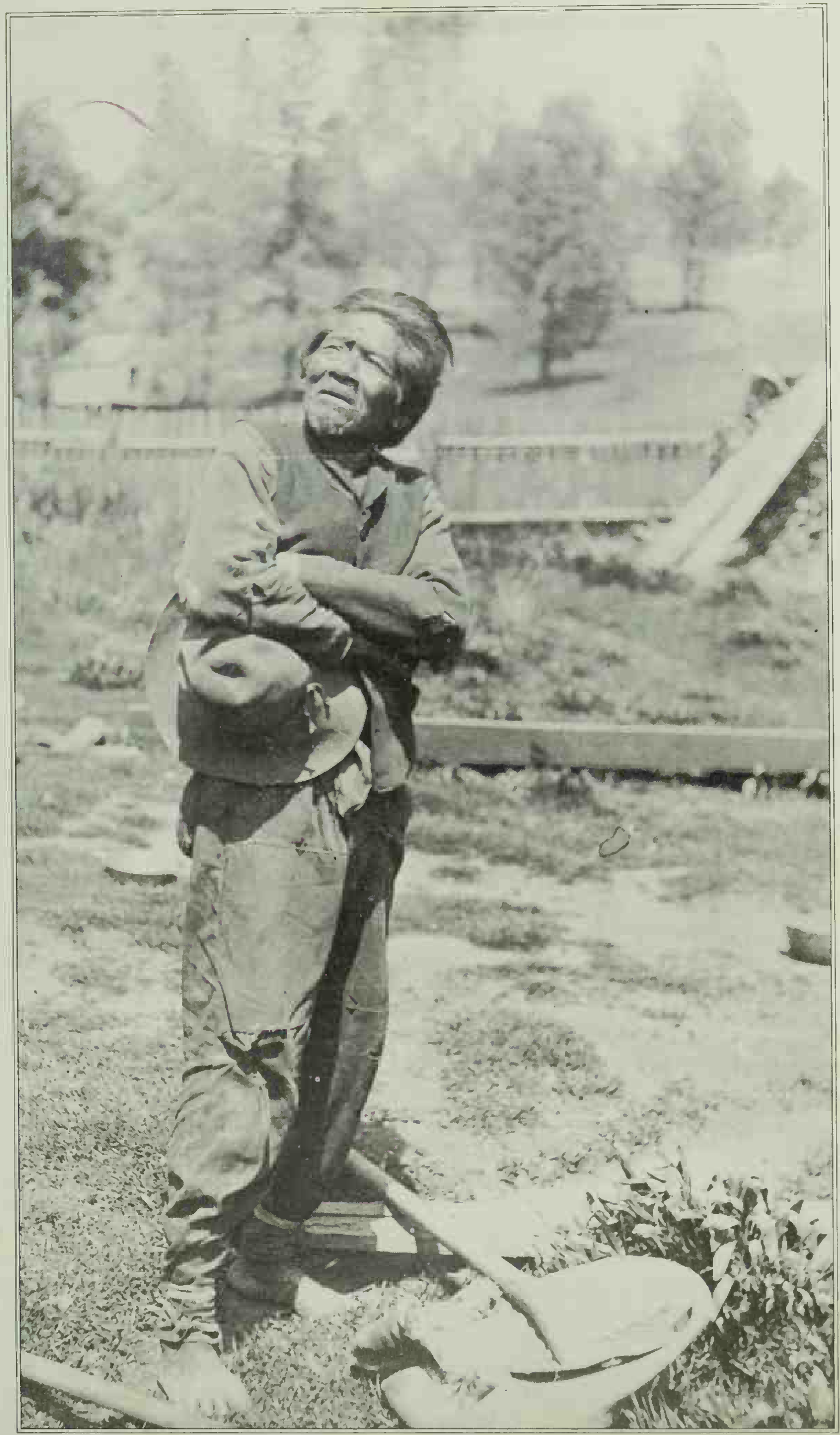
by Albert L. Hurtado

Two images of the Indian haunt American history: the noble red man and the implacable savage. Both effigies are inaccurate stereotypes that exaggerate real and imagined qualities of the native people of North America. On the one hand, the noble Indian had high ideals, fought courageously when he was wronged, delivered powerful orations on the iniquities of white civilization, and always insisted on simple justice. The noble Indian possessed one of the quintessential qualities of the westerner. He was a square shooter. His evil twin, however, was an altogether different case. He was given to dark rages, and came equipped with an insatiable appetite for bloody revenge, an unlimited capacity for violence, and a perverse talent for outrageous torture.[1]

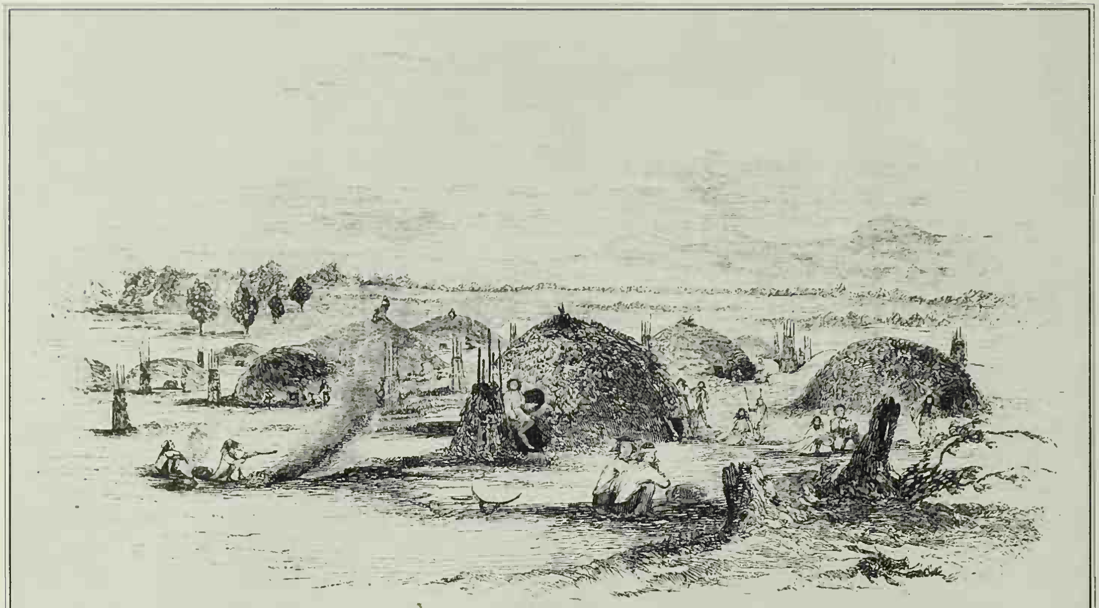
We must wonder how these radically dissimilar stereotypes could persist side by side for so long. Still, there is one area where the images seem to converge. According to legend, neither noble nor brute Indians ever did a lick of work. This is an important point that verges on the reality of the American West and the Indians who lived there. Tribal life—at least for Indian men—was a life of unstructured ease, or so white Americans believed. They defined much traditional male Indian work—especially hunting and fishing—as sport, and failed to recognize the agricultural heritage of many tribes. To white eyes, only Indian women showed a spark of ambition, but female work was the exception that proved the rule of Indian laziness. For Victorian tastes, Indian women did entirely too much heavy work while their men lounged about.[2]

Nineteenth-century reformers and Indian office bureaucrats devoutly hoped to convert Indians from hunters and gatherers to solid, laboring, Christian citizens. Such a conversion, reformers believed, would herald the temporal and spiritual salvation of Indians. They also believed that Indians would have to be educated to work—for their own good, of course.[3] In 1881, after a stint as Secretary of the Interior, Carl Schurz put the matter succinctly. He declared that Indians would have to "be taught to work by making work profitable and attractive to them."[4]

Self-interest also informed nineteenth-century notions about tribalism and motivated those who wanted to open Indian lands to white settlers. Indians who continued to rely on hunting and gathering retarded progress by hoarding lands that white hands could make productive. To open western resources to white ambitions, Indians would have to be removed to reservations where they would learn the arts of civilization, including the "art" of labor, as nineteenth-century social thinkers understood that term. Once tribesmen were properly trained, individual Indians would receive one-hundred-sixty-acre homesteads from tribal lands, and the excess could be opened to white settlement. Indians could then be assimilated



Sam Pit worked at Sutter's mill and accompanied James Marshall, Sutter's partner. While Indians were among the Gold Rush's first miners, they were progressively moved out by the whites, who relegated them to the most menial jobs. *Courtesy California State Library.*



VIEW OF AN INDIAN RANCHERIA. YUBA CITY CALIFORNIA

California Indians were hunters and gatherers before the coming of Europeans. They depended on the natural produce of the land, but the Spanish and later American immigrants insisted that the land should be cultivated. The members of this Nisenan community near John Sutter's Hock Farm in the vicinity of Yuba City probably worked part of the time on a nearby farm. *Courtesy California State Library.*

into white society and could enjoy the benefits of honest labor, while former tribal lands were cultivated by the plows of Indian and white farmers. Otherwise, according to observers like former Secretary Schurz, tribal lands would be "waste," standing "in the way of what is commonly called 'the development of the country.' "[5]

Reformers and bureaucrats theorized that Indian assimilation, labor, land, and western development were related. They also believed that labor had intrinsic value and that hard work would elevate the Indian in American society, even if Indians were relegated to doing fieldwork for white farmers. As late as 1906 Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis Leupp recommended leasing Indian lands to white sugar beet farmers who would employ Indian stoop labor. Leupp thought that Indian children could "weed the rows just as the pickaninny in the South can be used as a cotton picker."[6] Simple labor, in Leupp's mind would do more for the Indians than all of the philanthropy, education, and government supervision of the preceding century. Labor in the workaday West would reclaim Indian lives and land for productive purposes.

This essay sketches a different view of Indian labor in the workaday West. Focusing on mid-nineteenth-century California, we will see how Indian workers helped to transform a remote frontier into a quickly modernizing part of the western world. Indians participated in this process, but did not ultimately benefit from it. The California Indian experience is a case study of the effects of Indian assimilation that expands the dimensions of western labor history.

California Indians first became workers, in the European sense of the word, during the era of Spanish colonization. Using tactics developed elsewhere on the Spanish American frontier, Franciscan missionaries colonized the Pacific seaboard in the eighteenth century, establishing a string of missions where Indians learned the Catholic faith, Spanish customs, trades, and work habits. Indian neophytes—Catholic converts—learned the vocations associated with farming and livestock ranching, the principal industries of the missions. California Indians had been hunters, fishers, and gatherers, so farming was an innovation. Work in agriculture and animal husbandry required both subtle and radical adjustments for the mission inmates. Reliant on wild plant foods for subsistence, Indians knew well the cycle of the seasons and appreciated the need to reap an abundant harvest to insure against privation. Plowing, sowing, and weeding crops, however, required a new level of attention to plant foods. Moreover, in native society women had been primarily responsible for gathering and preparing plant foods.

Spaniards, however, believed that field work was the province of men. Thus, the introduction of agriculture affected not only the Indian economic sphere, but gender roles as well. Female neophytes turned their attention to household tasks appropriate to Spanish conceptions of women's work —cooking, cleaning, spinning, weaving, sewing, and childcare.[7]

Domestic livestock ranching was entirely new to the Indians, but neophytes promptly learned how to ride horses and herd cattle. In California, Indian *vaqueros* helped to shape the cowboy tradition in North America. Indian cowboys not only tended mission herds, they stole from them as well. By the 1840s Indian livestock raiding was well established in California, particularly among the Miwoks, Yokuts, and other San Joaquin Valley Indians. These horse-mounted Indians rustled horses to use for antelope and elk hunting in the valley of the San Joaquin. They also added horse meat to their diet.

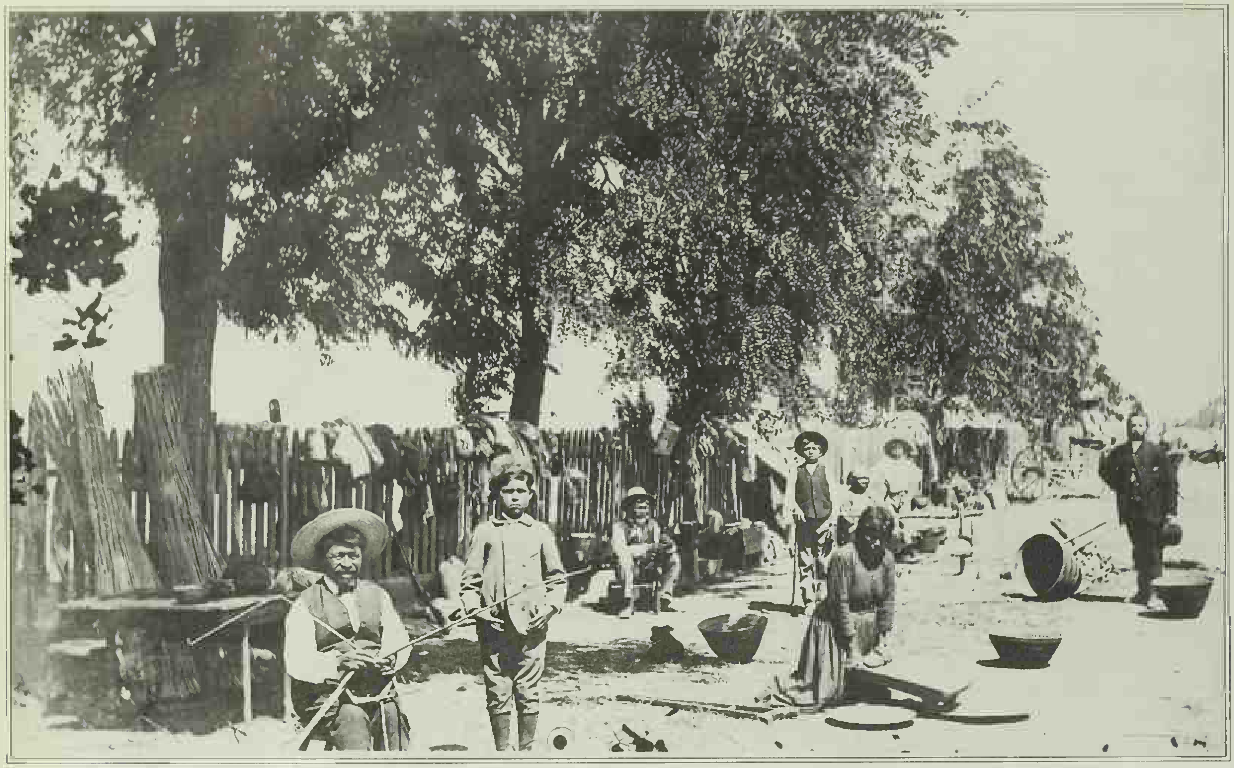
It is worth mentioning that Miwok and Yokut raiders stole horses from rancho herds for more than food and transportation. By 1845 there were perhaps forty thousand wild horses in the San Joaquin Valley. Raiders rode *through* those feral herds to take horses from their coastal enemies, palpably weakening the Hispanic settlements and diminishing the chances of counterattacks. In some towns there was hardly a horse left for *californios* to ride. By the end of the Mexican era, rancheros had to go to the valley to round up the progeny of their stolen animals to replenish their herds. Indian raiders and workers were often the same people, or closely allied through tribal, kinship, and historic bonds. Thus, Indians had established a complex symbiotic relationship with Hispanic people who relied on Indian labor, but feared livestock raiders.[8]

These events illustrate two important developments. First, they show that converted Indians moved into the pastoral work force in Hispanic California, initially in the missions, and later on the Mexican ranchos.[9] Second, they reveal that independent Indians also adapted new work and subsistence patterns associated with the horse. These innovations are comparable to changes in Plains Indian life facilitated by acquisition of the horse. Moreover, the California experience shows that labor and raiding were not necessarily antithetical, but could go together.

Anglo Americans who began to arrive in California in substantial numbers in the 1840s took up the Hispanic tradition of Indian labor and faced the perils of livestock raiding. In a land that contained more than one hundred thousand Indians and only a few thousand whites, they had little choice. John A. Sutter, lord of New Helvetia and Sutter's Fort at present day Sacramento, provided a role model for Anglo settlers in the interior. Like Hispanic missionaries and rancheros, he employed hundreds of Indians in his fields and shops. Sutter, who embellished his military experience to impress the gullible, found willing Indian allies and fashioned a frontier army. Drilled in German and dressed in garish uniforms Sutter had purchased from the Russians when they abandoned Fort Ross, this Indian force must have made an outlandish scene on the plains of the Sacramento Valley.[10]

Sutter used his Indian garrison both to compel reluctant Indians to labor in his fields and to conscript native workers for other ranchers. Often heralded for his humane treatment of Indians, in 1845 Sutter frankly stated that Indians had to be kept "strictly under fear" for the benefit of white landowners.[11] Sutter leased and sold Indian workers to other California landowners, yet the labor practices of early California defy simple characterization as slavery. Some Indians were actual slaves, but others voluntarily took up wage labor. Still others were coerced into the labor market through a system of debt peonage. And some became virtual serfs as whites seized Indian land.[12] Of Indians who voluntarily worked for Sutter, most were Nisenans and Miwoks, among them former mission Indians and livestock raiders. They labored for Sutter because he provided them with a steady supply of trade goods.[13] His army also shielded them from slave raiders from the coast.[14] And Sutter conferred power and status on cooperative headmen.[15] Thus, many Indians worked for Sutter because it was in their interest to do so. By such means,Sutter was able to gather an Indian cadre of soldiers and workers that simultaneously attracted and compelled more Indians to enter New Helvetia's world of work.

In the 1840s Indians were not barriers to modernization in California. Rather, they were participants in that process as they constructed homes and tilled farms for white landlords. Perhaps as



Miwok Indians working on the McFarland Ranch near Galt in the late nineteenth century. Indians performed many tasks, both menial and skilled, on the ranchos. This posed scene shows a variety of activities being carried out. The female population, which began to decline during the Gold Rush, is reflected in the woman kneading bread and the old woman in the background. *Courtesy California State Library.*

many as ten thousand Indian workers labored in California at the time of the Mexican War.[16] Jobs for individual Indians, however, did not necessarily benefit Indian society. Employment took men away from their rancherías and left women, children, and old people unprotected. Anglo, Indian, and Mexican marauders ravaged these vulnerable communities. By the end of the Mexican era, interior Indian communities were in decline, the result of disease, demands for labor, and vulnerability to attack.[17]

As Sutter's native army illustrates, Indians also served in military forces under white command. The conquest of the American West required soldiers as well as farmers. From colonial times through the nineteenth century, Indian allies had fought with both European and United States armies.[18] California was no exception. Some one hundred Indians assisted the United States' conquest of Mexico by enlisting in John Frémont's California Battalion. As scouts, fighters, and rustlers of Mexican horses, they contributed to American success in an isolated theatre of frontier warfare. The United States might well have prevailed without Indian help, but in 1846 Lieutenant Colonel Frémont, Commodore Robert F. Stockton, and General Stephen Watts Kearny could not know that. They gladly relied on the tested practice of enlisting Indian allies in the American cause.[19]

Demography substantially shaped the role of Indian labor in peace and war. Until the Gold Rush, Indians constituted the largest part of California's population, outnumbering non-Indians by more than ten to one.[20] Within a few years of the gold discovery, however, the ratio of Indian to whites would be inverted, as whites hastened to the gold fields and Indian death rates accelerated.[21] Despite this historic shift, Indian labor remained evident in fields and mines in the 1850s. Not surprisingly, Mexican and Anglo rancheros took their workers to the mines in 1848 and 1849, capitalizing on their control of Indian labor. Sutter became an Indian labor contractor, hoping to profit from his New Helvetia experience by supplying Indian miners to white employers. In the first flush of the Gold Rush, Indian miners were ubiquitous, and many whites who employed them reaped substantial profits.[22]

As in agriculture, Indian participation in mining was a varied experience. Using methods similar to Sutter's, whites coerced some Indians to mine for them. Other Indians worked as free laborers for a share of the gold they found. And whole *rancherías* sometimes devoted themselves to prospecting. One observer saw an Indian community, most likely Miwoks, at work in a Sierra stream in 1849. Men dug gravel from the streambed and carried it to the banks where women washed the gold in finely-woven baskets shaped like mining pans. Children wrapped the clean dust and nuggets in pieces of cloth, ready for trading.[23]

These Miwok miners evidently bought life's necessities from white merchants. Unscrupulous traders hoodwinked unsuspecting Indian customers by selling food and other goods to them for their weight in gold, but the practice was short-lived. Indians were shrewd bargainers accustomed to a barter economy, and they soon came to understand the relative value of gold.[24] In some parts of California they demanded minted coins for their services, thus protecting themselves from sharp traders who would defraud them.[25] Yet as Indians spent more time mining, they had less time to engage in traditional hunting and gathering work.

Mike Clenso, a Nisenan Indian who had worked for John Sutter at New Helvetia, was obviously a man of enough means to buy nice clothes for himself and his bride. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Thus, even as they traded with white merchants on a more equal footing, they became increasingly dependent on the new economic order that governed California.

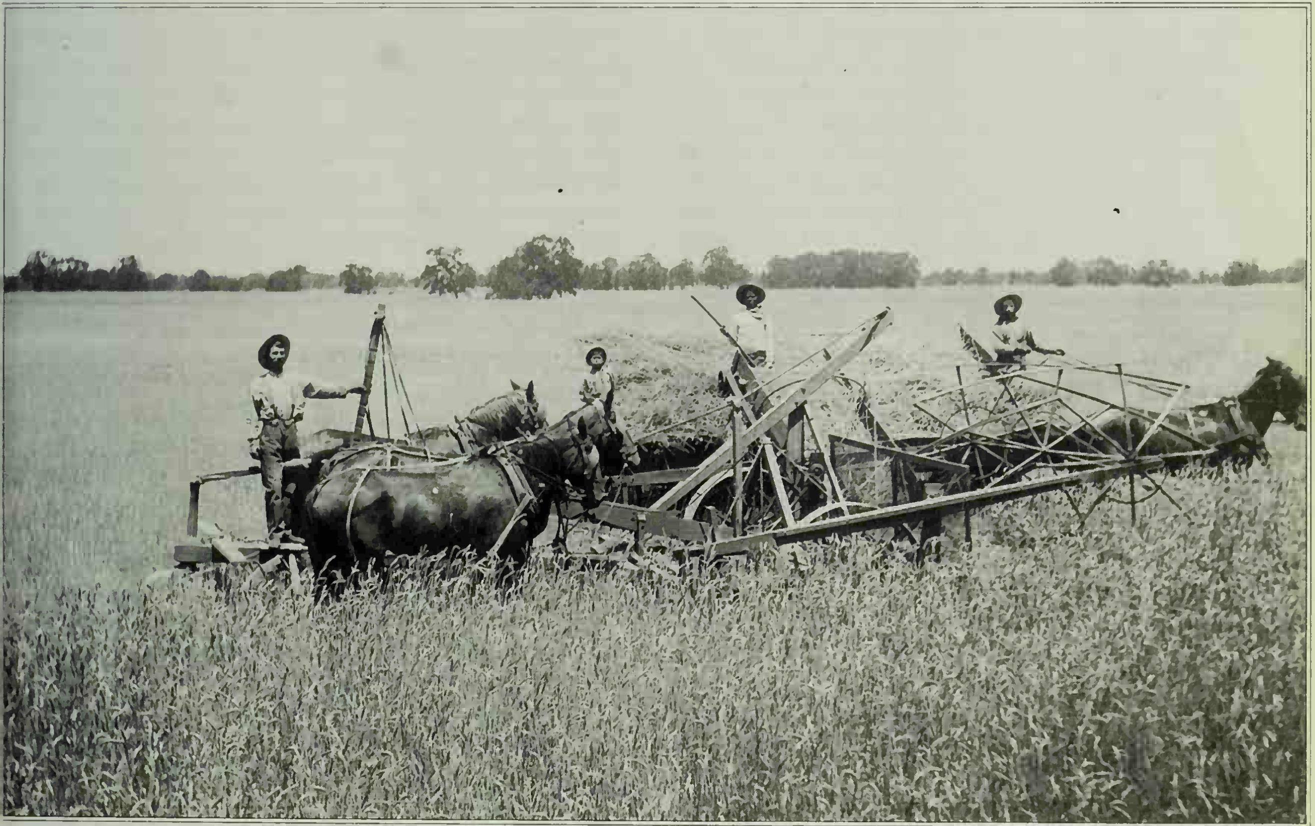
On the whole, mining had many of the same effects on Indian society that farm labor had: depleted communities, fragmented families, women and children at risk. Anglo Saxon racism added a new dimension to the already formidable perils of California Indian and white relations. Many white miners came to California with ideas about Indians shaped by generations of pioneering. They believed that the presence of Indians and settled life were incompatible. Free white miners were hostile towards an Hispanic labor system they regarded as akin to slavery. Hating Indians, fearing competition, and committed to white racial dominion, ruthless miners quickly drove Indian workers from the mines. In 1849, Oregonians, who were especially embittered by the 1847 Cayuse War, began to kill Indians and threaten whites who tried to protect them. Often hunting parties opened fire on defenseless men, women, and children alike wiping out entire *rancherías*. Such brutal attacks continued through the 1850s.[26] As a result of white violence against them, native miners abandoned this type of labor. Some Indians did remain near the mining camps, working as day laborers when they could, living when desperate on the offal from slaughter pens.[27]

If mining became off-limits for Indians, other forms of native labor were in demand. Some Indian women, poverty stricken and defenseless, resorted to prostitution to feed themselves and their children. More fortunate women lived with lonely white miners who had to cope in a land where there were very few marriageable white women. These liaisons were often temporary arrangements that men abandoned when they left the mines or when white women arrived on the scene. In the meantime, Indian women did the necessary domestic work that Victorian culture decreed to be woman's lot—cooking, cleaning, and child rearing. In these employments, Indian women shared much with their white sisters, though they remained racial and social worlds apart.[28]

Not all Indian women found employment in prostitution or domestic arrangements. Some worked placer mine tailings, panning out the remnant gold that had escaped from white miners' sluices. White farmers sometimes permitted women to glean their fields after the harvest. Other women found jobs as cooks and domestics in homes and hotels, or toiled at washboards in commercial laundries.[29]

Proximity to white settlements left Indian women vulnerable to physical and sexual exploitation. According to white observers, it was common for white men to rape Indians in the 1850s.[30] The damage to Indian women and their communities from such assaults can only be guessed at, but some observers claimed that much of the conflict between the races resulted from sexual violence.[31] Moreover, interracial sexual contact of all kinds resulted in the spread of syphilis, a great killer of Indians throughout California. General debility brought on by malnutrition, infectious diseases, syphilis, and bad living conditions combined to lower Indian birth rates and increase infant mortality. Most tragically, in a population in rapid, prolonged decline, Indian women died at a faster rate than men. By 1860 women represented only forty percent of the Indian population. The scarcity of women meant that Indians would have a difficult time forming families, restoring former population levels, and surviving in California. The destruction of the female Indian population accordingly contributed perceptibly to the decimation of the native people of California. The exploitation of women in the work force, moreover, tended to exacerbate the forces that worked against them. Thus work and Indian population decline were closely related in California.[32]

Shut out of mining jobs and marginalized in the booming gold rush economy in the 1850s, Indians found agricultural employment to be the only significant opportunity left for them in the "free" market economy. Indeed, in 1850 demand for agricultural labor was so high that whites sought legal means to retain Indian workers. One of the earliest acts of California's first state legislature was to pass a law "for the government and protection of the Indians," legislation that provided little protection for Indians but that served well the state's white agricultural interests.[33] This statute provided that justices of the peace could indenture Indian orphans and adult loiterers to white farmers. Children served until the age of majority and adults for a term of service determined by justices of the peace. This law was subject to outrageous abuse,



Indian workers harvesting wheat on the McFarland Ranch, Galt, late 1880s. Agricultural mechanization made it possible for the state to ship an ever-increasing amount of its produce across the country and around the world. The growth of the state's output, though, was not matched by increased employment of Indians. Miners from the Mother Lode and later the Comstock, along with other immigrants who were willing to work for low wages, forced Indian workers off the farms. *Courtesy California State Library.*

particularly in far northern and southern California. In the north, slave traders killed Indian parents and sold the children. California Indian Superintendent Thomas Henley reported in 1855 that kidnapped Indians fetched fifty to two hundred fifty dollars each.[34] The town of Los Angeles held weekly auctions of Indian vagrants.[35]

These extremes aside, it appears that the 1850 law was not enforced in much of California. The historical record is full of examples of Indian vagrants who were not apprehended—even in farm country— and free Indians continued to work as wage earners.[36] Moreover, white employers had to treat their workers with care because abused Indian laborers sometimes exacted reprisals from their masters. Near Red Bluff in 1859 an irate Indian servant set fire to the house of E.A. Stevenson, completely destroying the residence and killing Stevenson's wife and children. The Indian escaped to the Sierra Nevada, where he joined other Indians, many of whom had been brought up by whites. According to the pioneer reminiscences of Irvin Ayres, these Indians were the most dangerous in the country. They selected their targets for the sake of vengeance, sometimes attacking victims in the heart of the settlements.[37]

Given the increased demand for foodstuffs generated by the Gold Rush, farm labor seemed to offer a chance for survival to Indian workers, freemen and bondsmen alike. But for most Indians, this prospect was illusory. The era of the Gold Rush was also an age of rapid mechanization in agriculture. Labor was still required, but machines replaced many human hands.[38] Steam-powered combine harvesters, horse-driven headers, reapers, and threshers marched across the fertile valleys, pushing Indian workers out of the fields.[39] The wheat harvest on one large farm, for example, that once required scores of Indians, in 1860 employed only twenty-two.[40] Furthermore, many white farmers in the 1850s were newcomers with no experience or sympathy toward Indian labor. Many white laborers, pushed out of the gold districts as mining became more complex and capital intensive, entered the agricultural work force, a circumstance that white landholders found to their liking. At wages of more than a dollar per day, however, whites were nearly twice as expensive as Indians.[41] Even so, in 1856 Sutter claimed that he could employ whites more cheaply than Indians. Perhaps exaggerating, he asserted that whites were more dependable and ate less than Indian workmen.[42] Without an economic advantage even in the mind of a longtime Indian employer, there was little reason to hire native workers. In the 1850s, as miners and farmers pushed them off their traditional homelands, California Indians' employment opportunities steadily evaporated.

The federal government, vested with jurisdiction over Indian affairs, did little to improve the situation. Faced with local opposition to any plan that would set aside permanent Indian reservations, the national government instead established temporary reserves that were closed on demand from white settlers. Equipped with an experienced Indian labor force, administrators reasoned, temporary reservations could be self-sustaining, but poor land, inept management, and inadequate congressional appropriations doomed this policy.[43] The stopgap temporary reserves ministered to only a fraction of the California Indians; the majority were left to the mercy of the marketplace. With plain evidence of the failure of the temporary reserves in hand, the federal government closed most of them in the late 1850s. In 1860 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs urged California agents to find employment for reservation Indians with farmers and tradesmen, but the time when the California economy could absorb more Indian labor had long since passed.[44]

Substantially abandoned by the federal government and progressively forced out of the work force, California Indians were in desperate circumstances. Only a minority survived the Gold Rush. In 1848 they numbered more than one hundred thousand; by 1860 about thirty thousand remained.[45] Impoverished and dispossessed, many of the survivors became vagabonds who found work in seasonal farm labor or in whatever employment was offered. Some farmers permitted small Indian communities to live on their land. And a few remnant bands retreated to the mountains where they eked out a precarious existence.[46]

The tragic history of California Indians in the mid-nineteenth century offers some sobering insights into the workaday West. Conventionally viewed as an era of economic opportunity that encouraged individualism, freedom, and democracy, California's sharply stratified society included a lower class of free and unfree Indian workers.[47] Building on the earlier Hispanic model, Anglo-Americans quickly adopted Indian labor and held fast to it until the Gold Rush brought substantial numbers of white working men to the Golden State. In the meantime, they enacted legislation that would compel Indians to find work with white farmers, a practice that continued until 1863.

While many Indians were compelled to work, it is also striking to see how many others embraced wage labor in California. They had many motives for doing so. First, traditional life ways became increasingly untenable as white settlement expanded. Second, by selling their labor Indians acquired new material goods that revolutionized their lives—horses, guns, cloth, metalware, and the like. Finally, in a land that was increasingly dangerous for Indians, they could expect some measure of security from assault only if they were employed by white men. Ultimately, however, while gainful employment offered some protection to individual Indians, it tended to disintegrate Indian society. Seasonal farm work broke up communities and divided families, hastening the destruction of California Indian tribes. The situation was particularly hard on women, who risked sexual assaults or who, out of desperation, resorted to prostitution. Because Indian women died at an even more rapid rate than men, native society had little opportunity to form families and restore their population losses.[48]

The California experience is germane to wider issues in American Indian history as well. The decades after the Gold Rush saw the rise of an Indian reform movement that emphasized assimilation into white society as the key to Indian survival. A careful look at the Indian ordeal in California might have given reformers reason to question the wisdom of assimilating Indians into a rapidly changing society imbued with racist notions. For most California Indians, assimilation was a revolving door with deadly effects.

A final observation reveals an incongruity in California Indian history. Far from being barriers to civilization, Indians aided the rapid development of California in the mid-nineteenth century. In this faraway region of the workaday West, Indians pulled on their laborers' clothes, walked into the marketplace, and set to work. Their contributions were swiftly forgotten as others built on the foundations Indian hands had erected. Ultimately, the benefits of a civilization that Indians had helped to create went to others. CHS

See notes beginning on page 77.

Al Hurtado received the Ray A. Billington award in 1989 for his new book, Indian Survival on the California Frontier. *Hurtado, Associate Professor of History at Arizona State University, is currently working on another book,* Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in the American West.

Thomas Starr King in California, 1860-64:

Forgotten Naturalist of the Civil War Years

by Richard Peterson

In 1861, as the Civil War began east of the Mississippi, states and territories west of the river were forced to declare their political allegiance to the Union or to the Confederacy.* This momentous decision probably was considered more important in California—a free state that had joined the Union in 1850—than in adjacent areas. Although California's distance from the military front militated against substantial involvement of troops, its rich gold supply, a quicksilver mine at New Almaden necessary to the manufacture of gunpowder, and various products such as wool and wheat made remote California a potentially significant asset for the contending forces of war.[1]

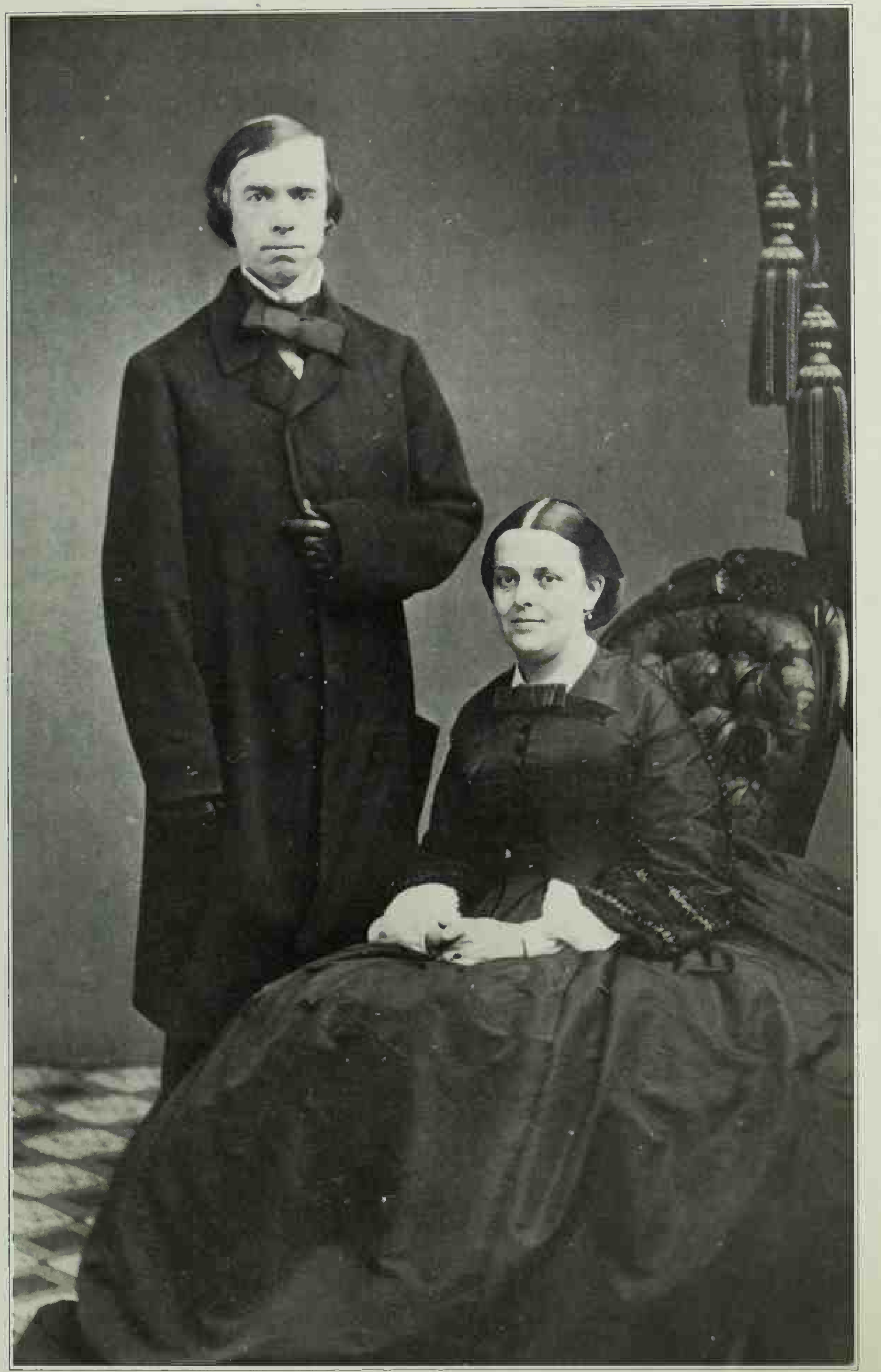
Would California stay with the United States, join the Confederacy, or even perhaps go its own way as an independent Pacific Republic? Although considered, the state legislature killed the latter option by joint resolution on May 17, 1861. However, there is no doubt that Confederate supporters and states' rights advocates were active in California politics and public opinion during these critical years. Through pro-Confederate newspapers like the *Los Angeles Star* and the Visalia *Expositor*, such secret subversive pro-southern organizations as the Knights of the Golden Circle, the Knights of the Columbian Star, and the Committee of Thirty, and rumored and attempted seizures of forts, ships, and gold shipments to Lincoln's treasury, they tried to create a Confederate California and undermine the Union war effort. However, this threat has been exaggerated by most historians. In 1860, less than 7% of California's population had come originally from the seceded states. Yet, nothing could be taken for granted during this volatile period, and it took the moving oratory of a Boston Unitarian minister, Thomas Starr King, to effectively argue the case for the Union and Lincoln.[2]

Who was Thomas Starr King and what brought him to California on the eve of the Civil War? This minister, lecturer, and writer was of German, French, and English ancestry. His maternal grandfather, Thomas Starr, was born in the Rhineland, but came to America in the late eighteenth century and married a woman of French origins, Mary Lavinus. Thomas Starr King was the oldest child of their daughter Susan and the Reverend Thomas Farrington King, a Universalist minister of English ancestry. The boy, commonly called Starr King, was born in New York in 1824. Before he reached the age of fifteen, the death of his father forced him to work to help support the family, which included five younger children. Although barely sixteen at the time, King was appointed an assistant teacher in a grammar school in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Two years later, he became the principal of another grammar school in New England. In 1843 he accepted the position of bookkeeper in the Charlestown Navy Yard because of the larger salary and more free time. Despite a limited formal education, his obvious responsibility and intelligence allowed him to advance his career rapidly.[3]

Throughout King's youth, he acquired knowledge on his own. By the time he was nineteen, he could read French, Spanish, Latin, Italian, and some Greek. Soon he began to preach, since he had aspired to the ministry from boyhood. Despite his small size and gentle disposition, he had the power to captivate his audiences with a rich resounding voice. His friend and adviser, the antislavery advocate Reverend Theodore Parker, said: "He has the grace of God in his heart and the gift of tongues." Such talent led him to the pastorate of

---

*The author would like to thank the American Association for State and Local History and the National Endowment for the Humanities for a Grant-in-Aid of Research in support of this article.



Thomas Starr King and his wife, the former Julia Wiggin, enjoyed four brief years in San Francisco before his death in 1864 at the age of 40. *Courtesy California State Library.*

the Hollis Street Unitarian Church in Boston in 1848, the same year he married Julia Wiggin of East Boston. For the next eleven years, he was one of the most popular preachers in the city and was equally well received as a lecturer on the country's Lyceum circuit.[4]

Despite such popular support in New England, King decided in 1860 to accept an invitation to head the struggling Unitarian parish in San Francisco. In words reminiscent of Henry David Thoreau, he explained to a friend: "I do think we are unfaithful in huddling so closely around the cosy stove of civilization in this blessed Boston, and I, for one, am ready to go out into the cold and see if I am good for anything."[5] Yet, it was not faith alone that appeared to motivate him. A dedicated Unionist, he may have been looking for a new challenge in the politically significant state of California as the nation approached the irrepressible conflict. More significantly, the *Alta California* for March 5, 1864, indicates that the generous monetary offer made by the San Francisco parish would help King liquidate his brother's business debts in excess of $20,000. In any event, Californians came in droves to hear him preach and lecture on the relationship of their state to the Union. Even the rugged miners were moved. "I say, Jim, stand on your toes and get a sight of him!" exclaimed an old miner to a companion as on the edge of a crowd they listened to one of his speeches in support of the Union, "Why, the boy is taking every trick."[6]

King's sermon-like political speeches throughout the state, often inspired by biblical themes such as "The Choice Between Barabbas and Jesus" and "The Treason of Judas Iscariot," helped to maintain California's loyalty.[7] This was demonstrated in part by a plurality of California votes for Lincoln in the presidential election of 1860 and in the state campaigns of 1861, when the Republicans and Union Democrats repudiated secession and gave their support to the Union. In fact, in the latter year, the continuing Democratic schism, which had facilitated Lincoln's national and statewide election, enabled the California Republicans to elect their first governor, Leland Stanford, by a substantial plurality.[8] King obviously was not responsible for "saving California for the Union," as some have asserted.[9] Nevertheless, he worked tirelessly toward that end until his premature death from diphtheria and pneumonia in 1864.

Despite his previous New England ministerial experience, King was not just a self-educated powerful preacher who won social stature in San Francisco that was denied him in Brahmin Boston. His captivating oratory and lecture tours on behalf of the Union also were responsible for contributing to the work of the United States Sanitary Commission, otherwise known as the "Red Cross of the Civil War," regarding its medical aid to the Union forces. Although Governor F.F. Low was president of the commission's California branch, King was a major spokesman. In large part because of his efforts, California, beginning in the fall of 1862, raised one-quarter ($1,234,000) of the amount the commission received from the entire nation. According to students of California history, "It was the eloquence of Starr King that saved the Commission's work from financial ruin."[10] As a result, King was able to combine his political goals with his humanitarian motives.

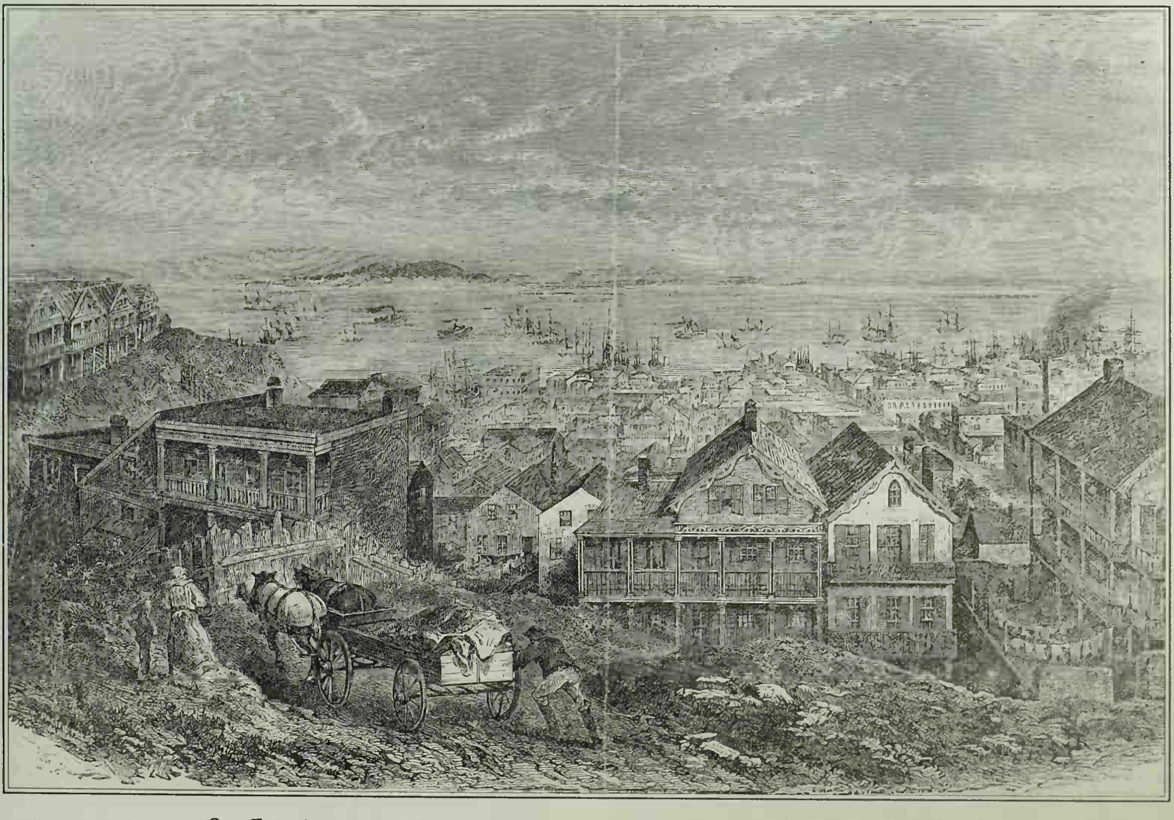
His work in California also included bringing the gospel to the relatively "unchurched" mining society of frontier California. By 1864, he had achieved financial security from some well-timed investments in Nevada's Comstock Lode. Such success enabled him to move into a new Gothic-style church on Geary Street in San Francisco with the Union flag flying conspicuously from the roof. Apparently, he saw no contradiction in this despite the cherished ideal of separation of church and state. Indeed, as a patriotic preacher he recognized that the two could be amicably joined.[11]

King's multifaceted contributions to California were honored posthumously by selection (along with Father Junípero Serra) as one of only two Californians represented in the National Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C.[12] Historian Kevin Starr has gone so far as to claim that King is second only to Lincoln in California history as martyr for the Union cause; this position is sometimes reserved for David Broderick, a rough-and-tumble former Tammany Hall politician who came to California from New York in the 1850s and spoke out against the extension of slavery in the territories until a duelling match silenced his voice on the very eve of the Civil War.[13] In any event, it is certainly arguable that King deserves his prominent place in the nation's capital.

Although most scholars of California history are generally familiar with King's work for the Union, the Sanitary Commission, and the spread of Unitarianism in the state, much less is known about his deep, often spiritual interest in the scenic beauty and diversity of California. Indeed, his latest biographer fails even to mention it, while a recent, otherwise thorough, scholarly text on California history neglects to mention King at all, except in an obscure bibliographical citation.[14] Despite these omissions, King spoke and wrote enthusiastically about the natural scenery of California, just as he had done earlier about New Hampshire in his elaborately descriptive book, *The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscapes, and Poetry* (1860).[15] It is King the naturalist who deserves more recognition than formerly bestowed if one is to understand fully the personality and public role of this noble man who, in effect, sacrificed his life for a cause that he apparently believed should be as enduring as the Sierra and as majestic as the giant redwoods.

Obviously, King found more in California than a compelling political cause, a religious mission, a devoted congregation, and entry into San Francisco society, often accompanied by Jessie Benton Frémont, one of his many admirers.[16] Like John Muir, he was not one to lock himself up for long periods in solitary study. During his lecturing tours for the Union and the Sanitary Commission, he was greatly impressed by the scenic wilderness of northern California: "forests of pine and Sequoia lifting themselves to a height in itself on the verge of religious metaphor," as Kevin Starr has written.[17]

In a series of letters to the Boston *Transcript*, King educated his fellow easterners to the fact that California offered much more than gold. He was especially impressed by Yosemite, which appeared to be the sacred embodiment of the living God, thereby reflecting a Puritan New England outlook and the popular Transcendentalist philosophy of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, and others. In July 1860, he entered Yosemite Valley



San Francisco as it appeared in the early 1860s, about the time Thomas Starr King arrived. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Donated to the city in 1892 by the Starr King Monument Committee, this statue of King sculpted by Daniel Chester French stands in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco. *Courtesy of the Photography Center, San Francisco Recreation and Park Department.*

and was overcome by its natural grandeur. According to Kevin Starr, who probably has written the best brief analysis of King, "The Yosemite seemed to King a revelation as compelling as Holy Writ. It was California's scripture of stone, calling for spiritual greatness."[18]

The enthusiastic mountaineer expressed these thoughts to his New England audience:

> The Yosemite Valley is a pass about ten miles long, which at its eastern extremity, splits into three narrow notches, each of which extends several miles, winding by the wildest paths into the heart of the Sierra Nevada chain. For seven miles of the main valley, which varies in width from three-quarters of a mile to a mile and a half, the walls are from two thousand to nearly five thousand feet above the road and are nearly perpendicular. The valley is of such irregular width and bends so much, and often so abruptly that there is a great variety and frequent surprise in the forms and combinations of the overhanging rocks, as one rides along the banks of the stream. The patches of luxuriant meadow with their dazzling green, and the grouping of the superb firs, two hundred feet high, that skirt them, and that shoot above the stout and graceful oaks and sycamores, are delightful nests of sweetness and beauty amid the threatening awfulness–like the threads and flashes of melody that relieve the towering masses of Beethoven's harmony. The Ninth Symphony is the Yosemite of music.[19]

With the virtual precision of a scientist and the metaphorical imagination of a poet, he described what Muir called "the grandeur of the Yosemite temple."[20]

King's admiration for California's natural beauty was not limited to Yosemite. During a visit to Ocean Beach near San Francisco in October 1861, he related the state's landscape to his political mission: "Our city turns her face persistently towards the East—signifying that California has no insane vision of independence; that she desires no isolated sway over the Pacific, but is bound by loyalty to the empire whose flag she plants on Mendocino, the Hatteras of the West, and under which she has 'sucked of the abundance of the seas and of treasures hidden in the sand.' Read the figures of her recent vote and decide if I interpret her attitude wrongly."[21] Blending the cause of Union with bountiful nature, he skillfully argued the case for a permanent California connection.

His description of the wondrous beauty of springtime in the San Mateo, Sonoma, and Santa Clara valleys did not reveal subtle political motives, but pure ecstasy as he viewed the marvelous abundance of wild flowers and blossoming orchards radiating with color and charm.[22] According to one biographer, "he dilates on the giant spread of grape-vines with their clusters of purple and golden fruit, and the ripening treasure of the grainfields, more precious even than that of the mines; he discourses on cattle and horses and sheep."[23] Like Richard Henry Dana and others who preceded him to California from New England, he was impressed by the potential productivity of the California environment.[24]

Although he described in careful detail the mining industry of California, it appears that King could not fully conceal his moral reservations about its damage of nature by the sluicing, tunnelling, shafting, river fluming, gulching, crushing, and hydraulic tearing away of bluff and cañon wall, "by which the soil, the rock, the beds of powerful streams, and the hidden strain of a mountain's heart are made to yield the shining dust that was mixed with them ages ago."[25] Although he was not openly critical, perhaps given the importance of gold to the Union, and he was more a reporter than a judge in depicting mining, it seems inescapable that one as sensitive to nature as Starr King could not have felt the negative impact rendered by the ceaseless pounding and washing of God's green earth. Yet, surely his own personal investments must have tempered his attitude.

Mount Diablo in the San Francisco Bay area was another challenge and inspiration for the inveterate naturalist and mountain climber. Before ascending the mountain, he reflected on the beautiful foothills around him: "What gracefully moulded hills! What loveliness of dimples and shadows! What an exquisite tint of green, lighter and livelier than Nature wears in New England! What stripes and patches of flowers upon the slopes! What nobleness of trees flinging their shadows singly upon an acre of unbroken beauty of grain, or entangling them as they fall from parks that are disturbed by no underbrush."[26] Upon ascending the peak, he observed: "Nowhere in Europe can such a vast mountain line be seen as Diablo showed us on that clear day. And what a vast extent of territory! Our scientific companions of the Survey by their instruments and sober reckoning discovered that within the range of our vision lay an expanse of 46,000 square miles! An area as large as the State of New York! And this but little more than a quarter of California."[27] King undoubtedly was referring to the California State Geological Survey (1860-64), members of which included W.H. Brewer, Clarence King, and J.D. Whitney.[28]

A vacation trip to the Sierra inspired Starr King to measure the magnificence of the Mariposa Trees by religious metaphor. One tree left a distinct impression on him:

> How majestic it swelled and towered! My companion and I both exclaimed, "This is the largest tree we have yet seen; this will measure more than a hundred feet in girth." We gazed for a long time at its soaring stem, from which, a hundred feet above us, the branches that shot out bent suddenly upwards, like the pictures of the golden candlesticks in the Hebrew temple. It seemed profane to put a measuring tape upon such a piece of organized sublimity. But we made the trial. It was just fifty-six feet in circuit—but little more than half the size of the Monarchs in Mariposa which it seemed to excel so much in majesty. There were a hundred trees in the Mariposa grove larger than this, and all of them together did not make half the impression on me that this one stamped into the brain at first sight. We need to see the "Mother of the Forest," for instance, towering over Trinity Church in New York, and overtopping its spire with a column whose life is older than the doctrine of the Trinity, to appreciate its vastness.[29]

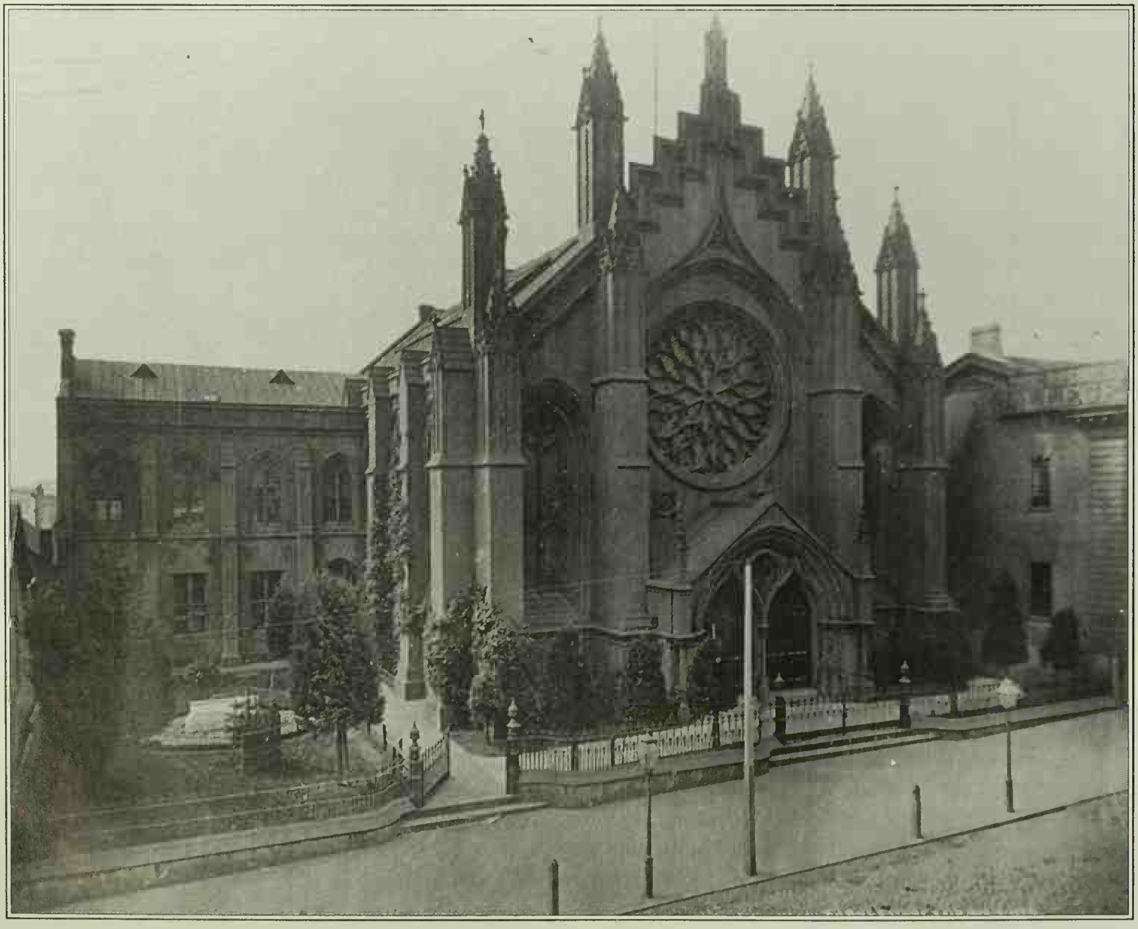
The age as well as the sheer size of the Mariposa Grove intrigued King. On one occasion, as he looked up from the forest floor, he virtually commanded the trees to confide in him. Like restrained ladies of the early Victorian era, they answered only with silence:

> Why cannot the dumb column now be confidential? There comes a breath of wind cooled by the snow on higher swells of the Sierras, which can be seen from the western edge of the grove;—why will not the old patriarch take advantage of that ripple through his leaves and whisper to me his age? Are you as old as Noah? Do you span the centuries as far as Moses? Can you remember the time of Solomon? Were you planted before the seed of

> Rome took root in Italy? At any rate tell me whether or not your birth belongs to the Christian centuries, whether we must write B.C. or A.D. against your infancy? I promised the stalwart greybeard I would tell nobody, or at most only the *Transcript*, if he would drop into my ear the hour of his nativity.[30]

King did not attempt to converse only with trees. His extensive travels among them enabled him to infuse his sermons with the beauty and divinity of nature, apparently filling his responsive congregation with a love of the outdoors as an expression of divine grace. As he spoke, "so many of us there are who have no majestic landscapes for the heart—no grandeur in the inner life. We live on the flats. We live in a moral country, which is dry, droughty, barren. We look up to the heights whence shadow falls and streams flow singing. We have no consciousness of Divine, All-enfolding Love."[31]

For Californians with a gold-rush mentality, who were used to abusing nature, especially in mining, King's message must have been fresh and probably startling. In it can be seen the religious definition of the environment that moved John Muir to sustain the demanding, life-sapping struggle to save the beautiful Hetch Hetchy Valley near Yosemite from the San Francisco dam-building water-seekers.[32] Although Californians would not relinquish their quest for growth and materialism in King's



First Unitarian Church of San Francisco, 1865, showing in the side yard the newly placed sarcophagus of Thomas Starr King. *Courtesy First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.*

Mt. Starr King, Yosemite National Park. *Courtesy First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.*

day or in Muir's, perhaps the energetic preacher from staid old Boston nonetheless lifted their popular consciousness, however temporarily, toward an appreciation of the God-given grandeur of the natural environment as a place not to be feared or ravaged, but revered. Such thoughts were incorporated in his lively political speeches and sermons, thereby giving Californians a greater sense of their destiny as a permanent part of the Union.

Some of Thomas Starr King's addresses drew upon geographical themes, such as "Lessons from the Sierra Nevada" and "Living Waters from Lake Tahoe." According to one student, "He discovered the mountains and redwoods, which inspired his Yankee imagination with yearnings for 'Yosemites of the soul.' "[33] Thirty years before John Muir and his fellow naturalists founded the Sierra Club in California, King was writing and speaking eloquently, if not rapturously, about the natural splendor of the state. In fact, in Kevin Starr's opinion, Muir's *Yosemite*, published in 1912, "was the book Thomas Starr King had dreamed of writing in 1860."[34] Indeed, according to the *Alta California* for March 5, 1864, King's manuscript on Yosemite was nearly complete at the time of his death. His interest in such natural wonders was later commemorated with a mountain named for

THOMAS STARR KING

Thomas Starr King and Father Junípero Serra were chosen to represent the state of California in the Statuary Hall in the Capitol, Washington, D. C. King's statue, in bronze, is the work of sculptor Haig Patigian, 1930. *Courtesy First Unitarian Church of San Francisco.*

him in his beloved Yosemite and a redwood in the haunting Mariposa Grove.[35] These honors testify that King was a man of many visions, who not only anticipated the teachings of the much more famous Muir, but educated Californians and easterners alike to the fact that California's harvest was not exclusively golden. As one scholar suggests, King's early visit to Yosemite in 1860 and the letters he wrote about its scenic beauty helped the public to realize that "the treasures of Yosemite should be public property, not to be lavished upon a few for personal gain." In fact, "such was his fame and influence that these letters had a wide audience in the East with a substantial effect upon Yosemite's destiny."[36] In 1864, the year King died, Frederick Law Olmsted, the nation's leading landscape architect and developer of New York City's Central Park, and such politically influential individuals as San Francisco businessman Israel Ward Raymond pressured Congress and President Lincoln into granting the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees to the state for preservation.[37]

As news of King's untimely death spread in California, businesses, the United States Mint, government offices, and the courts closed. The state legislature adjourned for three days. In the East, his friends John G. Whittier, and in the West, Bret Harte, commemorated him in poems. His portrait was hung in the Sacramento State House, and in resolutions passed by the legislature he was described as "the man whose matchless oratory saved California for the Union."[38] Without discounting his political role, it should also be remembered that he travelled, spoke, and wrote just as diligently to save California's scenic beauty for future generations. His fellow clergyman and friend, Reverend Henry Bellows wrote from New York on March 5, 1864: "The mountains he loved and praised are henceforth his monuments and his mourners. The White Hills and the Sierra Nevada are, to-day, wrapped in his shroud. His dirge will be perpetually heard in their forests."[39]

If Californians learned from Muir a "love of their land, wild and lyrical," King had earlier facilitated their education, even at a time when the Civil War distracted many from environmental concerns.[40] King's environmentalism as much as his political and humanitarian contributions is the lasting legacy of a man who was much more appreciated and known in his own day than in ours. In King, more than in the controversial, overstated explorer, John C. Frémont, Californians truly had found a man to match their mountains.[41] Perhaps this is why they chose to remember him with a bronze statue by Daniel Chester French in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park, amidst the trees and vegetation that so enriched his life and the lives of others.[42] By mid-nineteenth-century standards, King combined the eloquence and practicality of a politician with the aestheticism of a naturalist and the compassion of a clergyman. Undoubtedly the secret of his success, his ability to fuse effectively these forces, explained why in "four years he had become one of the best known and most beloved men on the Pacific Coast."[43]

CHS

See notes beginning on page 79.

Professor of History at San Diego State University, Richard Peterson is a specialist in California and United States western social and economic history. He is the author of Manifest Destiny in the Mines *(reprinted 1988) and* The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900 *(1977). He is currently working on a biography of Thomas Starr King.*

A Fresh Voice from the West:

MARY AUSTIN, CALIFORNIA, AND AMERICAN LITERARY MAGAZINES, 1892-1910

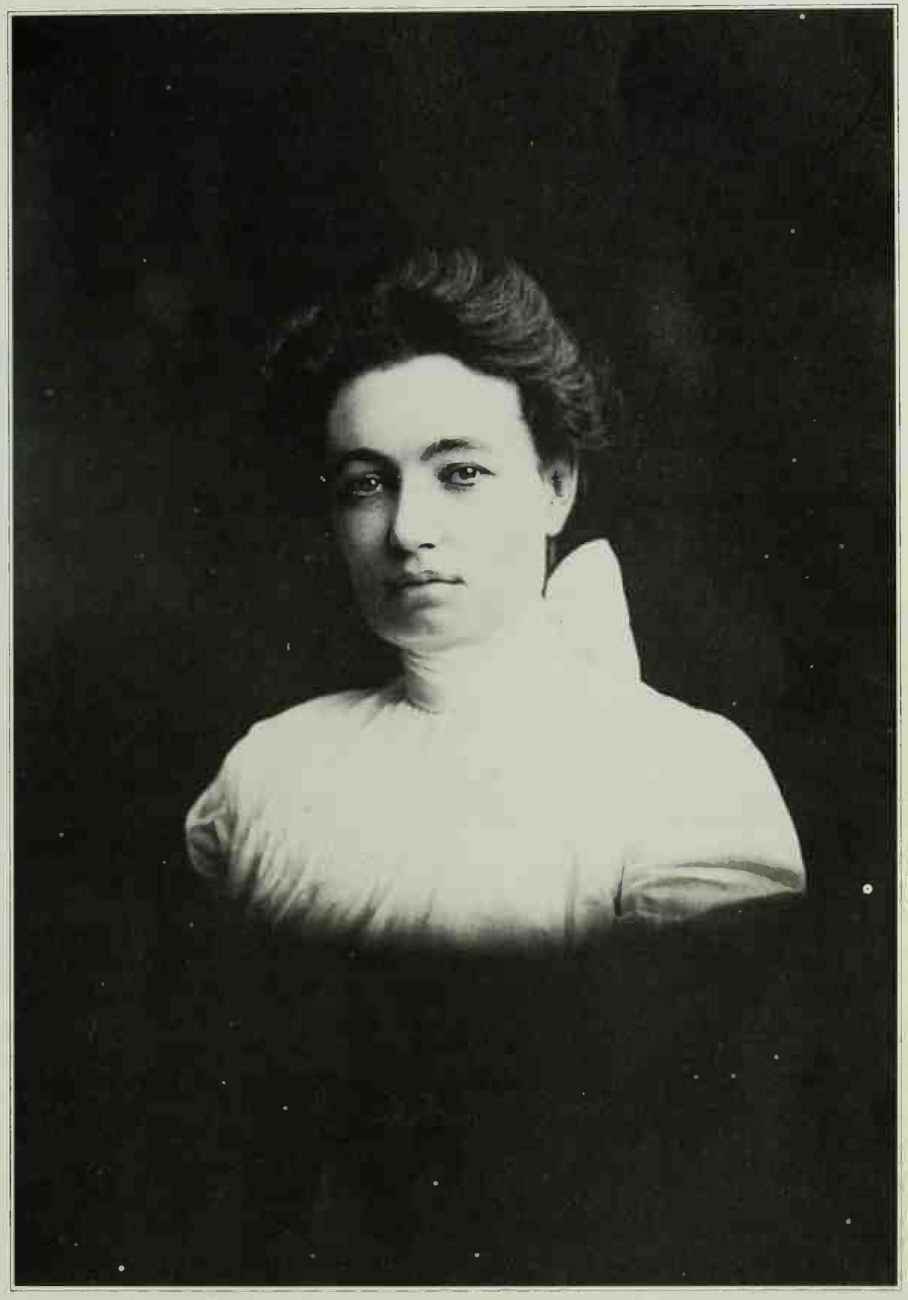
by Karen S. Langlois

The western writer Mary Hunter Austin is now best remembered as the author of over thirty books, beginning with her California classic, *The Land of Little Rain* (1903). However, like many authors of her time, she began her literary career in the 1890s as a writer for American literary magazines.[1] In the years between 1892 and 1910 her magazine pieces on California provided a major share of her recognition and income. Utilizing material about frontier life, she established a reputation as an important regional writer and as a significant contributor to western literary realism.

"Magazines, magazines, magazines!" the *National Magazine* complained in 1897. "The news-stands are already groaning under the heavy load, and there are still more coming."[2] Magazines—sold on newspaper stands, in railway stations, and by subscription—were an American institution. Halftone plates, which had replaced fine line engraving on wood, had reduced costs and helped make illustrated periodicals available to the masses. Moreover, the tripling of the national economy resulted in a publishing boom between 1880 and 1910. By 1908 more than half of the total weight of all mail was comprised of newspapers and magazines.[3] The popularity of illustrated literary magazines created a constant market for writers, and offered the incentive of steadily rising incomes, along with increased exposure.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the magazine stories of Bret Harte greatly contributed to the image of the California frontier in the popular mind. During the 1860s and 1870s, he became an important figure in American literature with the publication of such stories as "The Luck of Roaring Camp" and "The Outcasts of Poker Flat." Indeed, before Mary Austin's arrival in California in 1888, her own limited knowledge of the West had been largely formed by the work of Bret Harte, the charming sentimentalist of the Sierra.[4]

Mary Hunter was born in the small midwestern town of Carlinville, Illinois, in 1868. She attended local schools and Blackburn College, a small denominational institution. While at Blackburn, she published short pieces in the college literary magazine, the *Blackburnian*, and was honored as poet laureate of her graduating class. Shortly after graduation, she traveled west by train with her brother and widowed mother. In California the family struggled in an ill-fated attempt to homestead arid range land in Tejon Pass at the edge of the Mojave Desert. There, Mary Hunter began to collect material for her future stories. In 1891 she married Wallace Stafford Austin, a vineyardist and speculator. Forced north by a series of financial failures, the couple relocated to Lone Pine in the Owens River Valley. The birth of a retarded daughter, Ruth, added to the harsh difficulties of life on the California frontier.



Only twenty-eight years old at the time of this studio portrait in 1896, Mary Hunter Austin was just beginning to achieve critical acclaim for her writing. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

The arid Owens Valley, where Austin settled briefly with her husband in the early 1890s, inspired her many sensitive regional sketches. This turn-of-the-century photograph captures the Sierra Nevada range to the west. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Austin's literary career began with the appearance of her short pieces in two regional periodicals, the *Overland Monthly* and *Out West*. The *Overland Monthly* had been founded in 1868, the year of her birth. Begun by Anton Roman, a San Francisco bookseller and printer, the magazine was a "pioneer in the development of Pacific Coast magazine publishing."[5] With Bret Harte, Ina Coolbrith, and Charles Warren Stoddard among its contributors, it achieved recognition as "the only first class illustrated monthly magazine published west of the Mississippi." Indeed, their names, according to Austin, "made a starry cluster . . . which no Californian at the time failed to maintain was equal in luster to any literary trinity of the envious East."[6]

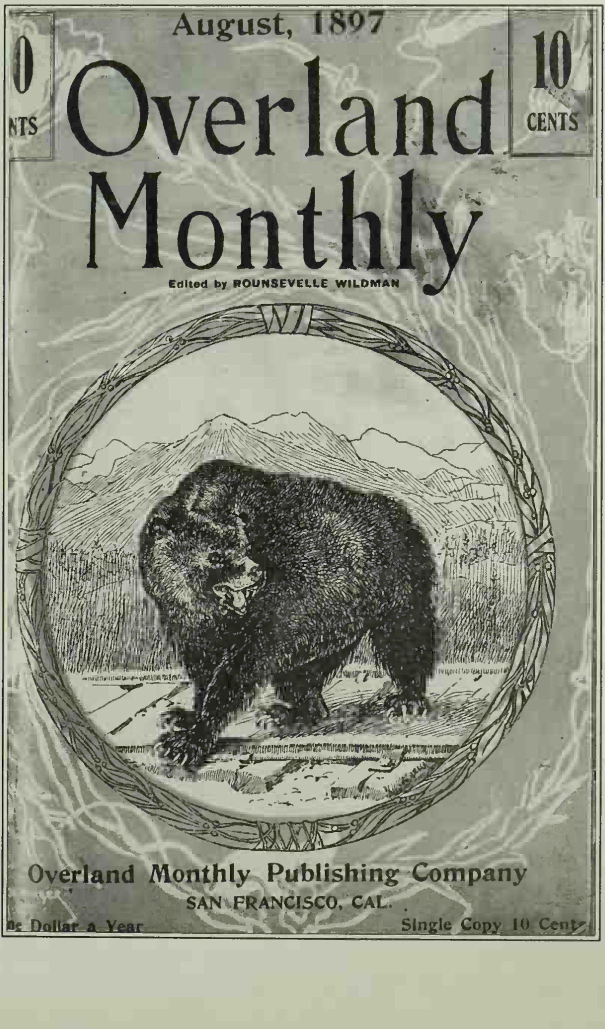
Referred to as the *Atlantic Monthly* of the West, the *Overland Monthly* was nationally known for its tales of the Rocky Mountains, the Sierra, and the sunny Pacific shore. The magazine had a subscription rate of $1.00 a year, or ten cents per issue. Its cover picture, a California grizzly bear, his feet planted on iron rails and snarling muzzle facing an approaching locomotive, symbolized the western spirit of independence, as well as the end of the frontier. By 1892, when Austin first visited the *Overland's* San Francisco offices, the magazine had lost some of the former glory it had enjoyed under the editorship of Bret Harte. Nevertheless, it was, she recalled, "undergoing one of the periodic revivals to which, between California's native indifference to literature and its prideful sense of the magazine as a cultural asset, it was subject."[7]

The editors of the *Overland*, who published only original material, had difficulty finding suitable stories and poetry, and Austin's submissions were immediately accepted for publication. Thus she joined the group of aspiring women writers whose regional fiction graced its pages, a group that included Mabel Porter Pitts, Grace Helen Bailey, and Mabel Houghton Brown. Over the next five years the *Overland Monthly* published three of Austin's short stories, which were based on material she had gathered in California. The first, "The Mother of Felipe," appeared in November 1892. Set in Antelope Valley, it is the sentimental story of an Hispanic woman's devotion to the memory of her dead son. It contains the vivid descriptions of the California desert that won Austin critical recognition as an important new writer. The desert was, she wrote in the story,

> ... a country to be avoided by the solitary traveler, with its hard, inhospitable soil, and its vast monotony of contour and color. A country sublime in its immensity of light, and soft unvarying tints, —fawn, and olive, and pearl, with glistening stretches of white sand, and brown hollows between the hills, out of which the gray and purple shadows creep at night. A country laid visibly under the ban of eternal silence.

Austin's second story, "The Wooing of the Senorita," the tale of a naive easterner, Millard Travis, and his encounter with a California señorita and her cattle rustling lover, appeared in March 1897. It was followed in October by a third piece, "The Conversion of Ah Lew Sing," a humorous account of a Chinese truck gardener. These stories, published over a period of five years, were the foundation for the work that would soon establish Mary Austin's reputation in some quarters as "the first truly prominent woman writer from the American West."[8]

In addition to short stories, the *Overland Monthly* published local-color poetry by many women writers, among them Carrie Walter, whose work from



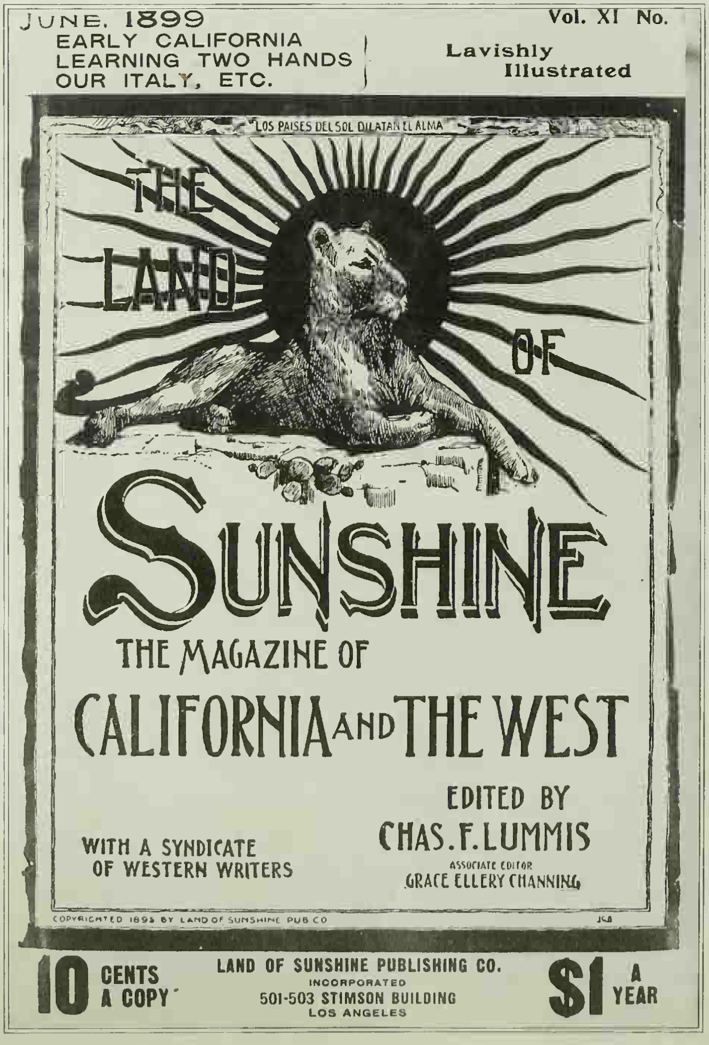
Founded in 1868, the *Overland Monthly* was not California's first illustrated monthly magazine, but under the editorship of Bret Harte and his successors it became the best known and highest regarded publication west of the Mississippi. The *Overland* published three of Mary Austin's short stories between 1892 and 1897, helping to launch her reputation as one of early California's prominent writers. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

this period appeared in her 1907 collection, *Rose-ashes, and Other Poems.* Perhaps the periodical's best known verse was by Ina Coolbrith, who was, according to Mary Austin, "not only the first, but for a long time the only, woman poet of the Coast country whose verse found welcome in the Eastern magazines."[9] Austin's poem, "Inyo," published in the *Overland Monthly* in July 1899, brings to mind the imagery that would make her first published book, *The Land of Little Rain*, a masterpiece of western writing:

Like some great lioness beside the river,
  With passion slumbering in her half-shut eyes,
Watching the light from heated sands up-quiver,
  Untamed and barren, lone the valley lies.

"Inyo" and Austin's later poems compare favorably to other local-color verse of the time. A. B. Nye, a contemporary who sought permission to include "Inyo" in an anthology of California verse, complimented her on her talents as a poet and mused that the immense, mountain-haunted stretches of the Owens Valley were "a portion of California which, until you began to write, had neither poets nor prophets of literature to proclaim it."[10]

In 1899 Mary Austin moved to Los Angeles, where she met Charles Lummis, an authority on the Southwest and the editor of the *Land of Sunshine*, an emerging southern California magazine. She became a member of the literary salon that met in the Lummis home on the Arroyo Seco, and her new circle encouraged her literary aspirations. Well known for his part in the literary discovery of the


JUNE, 1899
Vol. XI No.
EARLY CALIFORNIA
LEARNING TWO HANDS
OUR ITALY, ETC.
Lavishly Illustrated
LOS PAISES DEL SOL DILATAN EL ALMA
THE LAND OF SUNSHINE
THE MAGAZINE OF CALIFORNIA AND THE WEST
EDITED BY CHAS. F. LUMMIS
ASSOCIATE EDITOR GRACE ELLERY CHANNING
WITH A SYNDICATE OF WESTERN WRITERS
COPYRIGHTED 1895 BY LAND OF SUNSHINE PUB CO
JCB
10 CENTS A COPY
LAND OF SUNSHINE PUBLISHING CO.
INCORPORATED
501-503 STIMSON BUILDING
LOS ANGELES
$1 A YEAR

Founded in Los Angeles in 1894 to promote southern California, the illustrated monthly *Land of Sunshine* broadened under Charles F. Lummis's editorship and in 1902 was renamed *Out West*, as a reflection of its expanded scope. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Charles F. Lummis as a young man, photographed in New Mexico, ca. 1888-91, where he went to recover from a stroke. He returned to Los Angeles, where in 1894 he became editor of *Land of Sunshine*. *Courtesy California State Library.*

West, Lummis had mentored several literary talents. His salon attracted a number of women writers—such as Gwendolen Overton, Margaret Collier Graham, and Lummis's assistant editor, Sharlott Hall—who seemed to Austin to have "made a place for themselves in the Eastern magazines."[11] Lummis's "syndicate of western writers" also included Grace Ellery Channing, Mary Hallock Foote, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Theodore Hittell, David Starr Jordan, and Edwin Markham.

Begun in 1894, the *Land of Sunshine* was an illustrated monthly that extolled southern California's cultural and commercial aspects. As Charles Lummis explained, "Southern California grows brains as well as oranges."[12] With a subscription rate of $1.00 per year and a nationwide circulation of over 10,000, the magazine included at least one short story in every issue. Distinctively western in flavor, its cover featured a picture of a mountain lion sprawled on a ledge, a golden sun framing its head.

At the Lummis home, Austin recalled, she "came and went, writing, writing."[13] Her regional poetry was soon appearing in the *Land of Sunshine* alongside articles on "The Old Missions" and "Pioneer California Schools" and advertisements for local wines, the Southern Pacific Company, and the Mount Lowe Railway. An excerpt from her poem, "A Twilight Hill," published in March 1901, celebrates the Arroyo Seco landscape at dusk.

> It is the season when the streamlets sing,
> Sweet and misty censers do the grape vines swing,
> And at their thresholds birds are gossiping
>   While holds the lengthening light.
> And there the blundering night-moth doth disclose
> The scented hollow where the current grows,

And there the musky bloom of gilia glows
  Like nuns at prayer, milk-white.

Lummis appointed Mary Austin to the staff of the magazine and renamed it *Out West* in 1902 to signify its expanding scope. Austin published seven poems, four short stories, a serialized novelette, and one essay in his magazine. She was one of the most talented writers published in its pages.

On Lummis's advice Austin sent some of her poems to the *St. Nicholas,* the finest magazine for children published in the United States, which had published some of his short pieces. The periodical's editor, Mary Mapes Dodge, was an experienced writer and editor, a woman of considerable influence in a male-dominated industry, who exercised "absolute control over the magazine" and was committed to quality. She believed *St. Nicholas* should be "stronger, truer, bolder [and] more uncompromising" than adult periodicals.[14] Her high artistic and literary standards earned *St. Nicholas* an enduring reputation.

Backed by a prosperous publishing house, the Century Company, *St. Nicholas* had a circulation of 70,000 and paid well enough to attract leading writers, including Jack London and Mark Twain. Many of Louisa May Alcott's stories appeared in *St. Nicholas* during her lifetime, and her work was still appearing posthumously in the early 1900s. With a subscription rate of $3.00 a year, or twenty-five cents per issue, the magazine was more expensive than many adult periodicals.

Mary Austin had been "brought up" on *St. Nicholas* stories as a child and as an adult she recalled that "the best of everything always appeared in *St. Nicholas* and the best of everything was always explicitly localized." A sense of locale was very important in children's literature, she explained, for children are "at heart the most confirmed regionalists."[15] Beginning in 1900 she published a series of regional poems in *St. Nicholas,* many of them about California animals. They include "The Rocky Mountain Sheep," "The Sand Hill Crane," and "The Rhyme of the Pronghorns"—poems that later appeared in her collection of regional poetry, *The Children Sing in the Far West.*

St. Nicholas was as "well illustrated as the best adult magazines," and Austin's poems had been imaginatively illustrated by Bruce Horsfall. When she proposed her book of regional poetry to Houghton Mifflin Company, she urged them to "get the St. Nicholas illustrations if you can. They have one of Rocky Mountain sheep which would make the fortune of any book. It is the best drawing for a wild animal in its native haunt that I have seen."[16]

Mary Mapes Dodge also welcomed submissions about Native American culture. In "The Deer Star," a poem that appeared in the February 1901 issue of *St. Nicholas,* Austin used a California Paiute legend regarding the origin of a star "that may be seen low in the eastern sky about sunrise of summer mornings." The poem tells how a young Indian hunter and a deer are transformed into the bright star, Sirius. It concludes:

They have gone by the painted desert,
  Where the dawn mists lie uncurled,
And over the purple ranges
  On the outer rim of the world.
The people shout from the village,
  And the sun gets up to spy
The royal deer and the runner,
  Clear shining in the sky.
And ever the hunter watches for the rising of
  that star
When he comes by the summer mountains
  where the haunts of the red deer are,
When he comes by the morning meadows where
  the young of the red deer hide;
He fares him forth to the hunting while the deer
  and the runner bide.

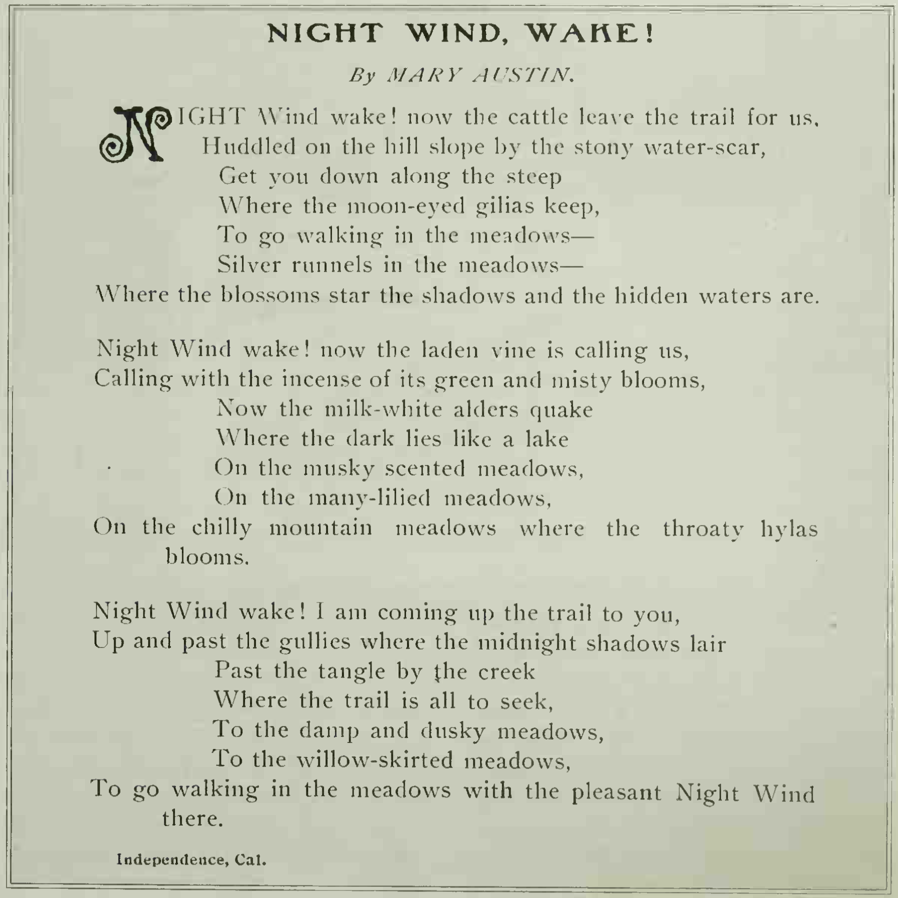
Austin's long-hoped-for entrance into the mainstream of American magazine publishing came in the Boston-based *Atlantic Monthly,* which in July 1900 published "The Shepherd of the Sierras," a sentimental story about a California shepherd who rescues a coyote trapped in a forest fire. Founded in 1857, the *Atlantic Monthly* was one of the nation's most distinguished literary periodicals. An early editor, William Dean Howells, had broadened the scope of the magazine. "Without ceasing to be New England, without ceasing to be Bostonian, at heart . . ." he observed, "[we have] become southern, mid-western, and far-western in our sympathies."[17] With a subscription price of $4.00 a year, the *Atlantic* was a high-quality, adult periodical designed to appeal to the genteel, affluent, reading public.

It was at this time that Mary Austin began experimenting with story sketches or essays. During a period of loneliness and ill health at her home in the Owens Valley town of Independence, when she was "languid with convalescence," she started to write about the landscape and inhabitants of the eastern California desert. She remembered the moment as "one of those thin days when the stark energies of the land threaten just under its surfaces."[18] Six of her sketches of desert life were subsequently accepted by current editor Bliss Perry for publication in the *Atlantic Monthly,* including "The Land of Little Rain," which later became the title piece of her 1903 classic book. As Perry wrote, "It is not often that prose sketches of outdoor life have given us such unalloyed pleasure."[19]

Austin's first essay published in the *Atlantic Monthly*, "Jimville: A Bret Harte Town," debuted in November 1902, well before its appearance in *The Land of Little Rain*. This was a standard practice in American publishing, where there was a natural flow of material between the magazines and books. By the 1890s, according to one historian, many writers had come "to devote a major share of their time to the preparation of magazine material, with ultimate printing in book form often in mind, but with magazine publication the direct first object."[20] Many books, including *The Land of Little Rain*, Mary Austin's signature work, first acquired recognition through their appearance in literary magazines, which helped in book promotion.

Austin's first publication in the mass circulation market appeared in the *Black Cat*, America's leading short story periodical for amateur writers. Begun in 1895 by advertiser Herman D. Umbstaetter, the magazine sold for a nickel a copy and had a circulation of over 150,000. It attracted many beginning writers through contests that awarded an expense-paid trip around the world to the author of the best short story. In March 1899 the *Black Cat*, which had also published Jack London's early efforts, ran Mary Austin's story, "The Castro Baby," a tale of a California town's compassionate concern for a young Hispanic mother.

Austin followed this effort by selling western material to other mass circulation magazines such as the *Youth's Companion* and *Munsey's*, which had the highest circulation of any magazine in the world. *Munsey's* was an important market for the short story and the storiette, a type of short, short story that had developed in the 1890s. Among regular



NIGHT WIND, WAKE!

By MARY AUSTIN.

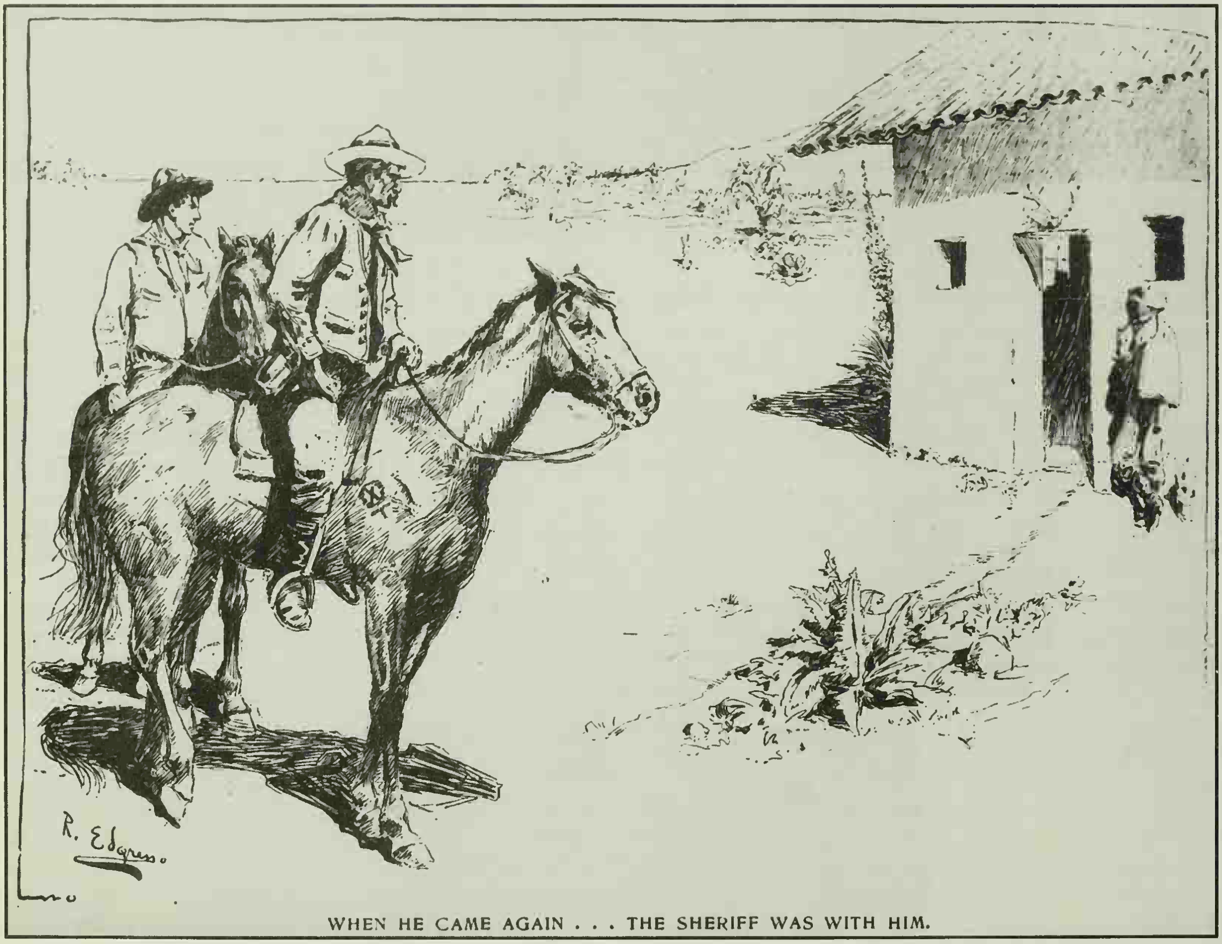
NIGHT Wind wake! now the cattle leave the trail for us,
Huddled on the hill slope by the stony water-scar,
Get you down along the steep
Where the moon-eyed gilias keep,
To go walking in the meadows—
Silver runnels in the meadows—
Where the blossoms star the shadows and the hidden waters are.

Night Wind wake! now the laden vine is calling us,
Calling with the incense of its green and misty blooms,
Now the milk-white alders quake
Where the dark lies like a lake
On the musky scented meadows,
On the many-lilied meadows,
On the chilly mountain meadows where the throaty hylas blooms.

Night Wind wake! I am coming up the trail to you,
Up and past the gullies where the midnight shadows lair
Past the tangle by the creek
Where the trail is all to seek,
To the damp and dusky meadows,
To the willow-skirted meadows,
To go walking in the meadows with the pleasant Night Wind there.

Independence, Cal.

"Night Wind, Wake!" appeared in *Out West* in April 1904. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



WHEN HE CAME AGAIN . . . THE SHERIFF WAS WITH HIM.

Artist Richard Edgren illustrated Austin's story, "The Wooing of the Senorita," in this line drawing for the *Overland Monthly*, March 1897. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

contributors were two sisters, Grace and Alice MacGowan, whom Mary Austin met in the bohemian literary colony of Carmel, California. *Munsey's* accepted two of Austin's desert stories featuring Indian women as central characters—"The Pot of Gold," which appeared in July 1901, and the "White Hour," published in April 1903.

In an *Atlantic Monthly* article on the short story, published in 1902, editor Bliss Perry commented upon "the present popularity of the short story with authors and the public alike." "It is obvious . . . that the short story gives a young writer the most valuable experience at the least loss of time," he wrote. "He can test his fortune with the public with the magazines, without waiting to write his immortal book." Furthermore, he noted, "the author is often paid as much for a story as he earns from the copyrights of a novel, and it costs him one tenth the labor." In contrast to the essay and the poem, the "short story now holds the field . . . . We are children at bottom, after all is said, children under the story-teller's charm."[21]

Mary Austin's early short fiction generally conformed to the standard pattern of the short story in the late nineteenth century. She frequently relied on western stereotypes for characterizations and on local color for fundamental plot elements. On the popularity of local color, which emphasized the peculiarities of a particular region, she reflected, "The more highly colored the better, and you might take as much space as you wanted for elucidating that color and spread it on as thickly as you liked."[22] In some regional stories there was an atmosphere so "drenched with local color," she wrote, that the reader was "thoroughly sloshed" with it. Many of her own early stories were of this sentimental type popular in the Victorian era. But Austin also patterned some of her work after the more "modern" style of the popular British writer Rudyard Kipling, "with their slightly mocking detachment, [and] their air of completely disengaging the author from any responsibility for the moral implications of the scene and the people of whom he wrote." These stories, she wrote, "pointed the way for a use of the sort of material of which I found myself possessed."[23]

Austin's magazine stories immortalized the individuals she met on the vanishing California frontier, such as Seyavi, the aging Paiute "Basket Maker," "who made baskets for love and sold them for money"; the independent Mrs. Walker, the twisted "Walking Woman," who "had walked off all sense of society-made values"; and the solitary "Pocket Hunter," who talked of "the water of mirage rolling like quick silver in the hollows." She incorporated her knowledge of California Indian life in stories such as "Pahawitz-Na'an" and "Mahala Joe." Hispanic culture formed the milieu of "The Kiss of Niño Dios," and "The Christmas Fiddle." The lore of miners and buried treasure provided the plots for "The Lost Mine of Fisherman's Peak" and "The Golden Fortune." Austin's fascination with the California sheepherding industry gave impetus to such stories as "The Little Coyote" and "The Ford of Crevecoeur."

Much of Austin's knowledge about California grew from personal experience. While living in Tejon, she recalled, her family "visited every point of interest that could possibly be reached by wagon or on horseback."[24] On her writer's gift for observation, she confided, "there is really nothing to tell. I have just *looked*, nothing more . . . and by and by I got to know when and where looking was most worthwhile. Then I got so full of looking that I had to write to get rid of some of it and make room for more."[25] If many of her desert tales set on the ragged edge of civilization seemed unreal, she explained, "Out there, where the boundary of soul and sense is as faint as a trail in a sand-storm, I have seen things happen that I do not believe myself."[26] Concerning her first collection of Indian stories, she assured, "All of these stories are so nearly true, that you need not be troubled in the least about believing them."[27]

Many of Mary Austin's tales were picked up from townspeople like Mrs. Dodge, the talkative landlady, or from the proprietor of the Lone Pine saloon, "a friendly soul . . . who would lean over the portal and gossip." Other stories came by way of conversations with desert old-timers, from her visits to Indian "campoodies," and from all-night rides on the old Mojave stage. As Austin recalled, "among purveyors of story material, stage-coach drivers bears the palm." On riding the stagecoach, Austin wrote,

> . . . [I] was always able to secure the outside seat. No matter how many times . . . [I] had been over the road, . . . [I] was always ready to hear the tale again and could give story for story, besides being well provided with baskets of fruit and chocolate layer cake and such-like comestibles as while away the midnight hours, for the trip was always made of one continual stretch of twenty-six hours with eighteen-mile relays.[28]

It was, she confided, "from dropped hints of talk, reminiscence and speculation, [that] one gathers the gist of more tales, and better, than are written."[29] Her favorite stories were folk stories, such as those told to her by the Paiute "Basket Woman," who claimed she "had seen Coyote-Spirits herself."[30] But whether they were Indian myths, or the lore of California miners and sheepherders, Mary Austin's stories were born of tales such people told one another.

The greatest strength of her early work was the underlying presence of the California desert landscape and its influence on the people who inhabited it. As she explained in "The Lost Mine of Fisherman's Peak," "every story of that country is colored by the fashion of the life there; breaking up in swift, passionate intervals between long, dun stretches, like the land that out of hot sinks of desolation heaves up great bulks of granite ranges."[31] In such writing, she said, "time is the essence of the undertaking, time to live into the land and absorb it."[32]

An historical landmark, Mary Austin's home in Independence in the Owens Valley is now a private residence. *Courtesy Lillian H. Jones.*

Over the years Austin's writing matured. She overcame her reliance on the western stereotypes, local color, and sentimentality that had characterized her early stories, and she developed greater fidelity to western literary realism and to her own unique voice. As she explained concerning her stories, "they are in reality, each one of them, openings of a window through which you are to see the desert as I see it. You are to suppose that I have sat down before the fire with you and. . . [have begun] to talk about the desert."[33] Her writing also moved beyond its early focus on Indian tales and mining and sheepherding lore. This shift came when her marriage began to disintegrate around 1905. With the gradual breakup of her marriage, she started to focus more intensely on the hardships of women's lives in the West. She began to produce material such as "The Bitterness of Women" (1909), a story that explores the fate of a homely Hispanic woman, and "The Ploughed Lands," the tale of a young Indian woman rejected by her white lover. Austin probed the casual, temporary nature of human relationships on the harsh California frontier. According to one literary critic, "The theme of familial relations gone awry pervades Austin's writing; in the treacherous desert country men are lost, children die, [and] women who wish to become wives and mothers live wasted lives."[34]

Austin's increasing fidelity to literary realism was noted in 1908 by Henry Mills Alden, the editor of *Harper's*. Alden, regarded by some as the greatest editor of his time, observed that modern literature, or the "new art" as he called it, focused on individual "psychical motive" rather than the "externality of life." Its oath was "truth in the interpretation of life"—"the whole truth and nothing but the truth."[35] In his monthly column, "The Editor's Study," Alden named Mary Austin, William Dean Howells, Henry James, and Edith Wharton among those American authors who had embraced the "new realism" in their writing and "departed from the traditions of the Victorian era." Furthermore, he observed, it was "in the short stories of the last ten years that this departure [was] most evident."[36]

Alden accepted eight of Mary Austin's stories for publication in *Harper's* and *Harper's Weekly*. *Harper's*, a high priced, cosmopolitan literary periodical, printed the best of American short fiction, including the work of Willa Cather and James Branch Cabell. Two of Mary Austin's stories of the California desert—"The Fakir" and "The Readjustment' '—were published in *Harper's*; the remaining six appeared in *Harper's Weekly*. The *Weekly*, which called itself a family newspaper, was something between a magazine and a newspaper. As one historian has observed, "Pictorially and textually, it was nearly always interesting and often brilliant."[37]

Mary Austin sold two other tales to the *Century*, another expensive literary magazine. With a strong international flavor, it featured color reproductions of Timothy Cole's wood engravings of the French Masters. "The Return of Mr. Wills," one of Mary Austin's best stories of the California desert, made its debut in the June 1907 issue of the *Century*. All twelve of her desert stories that were later published as *Lost Borders* in 1909 first appeared in America's leading literary magazines.

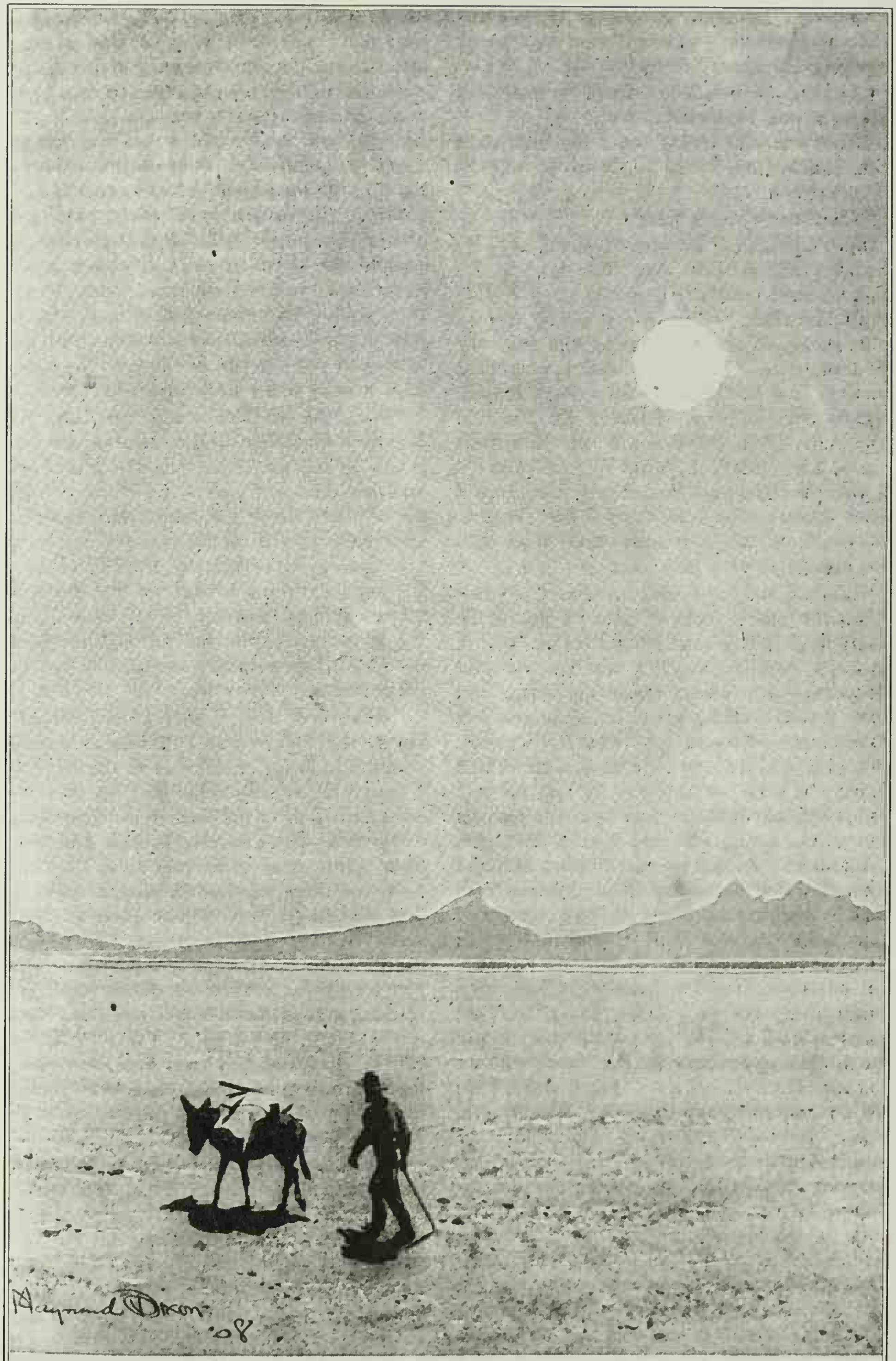
Over the years many editors praised Mary Austin's talents as a western writer. In 1901 Charles Lummis saluted her efforts in the *Land of Sunshine*: "Her work in verse and short story has a quality of its own which has been promptly recognized."[38] Charles Amadon Moody, associate editor of the *Land of Sunshine*, told her "I do not know of any woman in America who has the variety of literary power which you possess."[39] Bliss Perry of the *Atlantic Monthly* praised her writing as "full of charm" because of the "freshness" of her California desert setting.[40] She was, he announced, a "fresh voice from the west."[41] Henry Mills Alden of *Harper's* argued that "the advance in the complete transformation [of the short story] since Bret Harte" had been "emphatically illustrated" in her work.[42] And William H. Briggs, also of *Harper's*, proclaimed his "special fondness" for her California short fiction and declared, "I am ready to wager right now that 'A Walking Woman' is about the high-water mark of American short-story writing."[43]

In her own time Mary Austin's largest audience was what Bliss Perry characterized as "the great magazine reading public." Her short stories reached hundreds of thousands of readers. *Munsey's* alone had a circulation of over eight hundred thousand, the *Youth's Companion* over half a million, *Harper's* and the *Century* several hundred thousand each. These literary magazines offered Mary Austin a thousand times more exposure than did her books, which were published in relatively small numbers. (Her biggest seller, *Isidro*, published in 1905, sold only 11,770 copies.) Moreover, her stories reached an international audience through periodicals such as *Harper's* and *Munsey's*, with their European circulation.

In the 1890s Mary Austin's short pieces earned a fraction of the amount she would receive in the next decade. The *Overland Monthly's* standard payment was ten to fifteen dollars for poems, and twenty-five to thirty dollars for short stories. As the editor explained, his California periodical could not afford to pay contributors as much as the eastern magazines. However, in 1901 Mary Austin was able to furnish the library of her new home in Independence with the proceeds of the year's work, the largest share coming from her poems in *St. Nicholas*. The *Atlantic Monthly*, which paid its contributors less than other high quality eastern magazines, gave Mary Austin thirty-five dollars for her short story, "The Shepherd of the Sierras." It subsequently paid its usual price of eight dollars a page for her story sketches from *The Land of Little Rain*.

By 1908 Mary Austin was selling short stories to *Harper's* magazine for two hundred dollars apiece, the average price for a short story at the time. From the *Century* she received three hundred dollars. (A few writers, such as Jack London, could demand up to one thousand dollars for a single story of five thousand words.) After her first European tour and her relocation to New York City in 1910, Mary Austin's freelance magazine writing continued to be an important source of income.

Maynard Dixon's line drawing illustrated Austin's short story "The Blue Moon," published in *Sunset* in six installments, beginning in January 1909. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



"You wouldn't have thought when you were making your little pasear out there, that I, sitting up here, was watching you?" said Farley.

Like many writers, she could not live on the royalties from her books. As William Dean Howells observed concerning the relationship of the American magazines to the professional writer, they were "both bread and fame to him."[44]

By 1910 Mary Austin had been writing western material for eighteen years. Her published work included numerous poems, sketches, and more than thirty short stories. The serial of her novelette, "The Truscott Luck," had been published in *Out West*; and a second novelette "The Blue Moon," had been serialized in *Sunset*. Her most important books on California, including *The Land of Little Rain* (1903), *The Basket Woman* (1904), *Isidro* (1905), *The Flock* (1906), *Lost Borders* (1909), and later *The Children Sing in the Far West* (1928), were excerpted or printed in their entirety in American literary periodicals. First read in magazines, her western regional material had entertained and educated readers of all ages. Hers was an invaluable contribution to the literary and cultural history of the West.[45]

CHS

See notes beginning on page 80.

Karen S. Langlois received her Ph.D. from the Claremont Graduate School in 1987 and teaches American Women's History at San Diego State University. Her articles on Mary Austin have appeared in Western American Literature, The Huntington Library Quarterly, *and* Theatre History Studies. *She is currently working on a biography of Mary Austin and an edition of her letters.*

Sequoia Seminar:

The Sources of Religious Sectarianism

by Steven M. Gelber

New religions, especially those that grow from the mystical insight of a single individual, often seem to spring into existence fully formed.* The prophet has a revelation and then directs followers in the appropriate way to carry out the new order. But in fact, life is seldom so tidy. Charismatic leaders do not exist in a vacuum, and it is the social context that determines whether a religious visionary is perceived as a worthy messenger or as merely misguided.

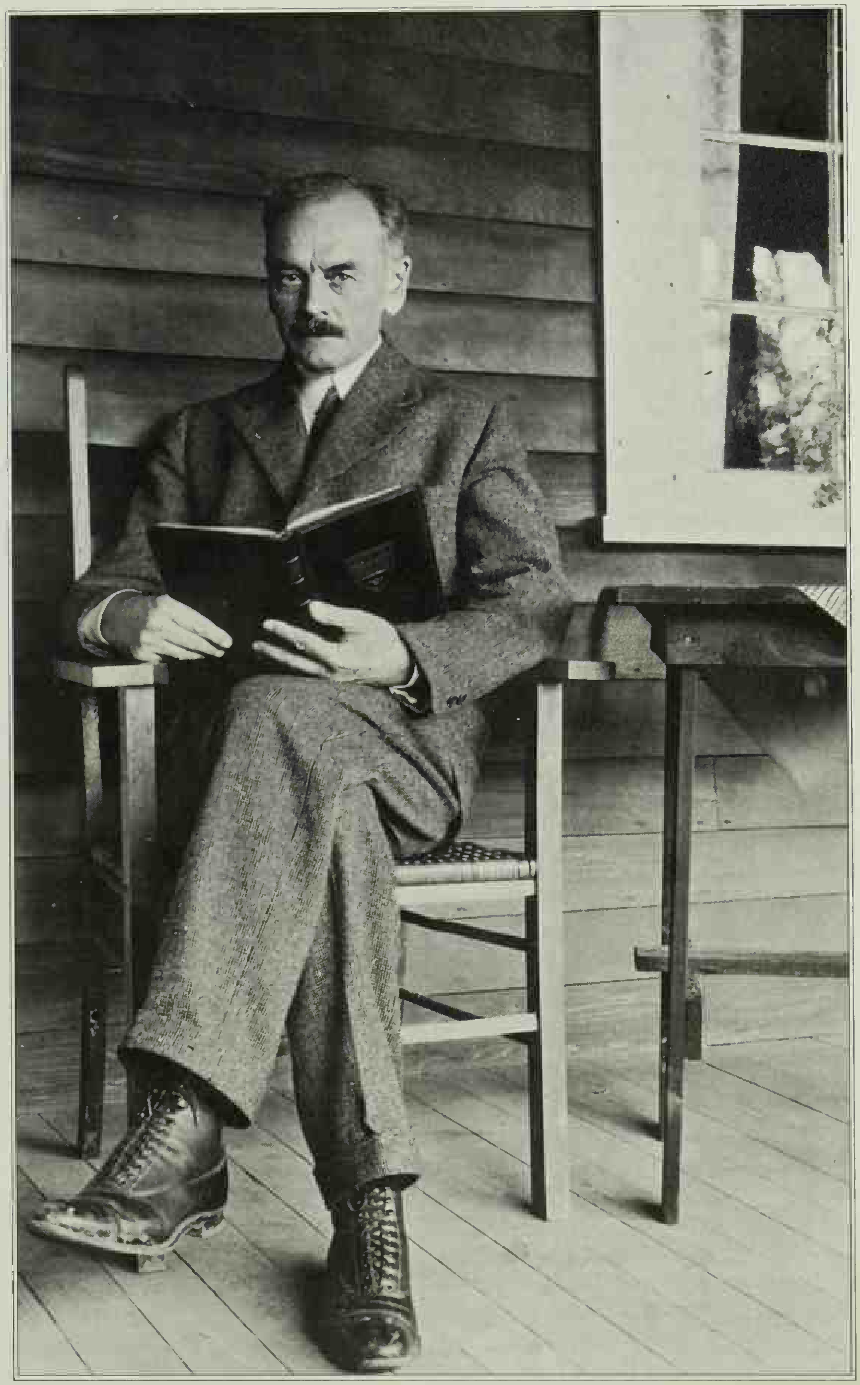
The history of Sequoia Seminar, a gospel study group that evolved into a new religion called Creative Initiative, illustrates how it can take decades before the ground is prepared to receive the prophetic vision, indeed how that vision actually serves to ratify changes that have taken place incrementally. Although Stanford University professor Harry Rathbun and his wife Emilia, leaders of Sequoia Seminar, envisioned a sect-like community as early as 1945, it took almost twenty years before psychological, institutional, and economic forces converged to give them the opportunity to convert their study group into a separate religion. In fact, the movement actually experienced two dramatic structural changes in its forty-year history. The first came in 1962, when, on the strength of a religious revelation, it became a new religion, ultimately called Creative Initiative. The second came twenty years later, when Creative Initiative effectively dissolved in favor of a secular peace movement named Beyond War. Thus, the current Beyond War movement, with branches in two dozen states, has historical and philosophical roots that go back more than fifty years. This article explores the origins of the first of these two profound changes.

Far from craving power or notoriety, the Rathbuns tried for years to operate within the framework of the mainline churches. Ultimately, however, the organization they created evolved from a lay group cooperating with the churches into the functional equivalent of a sect that vied with the churches for the loyalty of their mutual members. This untenable position of being both a partner and a competitor of the churches demanded resolution. Unwilling to remain trapped in an unproductive relationship with the churches, yet unable to acknowledge their de facto status as a rival, they needed to take a definite step to cut themselves free. It was at that point that Emilia experienced the mystical call that allowed the group to acknowledge its independent status as the "New Religion of the Third Age."

Thus Sequoia Seminar is an historical case study in sect formation. Scholars tend to divide religious organizations into "churches" and "sects." Churches are usually defined as large, socially sanctioned organizations whose values closely parallel those of the dominant culture. Membership in a church requires little individual effort; in fact, people are effectively born into churches and simply

---

*This article is adapted from Steven M. Gelber and Martin L. Cook, *Saving the Earth: The History of a Middle Class Millenarian Movement* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1990).



Henry Burton Sharman, founder of the movement that resulted in the establishment of Sequoia Seminar and Creative Initiative. Sharman is shown at his Canadian retreat center, Camp Minnesing, in 1921, wearing his characteristic tweed suit, high shoes, and stern expression. *Courtesy Creative Initiative Foundation.*

accept them as part of life. Sects, on the other hand, are seen as marginal. They are usually small in size, hold ideas that are sometimes at odds with mainstream beliefs, and require that their members make adult decisions to adhere to their often exacting codes. Peoples' decisions to join, or in this case, to form a sect can be seen as an economic decision. In this sense "economic" does not simply refer to monetary exchange, but is used in a broader meaning to refer to all limited resources, which could include, in addition to time and money, psychic and physical effort, social reputation, and the like. Because mainline churches have values and behavior expectations compatible with society at large, there is relatively little personal cost in being a member. On the other hand, because sects depart dramatically from general social values, joining one can be very "expensive." Sects, therefore, must provide their members with benefits they might otherwise get from non-religious sources.[1] As Sequoia Seminar evolved from a church affiliated study group to an independent sect, it followed precisely the path predicted by this "economic" model: making more demands on its members, while at the same time providing them with more services.

THE FOUNDER

The movement's origins lay in eastern Canada, far from the San Francisco Bay Area where it eventually flourished. In 1884 a somewhat skeptical young Canadian farmer named Henry Burton Sharman attended a religious revival with the intention of challenging the evangelist. Sharman had grown skeptical about his faith when he had been unable to reconcile it with the scientific values taught at Ontario Agricultural College, where he studied for two years. But it was the evangelist who challenged Sharman when he told his audience that "every statement of Jesus could be proved as surely as the experiments the students were carrying on in their laboratories."[2] According to his friends, Sharman left the meeting profoundly moved, and before the night was over he had dedicated his life to the will of God.

After a brief but very successful business career, Sharman went on to earn a doctorate in New Testament studies at the University of Chicago Divinity School. He then embarked on a lifetime of leading faculty and students in independent study of the synoptic gospels (i.e., the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke that present the teachings of Jesus from a similar perspective). The study groups, called "Jesus as Teacher" seminars, were frequently sponsored by the YMCA and the Student Christian Movement of Canada, which he helped found. The seminars were conducted at colleges by both Sharman and by disciples who used his techniques. But those who wanted the most intensive exposure to his methods spent a month of their summer vacation at Camp Minnesing, a remote Canadian retreat center run by Sharman.[3] Throughout his active career Sharman focused his energy on eastern Canada, and it was only by chance that a few students from the west found their way into his circle.

Sharman was strongly influenced by "higher criticism," a movement to study Christianity scientifically that was making inroads at the University of Chicago when Sharman was there at the turn of the century. For him, Jesus was a human figure whose importance derived from the profundity of his ideas, not his divinity. Jesus as Teacher seminars focused on the synoptic gospels as the most historically accurate accounts of Jesus' thoughts, and used books written by Sharman to guide their search for the true message of Jesus. Sharman insisted that his students purge their minds of all preconceptions about the "Records" (the term he used to refer to the gospels) and that they reach their own conclusions and find their own personal truths.[4]

The seminars were Sharman's "calling." Acting within the North American evangelical tradition, Sharman became a free-lance missionary for his own method of religious inquiry, which he believed would make intellectuals into better Christians within their own churches. From 1915 until he retired in 1945, he led his Bible study groups, financing most of the effort from his own pocket and deliberately avoiding any permanent organization that might continue his mission. He once told Harry Rathbun, "All you need to do to kill anything is organize it. Then it will roll on long after it is dead."[5] Although Sharman refused to formalize his efforts, some of his students were eager to preserve the tradition, so in the summer of 1944 a group of veteran "Minnesingers" who called themselves the "Central Group" drew up tentative plans to create a permanent organization that would carry on Sharman's work,[6]

Sharman had since 1933 lived in semi-retirement in Carmel, California, and it was there that Harry

Emilia and Harry Rathbun at Asilomar Conference Center in Pacific Grove, ca. 1948, where they led early Sequoia Seminars. *Courtesy Creative Initiative Foundation.*

and Emilia Rathbun had been drawn into his orbit. Isolated from his eastern followers, and in close proximity to the Rathbuns who lived in Palo Alto, Sharman and they had become very close by 1944. Working from this unique position, Harry Rathbun sent a telegram to the Central Group informing them that Sharman would neither lead the 1945 summer seminar nor give the organizing group his mailing list. The Rathbuns, it appeared, had come up with a new idea and were trying to head off Sharman's support for the Central Group's plan to form a permanent organization. Harry told them that Sharman was giving his "wholehearted co-operation" to a "more courageous and revolutionary program . . . based upon and requiring the total commitment central in the religion of Jesus." Rathbun asked the Central Group to give him and Emilia authorization to continue planning with Sharman for a "program of acting large and imaginative enough to meet the demands of the crisis of our time."[7] The atomic bomb had yet to be dropped, so the "crisis" referred to here was not the possibility of a nuclear holocaust—that would emerge as a concern later—but rather a generalized apocalyptic vision of a world consuming itself through greed, fear, and enmity.

The project the Rathbuns had in mind was ambitious beyond anything previously attempted by Sharman or his followers, presaging both the style and content of the Creative Initiative movement. The Rathbuns wished to limit what had always been an open admission policy and make commitment a precondition of membership.[8] Furthermore, they made it clear that they were not interested in merely helping individuals achieve higher personal understanding. They also believed they had an opportunity for a "large-scale program of 'selling' to the world the religion which can save it."[9] Here, then, for the first time, was a clear expression of the sectarian messianic impulse in the Rathbuns' work. They perceived the world in danger and saw themselves as saviors. Teaching people how to learn the message of Jesus from the gospels was all very well, but it had to be placed in a larger context. Personal conversion through Records study was not an end in itself, but a first step toward becoming part of a new community of like-minded people, who would fan out across the world to lead humankind back from the brink of self-destruction by spreading Sharman's method.

In language that would become typical of the Rathbun's uncompromising demand for complete dedication to the cause, Harry wrote to another member of the central leadership, "Perhaps such a renewed and revitalized commitment to the will of God may mean for most of us who are members of the Central Group the giving up of our present jobs for a year—maybe permanently—and making *this* our sole job,—for the year and perhaps the rest of our lives." Harry said that he was willing to ask for a leave of absence for the following year, and he challenged the rest of the group to do likewise. "Are we serious about it?" he asked in the same letter. "Are we really willing to sell all? Do we truly believe we have the answer to a desperately sick world's troubles?" The questions were obviously rhetorical. The answer was, "If we do, must we not face these implications and lay plans on a vastly greater scale than those we were thinking of as our first steps?"[10]

Harry and Emilia Rathbun's religious philosophy had a variety of sources that were absent from the backgrounds of most other Sharman followers, the combination of which was probably the source of their apocalyptic outlook. In the mid-1930s both Rathbuns had studied in America with the German psychologist Fritz Kunkel. It was Kunkel who introduced them to the Jungian ideas that truly mature individuals accepted religion and blended within themselves both male and female attributes.[11] At about the same time, in 1935 Emilia became involved with Frank Buchman's Oxford Group. This lay religious movement emphasized personal conversion through the confession of sins and stressed the ability of the individual to receive direct communication from God.[12] Both Kunkel and Buchman focused on the importance of the individual, and studying their work apparently gave Emilia an increased sense of personal mission. The ideas of Gerald Heard gave this sense of mission specific direction. Heard was a British philosopher and parapsychologist who opened a school outside Los Angeles where Emilia studied in 1942. Heard believed that humankind could evolve to a new level of consciousness through a process of prayer modeled on eastern mysticism and meditation.[13] Harry and Emilia absorbed the ideas of Kunkel, Buchman, Heard, and Sharman at approximately the same time and synthesized them into a unique religious vision that led them to believe that they could use the Sharman method to transform people into the seeds of a new human species that would bring about a "third age" of peace and cooperation.

In addition to the Rathbuns and a few others who seem to have shared their hopes for a worldwide religious revival, there were two other factions in the Central Group. The most conservative, who had close ties to the mainline churches, felt that Sharman's work should be aimed solely at the individual, taking no position at all on broader social issues. The other was led by two political radicals, Earl Willmott and Dryden Phelps. Like the Rathbuns, they wanted to bring about the Kingdom of God, but they felt it could best be done through political action taken by religiously motivated people. Heirs of the social gospel movement, which sought to combine religious commitment and progressive social reform, Willmott and Phelps had both been missionaries to China and were strong supporters of the communist revolution there, although both denied any connection to communists in North America. The Rathbuns' method was a synthesis of the other two positions. Like the conservatives, the Rathbuns wanted to concentrate their effort on converting individuals, but like the radicals they hoped that their action would also lead to major changes in society. Unlike Willmott and Phelps, however, they had no sympathy whatsoever for communism. Thus, the stage was set for a confrontation at Camp Minnesing in the summer of 1945. Contrary to Harry's telegram, Sharman did try to lead a Records seminar, but, perhaps symbolically, this, his last seminar, was never completed.

Rather than launching a new organization to promote Records seminars as originally planned, the 1945 summer retreat at Minnesing turned into a showdown among groups with very different visions of the future of Sharman's work. The conservatives who stressed individual conversion worried that the Rathbuns' emphasis on group structure could cause their movement to become a cult. They did not want an organization requiring formal membership that might compete with established churches, and they believed that the group's only purpose should be to promote the study of Jesus. The radicals agreed with the conservatives that membership "should be open to all who affirmed their intention to participate in the work of the F[oundation] for its specific purpose." The Rathbuns and their allies, on the other hand, "felt there should be definite restriction—preferably to those who affirmed their commitment to God."[14] Hostility reigned, and finally, after six weeks of bickering, Sharman stepped in to put an end to the debate. He called off the Records seminar that he had been leading during the hours when people were not engaged in the political battle, and he roundly chastised everybody for the unseemly wrangling.[15]

Because the group was unable, or unwilling, to resolve the underlying conflict between the community-oriented position of the Rathbuns and the social action position of Phelps and Willmott, the confrontation at the summer meeting finally played itself out on the incidental question of organization. Although Willmott, for reasons that are not clear, appears to have had the support of a majority of the younger people, opposition from the Rathbuns and other senior people forced him to tender his resignation both as secretary and as a member of the Central Group. The secretary job then went to Harry Rathbun.

Sharman himself had remained aloof from the battle, although he was clearly disillusioned by the political radicalism of Dryden Phelps, whom, up to that point, Sharman had viewed as his probable successor.[16] Because Sharman was disenchanted with the Canadian radicals and lived near the Rathbuns' Palo Alto home, Minnesing '45 served to strengthen the close ties that were growing between Sharman and his California disciples. The connection with Sharman and Harry's new prominence in the group assured that the line of succession would pass to him (and Emilia) and not to the social activists.[17]

HARRY AND EMILIA

Over a period of sixteen years, from 1946 when they inherited the Sharman tradition to 1962 when Emilia had her vision, the Rathbuns slowly changed the movement from a Bible study group in the Sharman tradition to a de facto religious sect. At first, they limited their activity to students, mostly from Stanford University where Harry taught. They made no real effort to coordinate their program with other Sharman-inspired study groups in Canada or the eastern United States. As those other groups faded, and the Rathbuns' movement grew, the San Francisco Bay Area became the new center of Sharman-style gospel study. However, as they had made clear during the Minnesing '45 dispute, the Rathbuns had a grander agenda than did Sharman or any of his other followers. They wanted to transform the world, but could not do so if they limited their efforts to Stanford students. Thus, their own messianic impulse drove them to enlarge their membership to include educated, successful men and women who were no longer connected with the academic community.

The move away from a purely student study group took place because Harry and Emilia Rathbun wished to create a permanent organization that could serve as the catalyst for a widespread change in human attitudes away from conflict and toward peaceful cooperation. Sharman's work was a poor model for such a structured, permanent, adult-oriented organization. Assiduously non-sectarian, Sharman had rejected any kind of institutionalization for his activity. The Rathbuns, however, had a different vision. Rather than a stage through which people passed, they saw their movement as a permanent affiliation. To keep people as members, they had to find a new source of participants other than students, all of whom moved on after they graduated. Adults with roots in the community, however, could be counted on for more than a few years, but only if they could be kept involved. New courses in psychology and spirituality were developed to provide adult members with a continuing variety of educational experiences appropriate to their stage in life. The new courses were closely linked to an increasing emphasis on psychological counseling that gave participants emotional support and practical assistance, including child care to ease their participation in group activities.

Partially by design and partially by force of circumstances, the Rathbuns developed a structured social environment for group members. Their approach, like Sharman's, was still individually oriented, but a permanent religious community emerged to support the individual religious experiences. The movement began to develop an ideology that varied significantly from mainstream social and religious thought. It sought the primary loyalty of its members, weakening their ties to their churches; it developed its own organizational structure with a leadership composed of people who were perceived as spiritually advanced; and, most important, it began to provide participants with programs that compensated for the social and psychological cost incurred when they joined a group that made increasing demands on their time and loyalty. Although they were not yet theologically heterodox, the Rathbuns' group would take on the form of a sect, and only then would it finally develop a unique ideology.

Neither Harry nor Emilia evidenced any propensity for religious leadership prior to their involvement with Sharman. Harry was born in 1894 in the town of Mitchell, Dakota Territory, where his father owned a grocery store.[18] While neither of his parents was a regular church goer, they sent him to Methodist Sunday school and reared him with what Harry called "a strict Protestant ethic." Harry never questioned the basic validity of the values taught by the Methodist Church. Even after he left the church, for example, he continued to adhere to the non-drinking pledge he had signed as a youth.[19]

After Harry graduated from high school, his family moved first to Los Angeles and then to San Jose, where he lived while earning a degree in mechanical engineering from Stanford University. He worked as an administrator in industry until 1926, when he decided to return to Stanford for his law degree.[20] Before he could launch his legal career, however, Harry was offered a position on the Stanford faculty, where he spent his entire professional career as a popular and beloved teacher.[21]

Between the time he left the church as a young man and the time he married Emilia, Harry was neither socially nor religiously active. His energies were completely devoted to his business career, his study of law, and finally to preparing and teaching classes. But all of that would change when he met Emilia Lindeman, who would become the major influence in his life. It was she who encouraged Harry to become involved in religion again, and there, as in his classroom teaching, he found success and satisfaction. Near the end of his life Harry wrote, "Thank God for Emilia who has been my teacher, but whom I have resisted, who has taken the brunt of my hostility, but has persisted in the job of helping me save my soul!" [22]

Emilia Lindeman was born in the Mexican city of Colima in 1906. Her father had been born and raised in North Carolina and had gone to Mexico as a young civil engineer to work on the construction of Mexican ports and railroads. Emilia's maternal grandfather was a low-level German diplomat whose family connections had enabled him to go to Mexico, rather than to prison when he refused to join the army. He married a Mexican woman of mixed Indian and Spanish background, purchased large tracts of land, and ran a series of haciendas where he raised cattle, sugar cane, and coffee. The family had no single home, but moved from hacienda to hacienda as Emilia's grandfather supervised the family's holdings and her father traveled to the locations of his engineering projects.[23] Neither her grandfather, who had converted to Catholicism in order to marry her grandmother, nor her parents were religious. Although they supported churches and priests for the workers and attended services on holidays, the family viewed the Catholic Church of Mexico as practically pagan, and inappropriate for people of high rank.

In 1922, when Emilia was 16, her father decided she was being "raised like a savage" and sent her to the United States for an American education. She attended high school in San Jose, while living with relatives of her father, and then went on to San Jose State College with the intention of becoming a teacher.[24] When she entered college, Emilia was even less involved in organized religious activities than Harry had been. However, she was very active socially, joining the San Jose State YWCA, an important center of women's activities. So removed was the YWCA from the ordinary religious concerns of Christian life that when the group's leader came back from a Sharman seminar and began talking about Jesus, the other women were mildly shocked. But Emilia was intrigued. She made it her business to meet Sharman at the annual YMCA-YWCA conferences that were held each year at the Asilomar conference center in Pacific Grove, near Sharman's retirement home in Carmel. Later, Emilia admitted that while she was impressed with Sharman as an individual, his rigorous intellectual approach to the gospels did not excite her. Nevertheless, she was increasingly attracted to a more serious study of religion that blossomed into a full commitment when she finally attended her first Jesus as Teacher summer seminar in 1934, by which time she had already married Harry and had her first child.[25]

BECOMING SHARMAN DISCIPLES

The Jesus as Teacher seminar that Emilia attended in 1934 was run by two women, Frances Warnecke and Elizabeth Boyden, who had been active in Records study since 1929. The young women had become involved with Sharman through the YWCA while they were undergraduates at the University of California, Berkeley. After graduation they spent several years promoting Sharman gospel study at Bay Area colleges, including Stanford, and there they inevitably met Emilia Rathbun, who had also moved into the Sharman circle.[26] Warnecke, Boyden, and the Rathbuns were soon working together on the Stanford campus, recruiting students and faculty for the summer seminars at Minnesing, even though neither of the Rathbuns had ever attended one. Thus, when Emilia attended the Warnecke-Boyden seminar in the summer of 1934, she had already been active in Records work for a number of years.

Perhaps because she had achieved the goals of her early life—a husband, a child, and social position—and found that she needed something more, the Records seminar proved to be a major turning point in her religious life. Upon returning home from the seminar, she resigned from the various clubs in which she was active, went to the local Baptist church, and asked the pastor if he would let her lead a gospel study group among the church women. He agreed, and Emilia launched a career of work among the churches that would last for more than a quarter of a century. Lacking the academic credentials of Sharman and Harry, Emilia saw other wives and mothers as her natural constituency, and she appears to have been the first Sharman disciple to move beyond the academy in her work. Emilia worked at a series of churches in the Palo Alto area, frequently asking the pastors for names of women who sent their children to Sunday school, but did not themselves attend church. She took these "dumpers" (because they "dumped" their kids on Sunday) into a study group, and, according to Emilia, turned many of them into the most active people in their churches.[27]

While Emilia was conducting Sharman-style gospel study groups with church women, Harry was also becoming increasingly involved in Sharman's work. The press of university business prevented him from attending any of the longer seminars, including the one Emilia went to in the summer of 1934. He could only take time to drive her up to the site and stay for the first day. Just the first session was an eye opener for Harry. For the first time since he had left the Methodist church as an undergraduate, he perceived the possibility of reconciling his beliefs with the teachings of Jesus. He was able to return for the last nine days of the four week seminar and found the experience as important to him as it was to Emilia. Unlike his wife, Harry did not feel compelled to change his life style, but he did discover that those supernatural aspects of religious faith that had made him uncomfortable were subject to rational explanation and that Jesus, regarded as a teacher, could point the way to finding God.[26]

As a result of his experience at the California summer seminar, Harry felt moved to begin leading Records study groups through the Stanford Methodist student organization. In the following year, 1935, he and Emilia attended their first summer seminar with Sharman at Camp Minnesing. For approximately the next ten years the Rathbuns participated actively in a religious life that centered on teaching Records study in the Palo Alto area, recruiting participants for the summer seminars in Canada, and participating in the work of the California seminar, which continued to be run by Elizabeth Boyden until 1939. There were no summer seminars in California between 1939, when Boyden had a falling out with Henry Sharman, and 1945, when the Minnesing seminars ended in acrimony. Then, in 1946, the Rathbuns moved to fill the seminar vacuum partially by establishing their own summer program in California. Dubbed "Sequoia Seminar," the new summer Records program did not really replace Minnesing as a fountainhead of Sharman-style Records study but did become the largest and most active of the twenty-five or so separate Records study groups that existed after the 1945 breakup.[29]

The first Sequoia Seminar was held in July of 1946 in a rented fishing lodge on the Klamath River on the northern California coast. This isolated site proved inconvenient, and for the next four years the summer seminar moved to the conference center at Asilomar in Pacific Grove, closer to the Bay Area and to Henry Sharman, who occasionally attended sessions.[30] The Rathbuns' dream, however, was to have a place of their own, their own West Coast version of Camp Minnesing.

In October 1945, just after the Minnesing breakup, Harry and Emilia met with a group of men in their Palo Alto home and outlined a plan to establish a permanent center for Sharman's work. Unlike the restricted academic focus that Sharman preferred, Harry wanted to recruit widely among other professionals, such as doctors, psychiatrists, clergy, teachers, and managers. The purpose of Harry's proposed center would be to teach "the way" to financially and educationally privileged people. Since the teaching process would involve meetings, conferences, and summer seminars, Harry wanted a center situated on a large secluded site with good views and basic improvements. Thus far, he was merely envisioning a Minnesing-like retreat. But he went on to speculate that the center might grow into a partially self-supporting community, raising its own food and running its own handicraft shops. Workers could go out from this center to serve and teach in the world, and return to it for support and rejuvenation.[31] It was, in fact, the same plan that had caused so much confusion among Sharman's followers the previous year. The Rathbuns were serious enough about this idea to approach philanthropist Henry Kaiser for donations to get the project started.[32]

Funds were not forthcoming, however, and after a few years the Rathbuns had given up their dream of a permanent home for the Sequoia Seminar. Writing to Sharman in 1948, Emilia admitted, "We are through with the experiment of buying property. God doesn't want it as all attempts have failed. I see now that it would greatly handicap our freedom in teaching the *pure* truth because we might fall into all sorts of errors stemming from the need for finances to keep property up." In an afterthought, Emilia expressed her wonder at the way God works. "In time," she said, "He shows us the error of our ways and if we are sensitive to read his signs and not too proud to admit our mistakes."[33] In the same letter, ironically, she reported the death of Irving Hellman, one of the most active students in the Records study. Although Emilia did not know it at the time, Hellman had made Sequoia Seminar the beneficiary of his ten-thousand-dollar life insurance policy. Emilia subsequently interpreted the Hellman inheritance as divine beneficence, contradicting her earlier conclusion that God wanted exactly the opposite.[34]

When the Rathbuns, who had been members of the Palo Alto Friends Meeting for a few years, heard in 1950 that the American Friends Service Committee had been given fifty acres of land in Ben Lomond in the Santa Cruz mountains, Harry proposed that Sequoia Seminar develop the land

Raising the rafters of Las Alas Lodge, one of several permanent buildings constructed by Sequoia Seminar members at Ben Lomond, early 1960s. Volunteers celebrate their accomplishment with cookies and punch. *Courtesy Creative Initiative Foundation.*

jointly with the Quakers. In exchange for the money from the Hellman legacy, the Friends gave Sequoia Seminar the right to use certain portions of the Ben Lomond land. The funds were used to buy materials for three buildings that were erected with volunteer labor and used jointly by both groups. Subsequently Sequoia Seminar purchased additional land and constructed buildings of its own, also with volunteer labor.[35]

Because it was so far from Palo Alto where most of the members lived, Ben Lomond never served as the projected base camp for a community of believers, but it did play an important role in moving the group toward the logical conclusion of their religious philosophy, the formation of an independent sect. During this time they experimented with both the form and content of their movement. The process of transformation from lay Bible study group to religious sect was both the cause and the effect of tension with the established churches through whom they worked.

FUNCTIONING AS A PROTO-SECT

Because Sharman's Records study groups had been distinct from, but completely consonant with, the mainline churches, there was very little cost to the people who participated in them. When Harry and Emilia assumed leadership of the program in 1946, they initially continued the original pattern. Over the next fifteen years, however, Sequoia Seminar underwent a series of changes demanding greater and greater commitment from its members. In turn, it had to provide them with increased measures of support. By the end of the decade the group had moved so far from its original social context within the mainline churches that it had become a competitor with them for the limited social, economic, and psychological resources of its members. It had become what could be called a "proto-sect."

The first fifteen years of Sequoia Seminar saw a drift away from the norms of the churches and even further away from the norms of secular society. Accompanying this movement were internal changes that made the group more sect-like. First, as Sequoia Seminar become more highly structured, both organizationally and ideologically, it became increasingly intolerant of those who were less-than-fully committed. Second, unlike churches whose beliefs are relatively flexible in response to changing social values, the philosophical foundations established by the Rathbuns in the late 1930s remained essentially intact and became even more fixed, increasing the tension between members and society. Third, Sequoia Seminar provided increasing services for its members to compensate them for the growing costs of belonging, and, at the same time, made increasing demands on them. Finally, the group's initial appeal was to women, a socially marginal group who had fewer leadership opportunities than men in society at large and who therefore experienced less cost in joining the movement.

Following the tradition established by Sharman, the Rathbuns preferred not to think of Sequoia Seminar as an independent organization during its formative years. They sought to work with mainline churches and were careful to assure potential participants that they posed no threat to established religious groups. The first announcement for the Sequoia Seminar in 1946 stated that "those who are sponsoring this seminar are not connected with any institution or organization in common."[36] As late as 1959 and 1960 the group's annual report still insisted that Sequoia Seminar was making "a conscious effort to avoid institutionalization and development of systematic ideology." The very fact that Sequoia Seminar was issuing an annual report belied the claim that it was not an organization, a paradox admitted by the report itself when it pointed out that they owned property, held meetings, conducted seminars, and, they might have added, had a budget of almost twenty thousand dollars a year. Nevertheless, the report noted that the group had "no officers, no elections, no voting on decisions; we, as a group, have no denominational preference; we advocate no creeds or dogmas, nor do we purport to have 'the' answer to man's religious problems."[37]

Sequoia Seminar simultaneously wanted to transcend the churches and work within them. It wanted to be a distinct entity with its own membership while not competing with traditional churches. There were few models for such groups. Sharman had done it; so had the YMCA, the YWCA, and laymen's movements like Frank Buchman's Oxford Group. Nevertheless, the great potential for conflict between the churches and Sequoia Seminar grew as the latter organization slowly evolved a bureaucratic structure. To the extent that potential members had finite amounts of time and money that they were willing to invest in their religious life, what they gave to one group they would have to take from the other. As long as Sequoia Seminar was running its study groups within the churches, and as long as its operating budget remained modest, the conflict was minimal. Between 1946, when it held its first summer seminar, and around 1955, Sequoia Seminar and the churches appear to have had the kind of symbiotic relationship envisioned by Sharman.

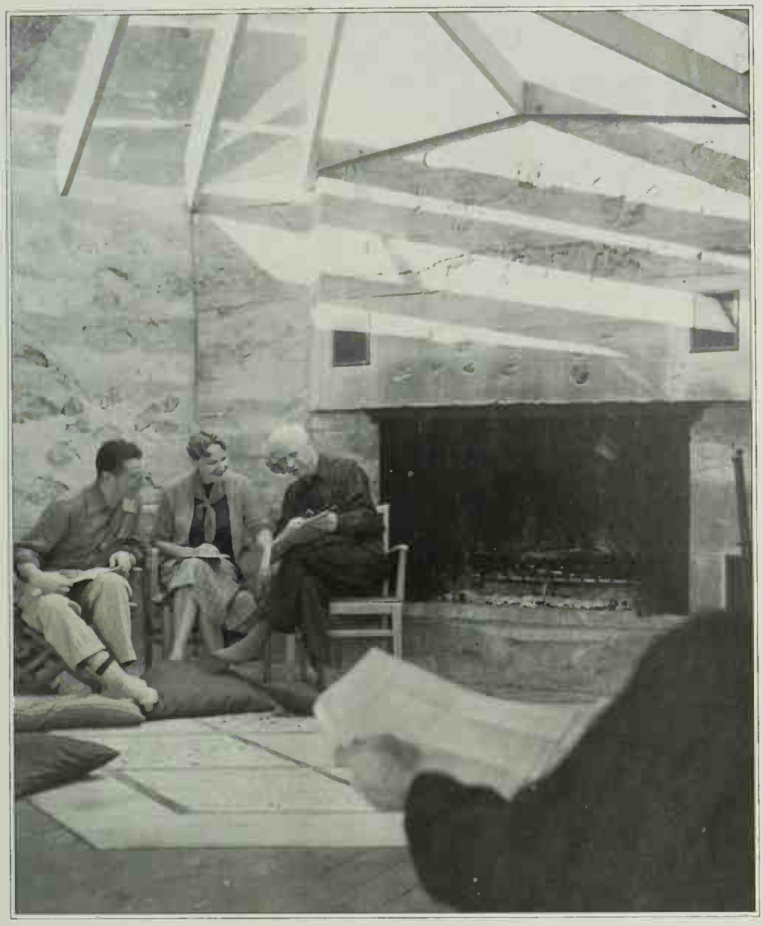
After 1955, however, Sequoia Seminar entered a phase of organizational development that led to its becoming a proto-sect. Members were expressing more individual identification with the organization, while the religious life of the group was becoming more highly structured through the creation of a nascent bureaucracy. Increasingly the study groups and courses demanded more time and effort from participants, and Sequoia Seminar had to grapple with issues of recruiting participants and new leaders. There were a number of reasons for these changes. First, Sharman had died in 1953 at the age of eighty-eight, removing his restraining influence. Second, Harry was nearing the end of his career at Stanford and probably envisioned being able to spend more time on the group. Third, and most important, Sequoia Seminar had completed the first buildings on the Ben Lomond property, giving it the sense of permanence and institutional identity that it had previously lacked. The organization had put down roots in its own real estate and was looking for a direction in which to grow.

Some of these new themes were expressed at a conference of leaders in 1955. They rejected Sharman's willingness to leave the leadership of study groups in the hands of relatively untrained people and concluded that "the leader must be 'on the spot' and actually lead." Even more significantly, the leadership seminar took the unprecedented step of downgrading the scholarly method advocated by Sharman. "Sharman's approach was somewhat intellectual and aloof," they noted. They went on to stress the strong collective orientation that so clearly differentiated Sequoia Seminar from Camp Minnesing: "We feel it is necessary to live the life in the group—to practice love in the group situation."[38] This emphasis on community indicates how far the group had drifted from Sharman's principles. Although Sharman's books and the Jesus as Teacher seminars would remain the intellectual heart and soul of the movement, the group was now self-consciously aware that it had evolved to a new stage of development in which it had to forge an identity of its own. In conformity to the Rathbuns' interest in group solidarity, this new identity would be much more communal in nature than anything that had taken place during the Sharman era. The lure of collective commitment was very strong, and while the movement never withdrew into itself to the point of becoming what is commonly called a "cult," Harry felt comfortable telling movement members that "the age of the rugged individualist is past. Some societies are given over to collectives. We prefer to stress community. Each of us considers himself expendable for others."[39]

Toward a New Structure

On December 24, 1955, Sequoia Seminar published a formal statement of its new organization and operating principles. This was part of a general on-going restructuring of the group's administration and included the formation of a new legal entity, the Sequoia Seminar Foundation.[40] The new formal organization consisted of a planning committee and four operating committees. Those whose lack of commitment did not yet qualify them for the planning committee could serve on one of the four operating committees: administration, public relations, property, and personnel.[41] Ever cautious of the possibility of conflict between themselves and the churches with whom they worked, planning committee members carefully warned that work on the operating committees should not divert people who were "already productively engaged in creative activities such as church work." For those who were not so engaged, however, the committee meetings themselves were supposed to be one of the ways in which people "would live the life in the group." Indeed, "live the life," a phrase of Emilia's that became standard Creative Initiative terminology, meant to behave in a way dedicated to the will of God and the principles of Jesus as interpreted by the group.[42]

The organizational plan of 1955 continued to serve Sequoia Seminar through the transition phase that culminated in 1962. During this seven-year period the leadership gained experience in running an organization that directed the study activities of hundreds of people throughout the Bay Area. They became skilled in coordinating the efforts of volunteer group leaders, study group participants, and the development of permanent facilities at Ben Lomond. By 1956, when the group



Harry and Emilia Rathbun (right and center) and Sequoia Seminar leader John Levy review materials before a weekend retreat at Ben Lomond in 1953.
Courtesy Creative Initiative Foundation.

initiated a newsletter, they had taken on an organizational structure that would continue when they finally became a distinct religious sect.[43]

During this period the original Sharman vision of work within the academic community became too constraining for a group that wished to expand but was not yet ready to move beyond the geographical limits of the Bay Area. While Harry continued to recruit actively on the Stanford campus, the proportion of students at the summer seminars fell from seventy-five percent in 1947 to less than ten percent in 1955.[44] Only by actively recruiting participants from the larger community could the Rathbuns attract sufficient numbers of people to run the kind of weekend and summer seminars for which they had bought Ben Lomond. However, once they moved beyond the campus in their search for members, they could no longer take for granted the quality of the participants and they had to begin making conscious efforts to maintain the highly educated, upper-middle-class image that had marked the group since the Sharman era. Internal recruiting documents emphasized that they were looking for "people with mature minds—leaders, thinkers, doers," and that recruiters should "concentrate on professional people."[45]

This switch from students to general population was to have an unforeseen effect; the proportion of men to women fell dramatically. During the first three years of Sequoia Seminar slightly more men than women attended. After 1953 the ratio was almost always sixty percent or more women. The actual proportion of women in discussion groups during the year was probably even higher, since there was a tendency for couples to attend the two-week summer seminars together as part of their vacation, even if the men were not active during the day-time activities throughout the rest of the year.[46] On at least one occasion in 1957, Harry held a special dinner for the "husbands and friends" of the women discussion group participants with an eye to setting up all-male groups if there was sufficient interest. There is no indication that there was.[47] Concomitantly, as larger numbers of more mature women attended meetings, the need for child care became acute. In 1951 one of the summer seminars made special arrangements for child care so both husbands and wives could attend, and throughout the 1950s many couples participated in ad hoc exchanges of children. The child care program led to establishing a summer camp in 1961.[48] Unlike college students whose personal needs were met by their schools, married people needed supports like child care if they were to participate. By providing such services Sequoia Seminar took further steps toward establishing a sect-like institutionalized support system.

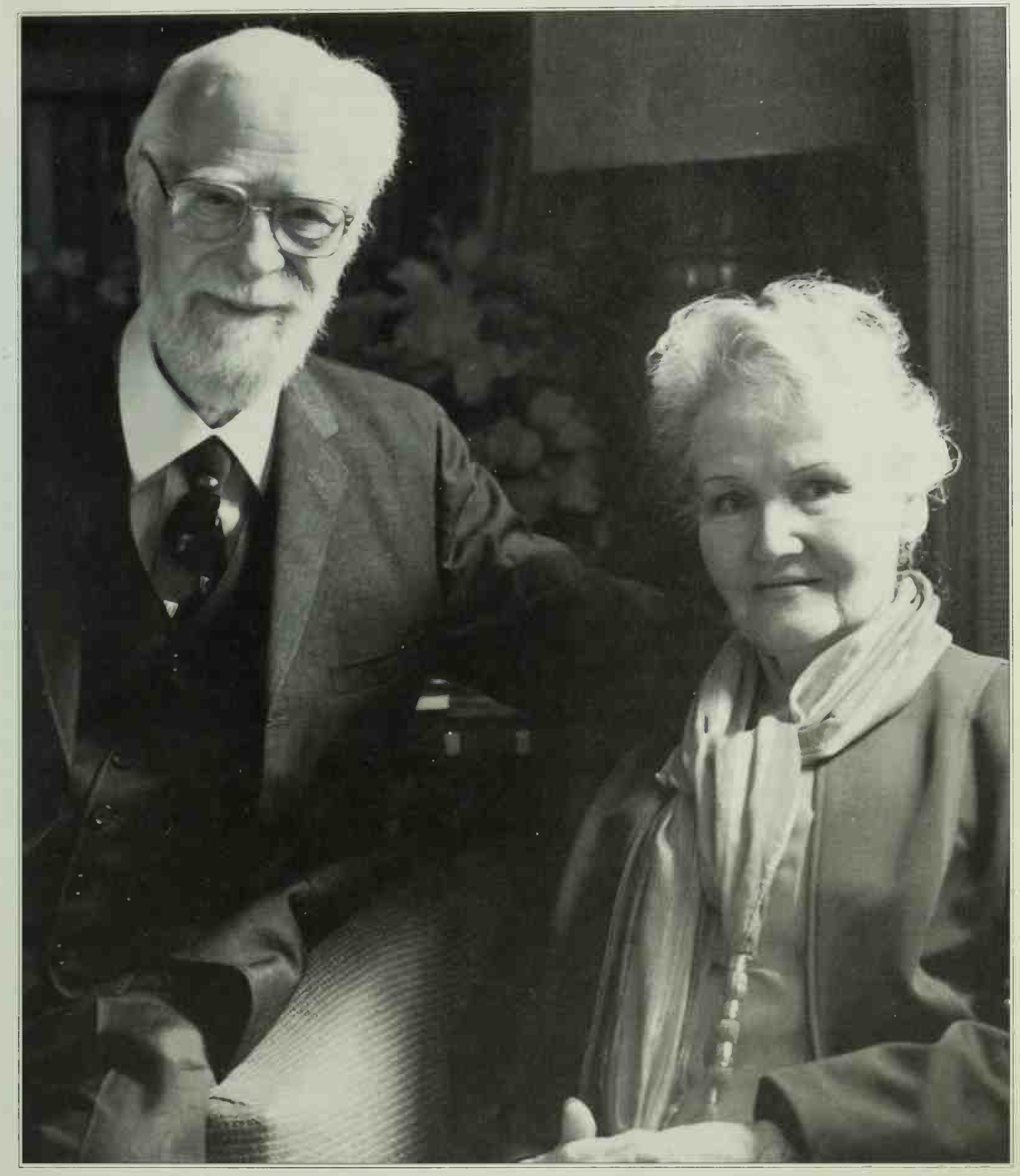
Financially, Sequoia Seminar remained a modest operation. Like much else connected with the seminar before 1955, accounting procedures were rather casual. There are no account books among the Rathbun papers and only simplified financial statements were issued. Scattered references to money indicate that the modest $35 fee for the seminars covered most expenses. Since there were no employees, and the Rathbuns never took a penny for their time and services, overall costs were minimal. The expense of constructing additional buildings at Ben Lomond with volunteer labor was met through contributions from members and occasional bank loans.[49] The first complete balance sheet appeared in 1955, and indicates that the group actually lost a bit more than $500 on their seminars that year. Their general operating costs were a modest $700, and, with an income made up mostly of contributions of about $10,000, they were actually able to save money against future expenses. Hence by no stretch of the imagination was Sequoia Seminar a big-budget operation. In 1955 its net worth, including the property and buildings at Ben Lomond, was $43,450.[50] This pattern remained relatively stable through 1962. Seminars paid for themselves, total contributions ranged from $7,000 to $11,000 a year, and expenses —principally for continued expansion of the Ben Lomond camp—kept the cash on hand quite low.[51]

Although donations and expenses remained stable throughout the 1950s, participation grew appreciably during most of the decade. No records are available for 1946, the year of the first seminar, but 59 people attended the two seminars held in 1947. In 1953, after the move to Ben Lomond, Sequoia Seminar offered 5 seminars and the number of participants jumped to 86. Those figures steadily grew until 1959, when 217 people attended seminars at Ben Lomond, but after that attendance numbers dropped by more than a quarter to around 160 in 1961.[52]

The membership problem caught the group in a dilemma. They wanted to expand, yet at the same time wanted to admit only those people who were serious in their desire to explore the gospels and open themselves to the possibility of living a new life.[53] Seminar leaders also needed to tread cautiously in asking for funds from new members since Sequoia Seminar participants were often still active in mainline churches. If local ministers believed they were losing money to Sequoia Seminar, they could have easily dissuaded many participants. Besides having to worry about the sincerity of members and possible conflict with the churches, Sequoia Seminar was not prepared to move beyond its narrow geographic focus. The Palo Alto organization encouraged Records study groups in other areas, including Los Angeles, Boise, and Chicago, but expected new groups to "become completely independent and self-sufficient, including providing their own leadership."[54] During the peak year of this period, in 1959, about five hundred people in the Bay Area were actively involved in local study groups and/or the summer seminars.[55]

By the end of the decade the strain of ambivalence was showing more clearly. Special meetings focused on ways to attract new people, while at the same time the annual report admitted that "numerical growth does not necessarily indicate that anything of real significance is taking place."[56] Moreover, much of the growth had taken place in so-called "continuation seminars" designed for people who had already attended the basic Jesus as Teacher seminar. Although only 20 more people attended basic seminars in 1959 than in 1955, attendance in continuation seminars had almost quadrupled, from 33 to 121.[57] This was one more sign that Sequoia Seminar was becoming more sect-like in both its form and function. It was evolving into a place of continuing spiritual fellowship where people could find a coherent religious philosophy and ongoing support for transforming their lives.

This institutional dynamic was driving Sequoia Seminar toward a split with the churches. The desire to retain their adult membership and the need to utilize fully the property at Ben Lomond put them in competition with the churches over



Harry and Emilia Rathbun in their Palo Alto home, ca. 1982, at about the time Creative Initiative was disbanded in favor of Beyond War. *Courtesy Creative Initiative Foundation.*

the limited resources of their mutual members. The decision to form a separate sect, however, was not a calculated maneuver to aggrandize the organization. These pressures and tensions had built up slowly over fifteen years, and the members of Sequoia Seminar were genuinely concerned about their strained relationship with the mainline churches. Certainly none of the substantial middle-class people who were active in the group would have consciously advocated starting a new religion so that they could enhance their own institutional position. But there was a second set of philosophical and personal forces operating, and these reinforced the organization drift to produce a new religion.

Since at least 1945 Harry and Emilia Rathbun had dreamed of a self-contained community that would have a truly revolutionary impact on the destiny of humankind. Philosophically, however, Sequoia Seminar was too much of a continuation of the ideas of Henry B. Sharman and not sufficiently enough an expression of the Rathbuns' thoughts. Clearly, too, Sequoia Seminar could never be the vanguard of the new age as long as it remained linked to mainline churches and their traditional values. For the Rathbuns' philosophy to flower, it needed the freedom that could only come with spiritual independence. The organizational structure of a new sect was in place, as was the basic ideology of a new religion, but the group awaited some appropriate event that would justify a break with the established churches and permit them to create their own. Not surprisingly, that event occurred to Emilia, and through her the gospel study group became a sect.

From 1959 to 1962 Emilia had undergone a variety of stresses in her life. In addition to the conflicts she was experiencing with church people, she had a falling out with a group of long-time Sequoia Seminar members who felt the need to escape the Rathbuns' tight rein. Emilia also had to contend with Harry's retirement and the resulting loss of income. Financial problems sent her back to college to get her credential and she began to teach elementary school, but she was not happy. Finally, she suffered a series of physical illnesses that had no obvious organic origin. Beset on all sides by crises, Emilia was gripped by a mounting sense of anticipation that God would provide some solution to the problems of the movement.

The crisis resolved in 1962 when, during one of her mysterious illnesses, she experienced a vision of Christ who told her, "I'm going to have communion with you in the new covenant and drink it anew from the kingdom of God."[58] She interpreted these words to mean that she was to start a "New Religion of the Third Age." Thus the logjam was broken. Because there was no way in which this new religion could have any direct ties with old religions, those who chose to work with Emilia in the new sect would have to terminate their memberships in the mainline churches. Unchained from other churches, Sequoia Seminar could grow and change to encompass the Rathbuns' unique religious philosophy. As the spiritual leader of this new sect, Emilia found the sense of personal fulfillment that she had been seeking for many years.

The new religion, Creative Initiative, like Sequoia Seminar before it, underwent a process of evolution before it eventually emerged as a formal organization. In the 1960s and 1970s Creative Initiative flourished in the San Francisco Bay Area. Under the tutelage of Harry and Emilia, the group sought to spread their message of ecology, brotherhood, and peaceful conflict resolution. Sustained by the ideas they had formed in the late 1930s, the Rathbuns worked tirelessly to educate individuals in the psychological, philosophical, and mystical techniques that would enable them to evolve into harbingers of the new era. They believed that they had a divine mandate to act as a "collective messiah" ushering in a third age of harmony to save the earth from the scourge of atomic war.

In 1982, however, when they failed to spread significantly beyond the San Francisco peninsula, they concluded that their religious vision was actually an obstacle to the vital mission of attracting new people. Their belief that they were the successor to the Jewish and Christian traditions, their unique philosophy, the unusual ceremonies they had formulated, and their deep commitment to marriage and traditional gender roles, all served as barriers to recruitment. Because the message was more important than the medium, they chose to dissolve the New Religion and to replace it with a secular movement called Beyond War. Shorn of all religious trappings, Beyond War has grown in a way that eluded its predecessor. Today it has active groups in twenty-five states and a paid newsletter mailing list of more than eighteen thousand people.

There was nothing inevitable about the emergence of what the Rathbuns called "the New Religion of the Third Age." It was the fruition of a variety of historical forces that came together at a given moment. In an institutional sense, Emilia's revelation did not create a sect so much as confirm one. The organizational dynamic of Sequoia Seminar and the philosophical vision of the Rathbuns had driven the group to the point where it had to break from the mainline churches to which it was tied by the Sharman tradition. Emilia's religious mysticism freed the group to continue growing. The prophet's vision, if it may be called that, was not the genesis of the group, but simply one more step in a historical continuum of change. Removed from the synchronic psycho-socio moment of revelation, the appearance of this new sect can be seen as the product of historical sources, not the least of which were the internal dynamics of the organization itself. Sequoia Seminar became Creative Initiative not because one woman had a religious insight on a particular day in 1962, but because the people affiliated with the group shared their leaders' values, built an organization to further them, and eventually found themselves caught in a trap that stifled their growth. As their spiritual leader, Emilia suffered the same frustrations as her followers, as well as additional personal problems. Taken altogether, the process of first creating and then resolving these group and individual crises was the source of religious sectarianism. CHS

See notes beginning on page 81.

Steven M. Gelber is Associate Professor of History at Santa Clara University. He is co-author of Saving the Earth: The History of a Middle Class Millenarian Movement *(Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1990) and is currently studying the history of American hobbies.*

Maynard Dixon as Muralist:

SKETCHES FOR THE MARK HOPKINS HOTEL MURALS

by Paul O. Bingham
and
Beverly Bubar Denenberg

Maynard Dixon was a unique painter of his generation in the West. He was a progressive who refused to follow the old school painters who had trained in European academies and who were only prepared to represent the grand scenes of Yosemite, or to endlessly repeat sentimental bouquets as gallery commodities. Dixon's approach to painting was reviewed in March 1925 by Ruth Pielkovo, writing in the *International Studio:*

> Dixon has something to give that is entirely his own. In choice of subject matter, in his austere reactions to his surroundings, his work is stamped by complete spiritual integrity . . . [and] . . . poetry. The technique is unique almost to starkness. Yet there is always organization, a marching rhythm of design; . . . a master draughtsman, he is also a daring colorist . . . particularly successful in mural decoration. Here his subject matter, rhythmical balance of composition and decorative values have full play. In his work is the spirit of America, of both land and race, rendered with truth, and which will be, as is all great art, the heritage of the whole world.

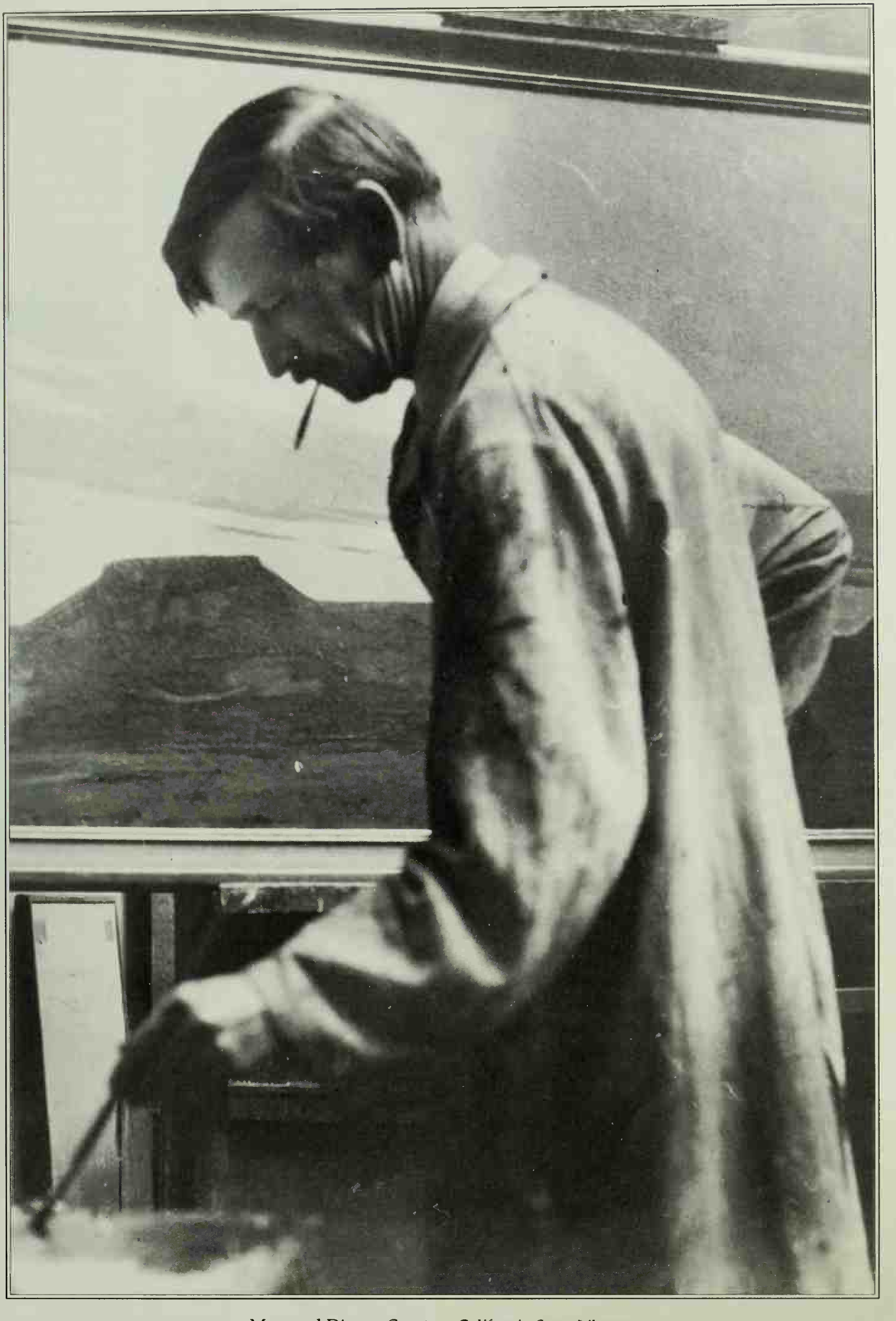
Dixon was one of America's quintessential painters in spirit and in substance; his revelations and interpretations occur in all three aspects of his work—easel paintings, illustrations, and murals.

Born into an asthmatic childhood in Fresno in 1875, Dixon was a paid professional artist at the age of twenty; he received $10 per week from the San Francisco *Morning Call* to illustrate stories and draw portraits of the likes of Jack London, Bruce Porter, and Charles Lummis. In 1904 he was able at last to travel the fabled West. On several of these trips he joined artists Edward Borein and Xavier Martinez, and lecturer and photographer Frederick Munson. Together they sought the experience of the cowboy, the Indian, and the miner.

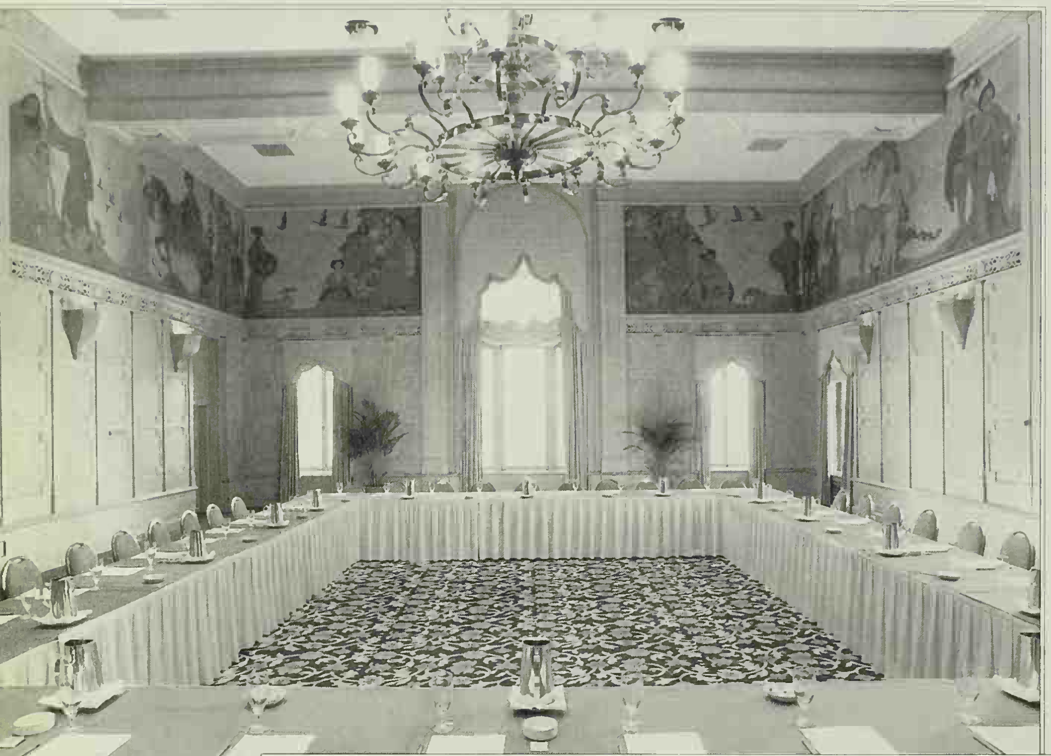
By the end of the year he was a member of the Bohemian Club, and had begun to receive serious attention as an artist. Several paintings were shown in December 1905 at the San Francisco Artists' Society exhibition at the Palace Hotel; the simple linearity and strong lights and darks of these earliest oils prefigure the later mural style.

After the loss of nearly his entire production in the earthquake and fire of 1906, Dixon moved to Sausalito and continued working for several newspapers. Nevertheless, it was a welcome relief in early 1906 when he received his first commission for mural decorations for the Southern Pacific railway station in Tucson, Arizona—four commissioned panels portraying salient features of the desert region: "The Cattlemen," "The Apache," "The Prospector," and "Irrigation." These were quickly executed and installed before Dixon left for New York and, unknowingly, an economic depression.

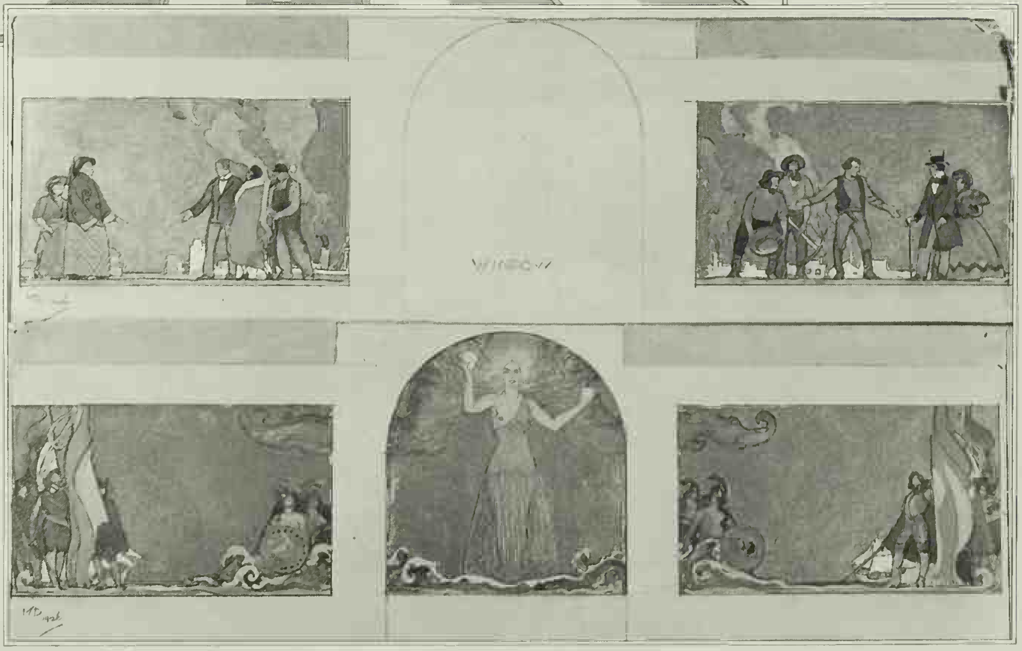
With great good fortune, his illustrations of western life remained very popular. During the next five years Dixon exhibited at the National Academy of Design (1911), the Architectural League,



Maynard Dixon. *Courtesy California State Library.*



Room of the Dons as seen today at the Mark Hopkins Intercontinental Hotel, San Francisco. The 1926 Dixon/ Van Sloun murals continue to grace this room, which is used for special meetings and events. *Courtesy Bingham Gallery, San Jose, California.*



Maynard Dixon sketches for the two room ends, 1926. The upper panels depict placer miners and city dwellers in the Gold Rush era (upper right), and Chinese and other Californians (upper left). Lower panels depict the mythical Calafia (also shown in full color on the back cover of this issue) flanked by her topless warrior maidens and European explorers. *Courtesy Bingham Gallery, San Jose, California.*

the Salamagundi Club, and the New York Society of Illustrators, and was elected to membership in these prestigious institutions.* Years of economic compromise, meeting deadlines, and dealing with the pressures of illustrating romantic potboilers "for an insatiable eastern establishment" finally led Maynard Dixon back to his home on the West Coast in early 1912. "I am being paid to lie about the west, the country I know and care about" he complained. "I'm going back home where I can do honest work."

These honest motives led him in the right path, right to Anita Baldwin McClaughry, daughter of "Lucky" Baldwin, the mining magnate and horseman. Her estate in Sierra Madre, near Los Angeles, needed "decorations"—four Indian subjects and eight subjects for the "Jinks" room rendered in old English style. Dixon reflected on this opportunity:

> My return from New York to the old studio on Montgomery Street marked the beginning of my real development. I was getting a new direction rather than a new manner and beginning to find myself. And it was Anita Baldwin who gave me my first chance in that direction. Her encouragement of my ideals and her purchase of two of my easel paintings, followed by the order for mural paintings to be done as I wanted to do them, gave me a start. I saw and always had seen something wonderful here in America. As a painter, then, I date from 1912.

Otheman Stevens's favorable criticism of Dixon's Baldwin murals appeared in the Los Angeles *Examiner* on November 9, 1914:

> In Indian Hall to the left is a returning war party of Sioux. It is a home-going after a raid, with the savage tragedy of those old events eloquently sung by the desperate figure of the white girl. Another mural shows the superstitious terror on a craggy ledge during burial ceremony. Here is a vigor of space, an intensity rarely equalled in a painting . . . . These are works of lasting and growing worth.

Anthony Anderson of the Los Angeles *Times* also wrote in 1914:

> Maynard Dixon felt the West as few other painters have felt it and the Indians he paints are the real thing, not impossible beings imagined in a studio. Therefore they are truly poetic and interpretive . . . at times even epic . . . because Dixon's vision is that of the poet. And he shows the poetry of far horizons and tremendous sky spaces. These things make his decorations notable even if you leave out of count the superb and appropriate and daring and successful composition. He has the decorative instinct in a marked degree. His work is epochal. It marks a new era in art in Southern California.

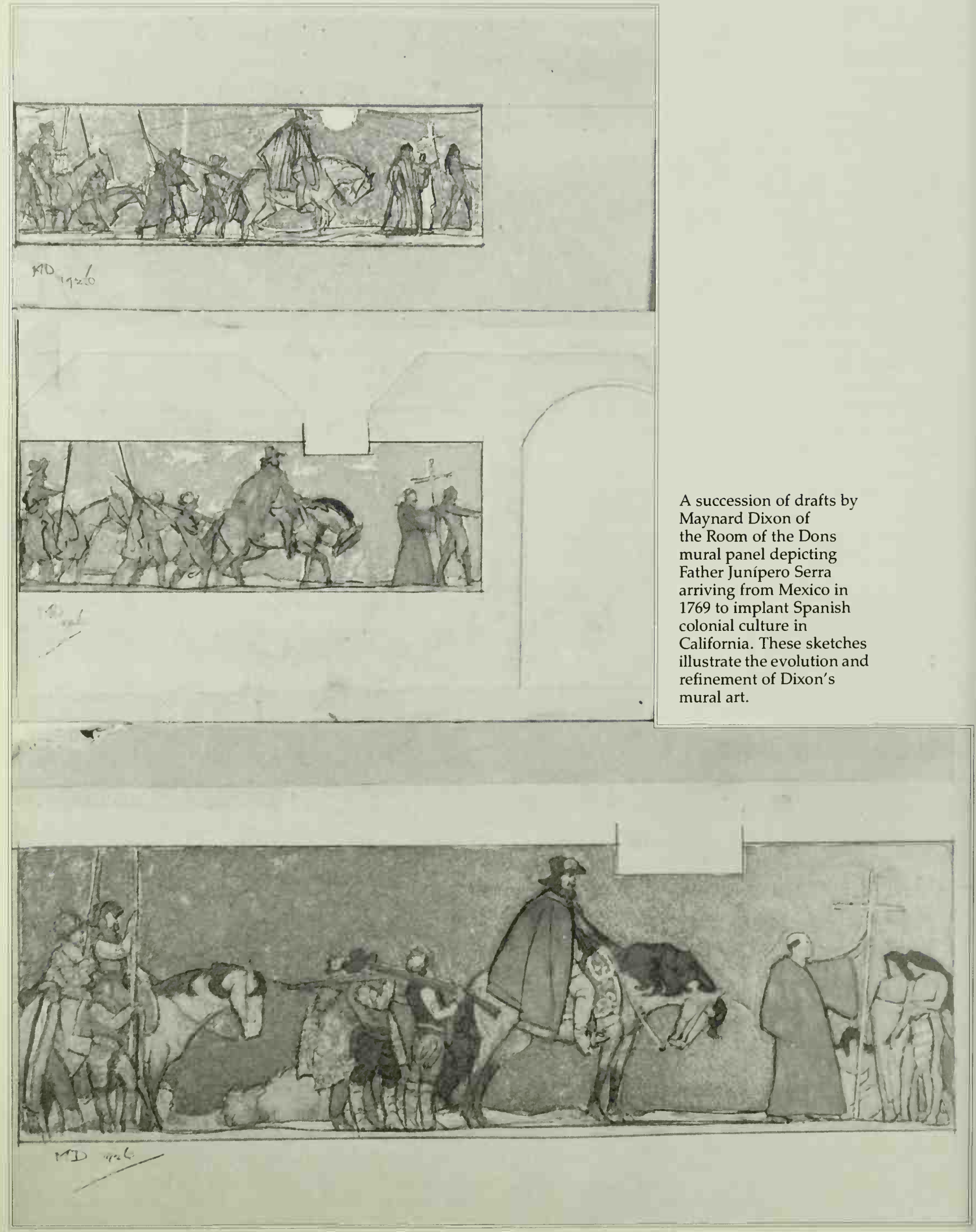
It is unclear why Dixon discontinued mural work for several years. He exhibited paintings at the Bohemian Club in 1915, the same year as the Panama Pacific International Exposition. It is known that he suffered from ill health and was experiencing domestic problems as well. In any case, in 1921, he received a contract to do two lunettes, each eight by sixteen feet, for the dining salon of the *Silver State*, a Pacific Mail Steamship. The following year his patrons gave him another contract for their latest ship, the *Sierra*, which he completed in 1923.

In 1924 and 1925 Dixon received commissions for a sixteen-by-nine foot mural for the foyer of the Spring Valley Water Company in San Francisco, and two huge canvases, twenty by six-and-one-half feet for the Barker Brothers Building in Los Angeles. The latter was painted with thin and absorbent paint that gave the fabric the appearance of hand-woven linen. In 1925 he made a simple studio screen as a room divider in three panels measuring 79 by 93 inches, which prefigure the cubist/realist shapes of his later aesthetic; this aesthetic, with its bold color and flatness of form, reached an epitome in two paintings of the 1930s entitled "Earth Knower" and "Wild Horses of Nevada." The latter oil was shown for the last time at the Cincinnati Museum in 1932, and is considered by many to be the culmination of his decorative capacity.

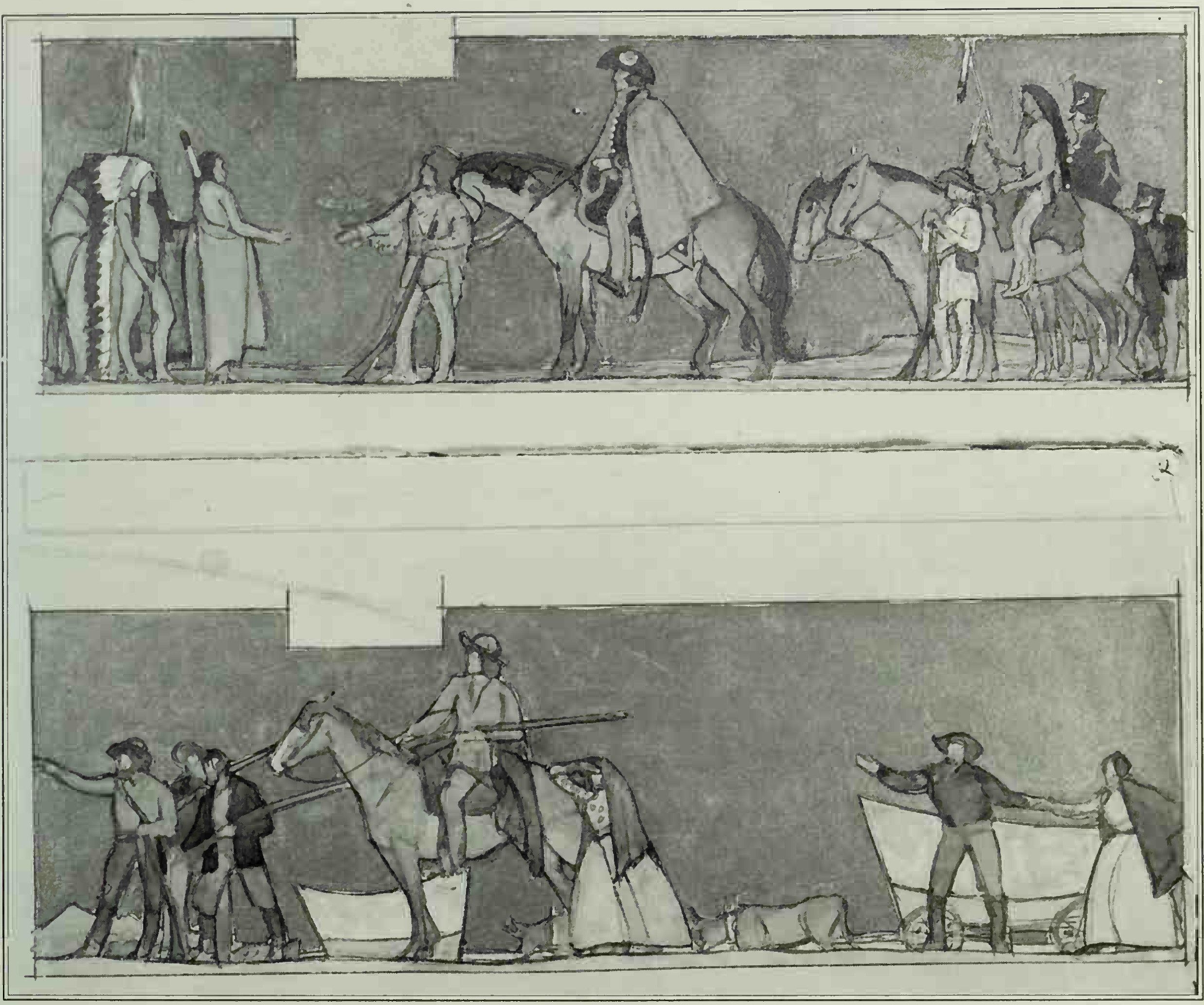
Dixon's work on the Mark Hopkins murals, the subject of this article, began in 1926. In that year, Charles P. Weeks, of Weeks and Day, architects for the newly-opened Mark Hopkins Hotel, offered Dixon and Frank Van Sloun a commission for a nine-section frieze for the ballroom called "Hall of the Dons." The hotel was built on

---

*The sources for this essay, including citations for quotations, are Grant Wallace, *Maynard Dixon: Painter and Poet of the Far West* (San Francisco: California Art Research Project, 1937), and Edith Hamlin, "Maynard Dixon, Artist of the West," *California Historical Society Quarterly* LIII (Winter 1974).



A succession of drafts by Maynard Dixon of the Room of the Dons mural panel depicting Father Junípero Serra arriving from Mexico in 1769 to implant Spanish colonial culture in California. These sketches illustrate the evolution and refinement of Dixon's mural art.



Just as Hispanic culture moved north into California, Anglo-American culture moved west. In Dixon's upper sketch for the Mark Hopkins Hotel mural, American frontiersmen from the eastern seaboard encounter the Plains Indians. In the lower panel, California-bound pioneers trek west across the Overland Trail. The view that California and the Southwest constituted a "borderlands culture," a unique blend of Hispanic and Anglo-American traditions, was introduced in the early twentieth century by the great historian Herbert Bolton and was popular when Maynard Dixon was painting. Several of Dixon's murals incorporate the "borderlands" theory. *Courtesy Bingham Gallery, San Jose, California.*

the site of the former San Francisco Art Association, which had occupied the Mark Hopkins mansion until its destruction in the 1906 earthquake and fire. Dixon's first sketches were drawn on the back of a restaurant menu. In all, three separate submissions were made before the final resolution and synthesis of Van Sloun's and Dixon's concepts in 1926.

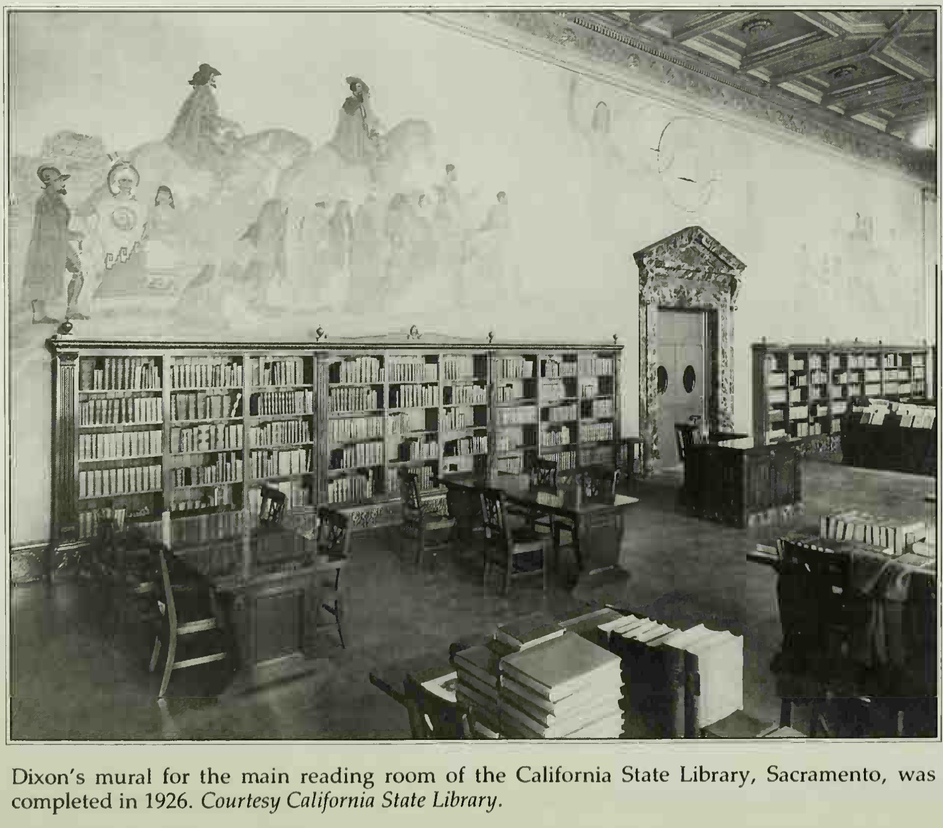
A review of the Dixon/Van Sloun murals by Junius Cravens appeared in *The Argonaut* of January 27, 1927:

> In a lunette at one end of the room stands a robed allegorical figure flanked by a historic pageant which continues around the four walls to a large window opposite, at either side of which the progression ends with groups of figures symbolizing lands that lie beyond the Golden Gate. Richly suggestive, rather than

> narrative, the pageant includes characters representative of both the real and the traditional history of California from remote times to 1849. The painting is rich in color and design throughout, against a background of flat gold.
>
> Mr. Dixon and Mr. Van Sloun are to be complimented, not only on their individual work, but on having surmounted the difficulties attendant upon this form of combined effort. They have blended their separate personalities into a perfectly unified and harmonious decoration, consistent throughout.

The Mark Hopkins project, as well as a 14 x 70-foot mural in the reading room of the State Library at Sacramento, were part of Dixon's most significant period of work, which ended in 1929. During five productive years he had completed 9 mural commissions, 120 easel paintings, and hundreds of drawings. His work was featured in a dozen exhibitions, and "his insistence that good wall decoration be an integral part of architectural ensemble was bearing fruit." WPA biographer Grant Wallace noted that " . . . but for the sudden and disastrous clamping down of hard times on all building and allied activities, this cooperation [between architect and artist] would have multiplied . . . [Dixon's] murals and his fame."

After the Great Depression of 1929 it was four years before government-aided projects brought assistance to artists. In this period, Dixon produced 111 oil paintings—but sold only 24. He prepared mural sketches for the Sacramento Sutter Club and the Southwest Museum of Los Angeles, but abandoned the work when funding fell through. In 1934, a set of 8 mural drawings for the San Francisco Palace of Fine Arts Rotunda and another set of two dozen paintings and drawings for Boulder Dam



Dixon's mural for the main reading room of the California State Library, Sacramento, was completed in 1926. *Courtesy California State Library.*

MAYNARD DIXON MURALS

Originally compiled in Grant Wallace, *Maynard Dixon: Painter and Poet of the Far West* (San Francisco: California Art Research Project, 1937), this list includes three later murals (noted with asterisks) completed after publication of the book.

1907	Railway Station, Tucson, Arizona. Four panels: Cattlemen, Apache, Miner, Irrigation
1913	Residence, Mrs. Anita Baldwin, Arcadia, California. Indian Hall, two panels: Victory Song, Envoys of Peace; The Pool, Ghost Eagle.
1914	Residence, Mrs. Anita Baldwin. Old English Jinks Room, eight panels: Merry Yuletide Scenes.
1921	Steamship *Silver State*. Dining Saloon, two lunettes.
1923	Steamship *Sierra*. Dining Saloon, panel.
1924	Spring Valley Water Company, San Francisco. Foyer.
1925	Shop of Harry Dixon, San Francisco. Overmantel.
——	Barker Brothers Building, Los Angeles. Foyer, two painted hangers.
1926	Mark Hopkins Hotel, San Francisco. Room of the Dons, in collaboration with Frank Van Sloun, frieze in nine sections.
1927	Oakland Theatre, Oakland. Foyer, Spirit of India.
——	Oakland Technical High School, Oakland. Auditorium, proscenium.
1928	California State Library, Sacramento. Main Reading Room, A Pageant of Traditions: Science, Philosophy, Religion, Beauty, Power.
1929	U. S. Building and Loan Association, San Francisco. Office panel.
——	Arizona Biltmore Hotel, Phoenix. Dining Room, painted hanger.
1933	John Charles Frémont High School, Los Angeles. Study Hall, south wall.
1936	Kit Carson Cafe, San Francisco. Two panels.
——	Residence, Mrs. J. A. Hoffman, Ventura. The Pony Boy, Blackfoot, Montana.
——	Newbegin Gallery, San Francisco. Warriors of Montana.
1939*	U. S. Government Building of Indian Affairs, Dept. of Interior Bldg., Washington, D. C. Two panels: The Indian Yesterday; The Indian Today.
1943*	Post Office, Canoga Park, California. Panel: Palomino Ponies.
——*	Post Office, Martinez, California. Panel.

were forwarded to Washington, but again, monies were not forthcoming. Tedious WPA projects and the Depression dampened his spirit and darkened his sense of artistic enlightenment.

In the final decade of his life, Dixon completed a mural for the Kit Carson Cafe in San Francisco (1936); designed two murals, "The Indian Yesterday" and "The Indian Today," for the foyer of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior building in Washington, D. C. (1939-40); and received commissions for two post office murals in the cities of Martinez and Canoga Park, California (1943). In 1946, the year of his death, Dixon designed his last mural—for the Santa Fe Railway's Pershing Square office in Los Angeles. Due to his failing health, this final work was executed by his dedicated wife, Edith Hamlin, and her fellow artists Ray Strong and Buck Weaver. Hamlin left a succinct and fitting recollection of her husband: "Maynard loved America, with its traditions and folklore, deeply; a strong sense of its history permeated his writings and murals."

Paul O. Bingham, noted expert on the work of Maynard Dixon, is the owner of the Bingham Gallery, San Jose.

Beverly Bubar Denenberg holds a Master of Arts in museology from San Francisco State University and is vice president of Denenberg Fine Arts in San Francisco. She is also former curator of fine arts for the California Historical Society.

Just published -
newly discovered documents on
early California and the Fur Trade

Jedediah Strong Smith, one of America's most important frontiersmen and explorers, intruded into Mexican territory in 1826, the first American to enter California by land. He ran afoul of the Mexican officials, and the full story of that conflict has, until now, been unknown.

Letters and papers between Smith and his men and the Mexican officials have now been located and are published for the first time with a full introduction and commentary by David J. Weber.

Published in a limited edition of 1000 copies. Bound in a red linen cloth, 82 pages plus a folding map printed on rich 80# Teton text archival paper.

$35.00

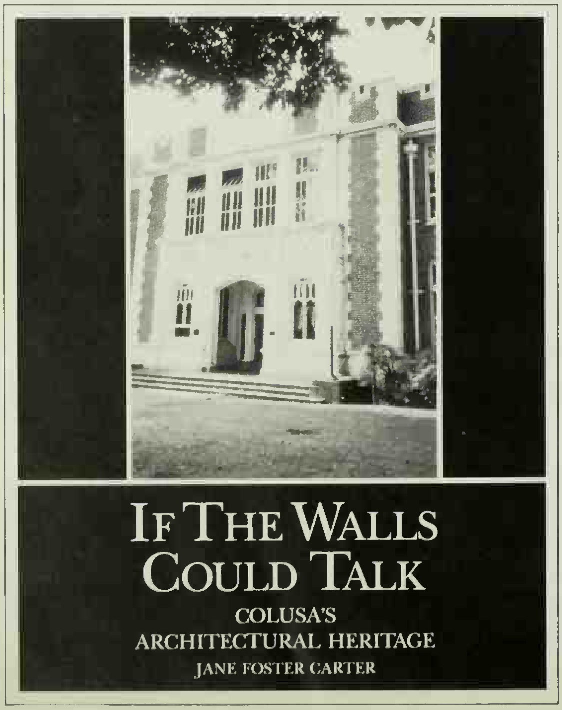
Shipping and handling $2.00, free if check accompanies order.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Publishers & Booksellers since 1902
P.O. Box 14707 Spokane, WA 99214
Toll free (800) 842-9286
Visa/Mastercard accepted

The *Californios*
versus
Jedediah Smith
1826-1827

A New Cache of Documents

by
David J. Weber



Delightful to read, *If The Walls Could Talk* was written from scholarly research of 325 existing nineteenth-and-early-twentieth-century buildings and sites in the historic city of Colusa located on the Sacramento River.

Author Jane Foster Carter won the California Historical Society's 1989 Award of Merit for Historic Preservation for this book, which captures the historic resources of Colusa in beautiful contemporary photographs and provides historical and biographical notes about the owners and occupants, the architects and builders.

Hard cover limited edition available for $40.00 (plus $3.00 postage and handling and $2.40 tax) from the **California Historical Society**, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 or the **City of Colusa**, 425 Webster Street, Colusa, CA 95932.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

If the Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage.

By Jane Foster Carter. (Colusa, California: Heritage Preservation Committee, 1988, xxi, 305 pp., $40 cloth.)

Architectural Records in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Edited by Waverly B. Lowell. (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1988, xvii, 350 pp., $47 cloth.)

California Architecture.

By Sally B. Woodbridge. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988, xi, 274 pp., $35 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Robert W. Winter, *Arthur G. Coons Professor of the History of Ideas at Occidental College and author of* The California Bungalow.

Designed by Marysville architect Vincent Brown in the Classical Revival style and completed in 1861, the Colusa County Court House is the second oldest existing courthouse in use in California. The strong Greek Revival and southern architectural character of the building reflects the antebellum heritage of early county pioneers. It was dedicated California Historic Landmark No. 890 at Colusa's bicentennial celebration on July 4, 1976. *Courtesy Robert E. Kessinger, Jr.*

In moments of reverie I recall days past when you could count the books on the history of California architecture on the fingers of one hand. There was Harold Kirker's pioneering *California's Architectural Frontier* (1960) and a few fairly good things on the missions, and that was it, leaving out Esther McCoy's writings on the "Moderns" as not being history—which they now are! With the recent publication of three new architectural histories I am now embarrassed by riches.

These three are actually very different books. The best way to begin, I think, is to look at Sally B. Woodbridge's *California Architecture*, for it is the most comprehensive of the books under survey and at the same time will have the widest readership. The occasion for its publication is a celebration of a half century in which the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) has been measuring, photographing, and accumulating data on California buildings that are, for a variety of reasons, significant architecture. It is a proud moment in the annals of the California Historical Society; for in 1975 it was named cosponsor with HABS of a catalogue of the work of students of architecture who had drafted plans and collected material since 1933, when HABS was set up as an annex of the

Civil Works Administration, one of Franklin Roosevelt's antidotes to the evils of the Great Depression. The Society wisely chose Sally Woodbridge, a veteran of the compilation of architectural guidebooks and of several works in California architectural history, to bring together the results of the project. It took her ten years to complete this book, about half of which is an essay on the history of California architecture, the other half being a listing with short commentaries on the nearly 20,000 entries.

It was a very large undertaking absolutely riddled with opportunities for errors of fact and interpretation. Woodbridge has nobly managed to set aside most obstacles. She had sound research behind her. Furthermore, the survey has been remarkable for its discrimination and good judgment. True, there are strange quirks, such as the complete neglect of the small but remarkable assemblage of important buildings in Ojai and the much larger assemblage in Berkeley, but the vast number that are included certainly give a good background from which to draw a significant history. HABS has in fact almost from the first broadened the scope of its interest from structures such as houses, churches, and commercial buildings to barns, mills, bridges, and jails—even tombstones and architectural hardware. This book is thus a priceless document of social history.

Woodbridge writes with precision, and, not incidentally, with a love of the English language, traits not always in the intellectual baggage of art historians. She is alert to special qualities of California architecture, as well as to its relationship to the standard American styles. She finds time to write about pre-fabricated buildings that were designed on the East Coast and shipped around Cape Horn. What will surprise many readers is the number of ready-builts that came from China in the middle of the nineteenth century. They will find, moreover, almost all they need to know about the missions and their culture. Woodbridge is able to do this because they were so well documented by HABS in the thirties and later. Indeed, one has the feeling that her material correctly dictates even the length of her text.

Naturally, a few mistakes drift in. Historians who are preoccupied with styles will not like her consistent confusion of Classical Revival with Neo-Georgian buildings. Amusingly, El Molino Viejo, the southern California headquarters of the California Historical Society, is not in Pasadena, even though it should be. It is in San Marino. And since, as she says, it was built somewhere around 1816, it could not possibly have been damaged by the 1812 earthquake, as she alleges. But such errors are rare and are certainly understandable considering the fact that she was working from the findings of so many other people.

Woodbridge seems more comfortable when discussing the architecture of northern California than she is when writing about that in the southern part of the state. Her text is strongly weighted toward the north. The other two books under review are consciously so weighted, for their authors frankly admit to a special interest in the Bay Area. They chart a smaller territory. *Architectural Records in the San Francisco Bay Area* is a publication of the California Cooperative Preservation of Architectural Records with the intimidating acronym CalCOPAR—really, what are we coming to? The book is a serious effort to bring together a knowledge of the architectural archives in or near San Francisco in order that historians and preservationists, who need to understand the precise way buildings are conceived and grow, may find their way to sources of information.

It is a technical book, with archives divided into lists under four categories. The first is an attempt to specify the kind of holdings that remain in architectural offices. A typical entry chosen not quite by random would be "Pflueger Architects, 1976-," a firm that still exists and whose important history goes back to its organization just after World War I. There is, in fact, a short but very valuable history of the firm and its significant projects, in this case, such buildings as the Paramount Theater in Oakland and the Pacific Coast Stock Exchange in San Francisco, both monuments of the Art Deco. After the history comes a detailed description of the kind of material that is left in the files. A short section labelled "Access" tells the reader the best way to use the files. The hard work in amassing this information is admirable. Needless to say, the value of the research found here lies in more than an essay on where the information is. It is a contribution to history.

CalCOPAR's second list, marked "Repositories," is an inventory of more conventional archives, such as the great collections of the California Historical Society, and also of less famous but useful ones, such as the Roman Catholic

Diocese of Oakland. Government records are well presented and analyzed in a third listing. A final section simply lists "San Francisco Architects in Practice 1850-1910" and the dates and addresses of their various offices. A very complete index closes a book that in the course of its dispensation of information gives excellent tips to researchers. Even ideas are strewn about for careful readers.

By this time readers will have realized that the one topic that holds these books together is their contribution to the movement for architectural preservation. The beautifully produced *If the Walls Could Talk* by Jane Foster Carter is but another way of acknowledging the force of this movement. The subject of this book is the almost completely undistinguished architecture of Colusa, one of the prettiest little towns in the state. After a short and not very helpful introductory essay on the history of Colusa by W. H. Hutchinson, who seems obsessed by floods of the Sacramento River, Carter gets down to business and documents 240 buildings that I assume were chosen because they were "significant structures . . . that comprise the unique historical and architectural character of Colusa," point number one in the list of objectives of the town's survey, completed in 1980.

My problem is with the word "unique." Frankly, I believe that "if the walls could talk," they would not say much except that Colusa is a nice little farm center on the Sacramento River and that in an extraordinarily modest way, it reflects the main currents of American architecture in the period 1860 to the present. I remember that, when I visited Colusa in 1971, only the Courthouse and the I.O.O.F. Hall impressed me as being in any way distinctive. I am afraid that the book's illustrations, beautifully rendered, confirm my judgment. I missed a few things in the residential districts, but mainly I was correct in seeing this as a town where "the nostalgia cult" could experience a relatively unspoiled California small town of the turn-of-the-century.

My point is not to disparage such volumes, even though I wish they would own up to the fact that they are documents of the commonplace. The great gift of a book like this is to give the residents of a community a sense of place and an identity with it. That is certainly a worthy objective and deserving of such a beautifully produced work. In fact, it is only after many inventories such as this one that a definitive history of California architecture can be written. All three of the books reviewed here contribute to this high cause.

California Painters: New Work.

By Henry T. Hopkins and Jim McHugh (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989, 143 pp., $40 cloth, $22.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Timothy W. Drescher, *Lecturer in Interdisciplinary Humanities at San Francisco State University and former editor of* Community Murals Magazine.

California Painters: New Work presents two or three examples of recent works by each of 41 California painters. Henry T. Hopkins's brief "Introduction" places this highly selective survey in both art history and geographic contexts. Hopkins knows the turf, and his observations are both authoritative and helpful, as when he notes the importance of Los Angeles sunlight in southern California works and the significance of figuration in the Bay Area in the late fifties and sixties. His gracious prefatory acknowledgements underscore the difficulty of making such a selection in a state wherein reside hundreds of excellent artists who, he suggests, may well comprise "the new creative center of the nation." (p.15) Equally to his credit, Hopkins's selection includes both women and artists of color.

The presentations, arranged alphabetically, offer statements by the artists ranging from the thoughtful to the non-existent (from those who want their works to speak for themselves). Jim McHugh's superb photographs of both the paintings and the artists are exactly the sort that make the reader want to see more of the work and to get to know the artists, perhaps provoking the latent voyeur in each of us curious to see the face of the creator.

The weakness of the book is in neither the text nor in the work presented, but in the format itself: the Christmas-coffee-table-gift-book. As always in the best of such books, excellent text and photography are not enough to dispel the uncomfortable feeling, for both Hopkins and the reader, that too many worthy artists have been left out, that too few works of those selected are shown, and that what is reproduced is too distorted by the wrenching of scale and context necessitated by the publishing format. Indeed, the commodification of the

San Francisco's Chinatown drew immigrants and quickly became a fully-functioning community in the nineteenth century. Families, including children like these, were part of the society. Chinese American workers rode the early morning cable cars out to work, and filled the late-evening cars headed downtown toward home. Arnold Genthe's photographs, taken between 1895 and the earthquake of 1906, vividly depicted the life of the Chinese in San Francisco. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*

coffee-table format provides a tangible experience of the social and individual fragmentation underlying so much of modern art and the works so beautifully presented here. CHS

The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924.

By Yuji Ichioka. (New York: Free Press/Macmillan, Inc., 1988, xii, 319 pp., $22.95 cloth.)

Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850.

By Roger Daniels. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988, xviii, 384 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Donald Teruo Hata, Jr., *Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills.*

The Chinese were the first trans-Pacific migrants to arrive in large numbers during the California Gold Rush. As the gold boom passed, they sought work wherever it could be found—in railroad construction and rural and urban jobs of every kind. Instead of appearing as participants in the development of the West, however, the Chinese were collectively typecast as an "indispensable enemy" by a growing coalition of racists, nativists, and xenophobes. By 1900 a series of federal laws had banned Chinese immigration. The result was a labor vacuum that was filled by growing numbers of Japanese. The newcomers were informed about the climate of hostility toward the Chinese, but the "push" factors in Japan (crushing taxes and conscription) far outweighed the anticipated problems in America. The Issei, literally the "first generation" of Japanese in America, soon confirmed that they had inherited the hostility toward Chinese, and, because of the growing strength of their homeland, were even more at risk as the tabloid press targeted them as a threat to national security—the "Yellow Peril." While the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution provided for citizenship to aliens who intended to immigrate, the naturalization process was denied to the Chinese and Japanese. Their official status, as expressed in the clumsy phrase "aliens ineligible to citizenship," meant that Asians were considered unworthy of being immigrants and future citizens, a condition that continued until 1950, when the U.S. Supreme Court finally declared California's 1912 alien land laws unconstitutional (*Fujii v. State*).

A dramatic shift in popular images of the Chinese and Japanese in America since World War II, from "Yellow Peril" to "model minority," has revealed certain problems regarding their place in the historiography of U.S. immigration. Ignorance and avarice seem to have been equally powerful causal factors, as friends, apologists, and enemies of Chinese and Japanese Americans have distorted or omitted facts in order to produce the desired stereotype. With few exceptions, they are still treated as anonymous victims of isolated acts of violence (1871 Chinese massacre in Los Angeles) or wartime hysteria

(Japanese Americans in World War II). The overwhelming emphasis on Asian Americans as victims also perpetuates their image of powerlessness—as an odd group whose experience is peripheral to the mainstream of pervasive themes in American immigration history—and that in turn reinforces stereotypes of Asians as anonymous and permanent aliens.

It was not until the 1960s that research into Chinese and Japanese American history began to challenge the Horatio Alger-style "success stories" that characterized the first postwar histories of Asian Americans written by both sympathetic scholars and ethnic insiders themselves. Among the most influential revisionist pioneers was Roger Daniels, who exhorted his colleagues to approach Asian Americans as the subjects, as well as the objects, of their scrutiny. Daniels observed that most historians have "shown very little sympathy with . . . those forces in American life which sought to drive the Asians out," but chastised them for showing "very little understanding of the excluded—the Asian Americans themselves . . . [Historians] have insisted or implied that Asians were somehow outside the canon of immigrant history. Other immigrant groups were celebrated for what they had accomplished; Asians were important for what had been done to them." (p. 6)

In many ways the chronology and themes of Ichioka's *The Issei* resemble Daniels's first publication, twenty years ago —*The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (1968) — but now the focus is on Issei as the subjects, rather than objects, of the study. With the insights provided by Japanese language sources, the Issei story is all the more an epic saga of survival in the face of indomitable odds, for they were often manipulated by both their own government and self-styled Issei community representatives, as well as by the public and private forces of opposition arrayed against them in the United States. Ichioka's Issei—both men and women —include a grubby and gritty cast of characters: pimps and picture brides, drunks, draft-dodgers, political radicals, and opportunists of all kinds —and therein lies the ring of truth. Much of *The Issei* reflects Ichioka's previously published research on Issei prostitutes, laborers, and the political Left in the *Amerasia Journal*. This study ends in 1924, when Congress enacted the first permanent quota based on national origins for all immigrants—and a zero quota for Japanese. With few exceptions, there would be no new arrivals from Japan after 1924, and conditions would worsen for both the Issei and their American-born children, the Nisei. Those episodes also need to be viewed from a bilingual and bicultural perspective, and we look forward to an equally well-researched and pungently written sequel.

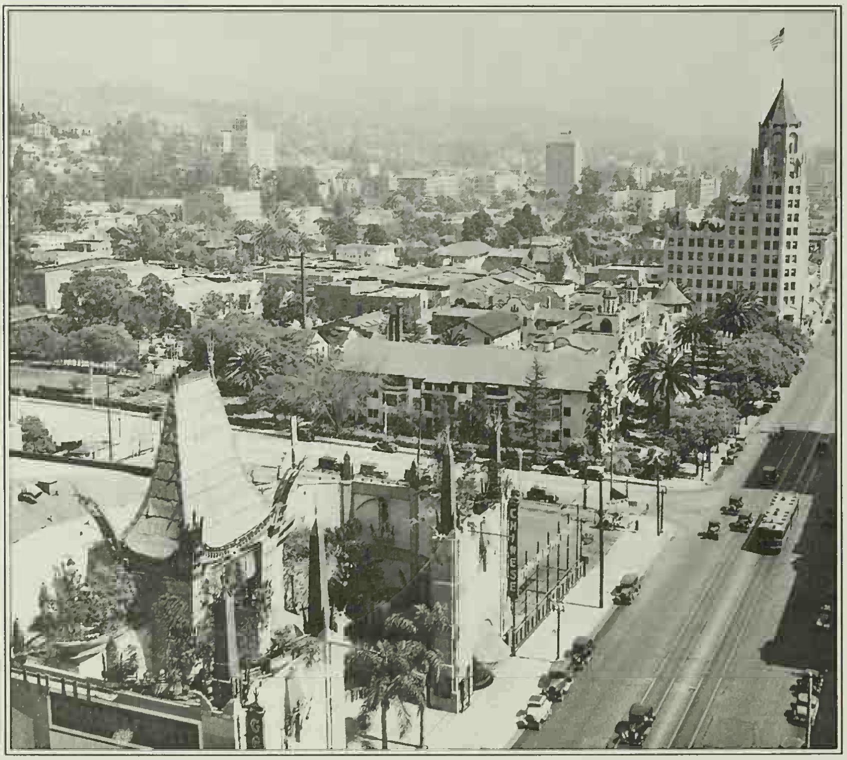
Any basic collection of books on the history of California and the American West will be incomplete without these two complementary narrative histories about the two groups who pioneered immigration from across the Pacific. Both books reflect their authors' command of the diversity of published and archival sources on their subjects. Roger Daniels confirms his stature as perhaps the most enduring historiographer of the Asian experience in America by attempting to place the political and socio-economic evolution of Chinese and Japanese in the American West into the broad conventional patterns used to describe immigrants from Europe: "To synthesize the history of Chinese and Japanese in this country and to treat their lives as integral to the American mosaic . . . is essential to a clear perspective not only upon the ongoing, ever-widening Asian American immigrant experience but on the immigrant experience in general." (p. xiii) With his integration of Japanese language documents and archival materials, Ichioka asserts a new standard for Japanese American (Nikkei) ethnic history, a field that is notoriously reliant on English language sources, and therefore limited in objectivity and empathy. Both authors employ copious and convincing documentation to revise several longstanding assumptions about the historical roles of the Chinese and Japanese in America. CHS

Los Angeles County Historical Directory.

By Janet I. Atkinson. (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1988, xii, 207 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Judson Grenier, *Professor of History at California State University, Dominguez Hills, and co-editor of* A Guide to Historic Places in Los Angeles County.

This work is a compendium of facts akin to the World Almanac or the telephone directory and is a guidebook to boot. Its pages are crammed with data about every subject



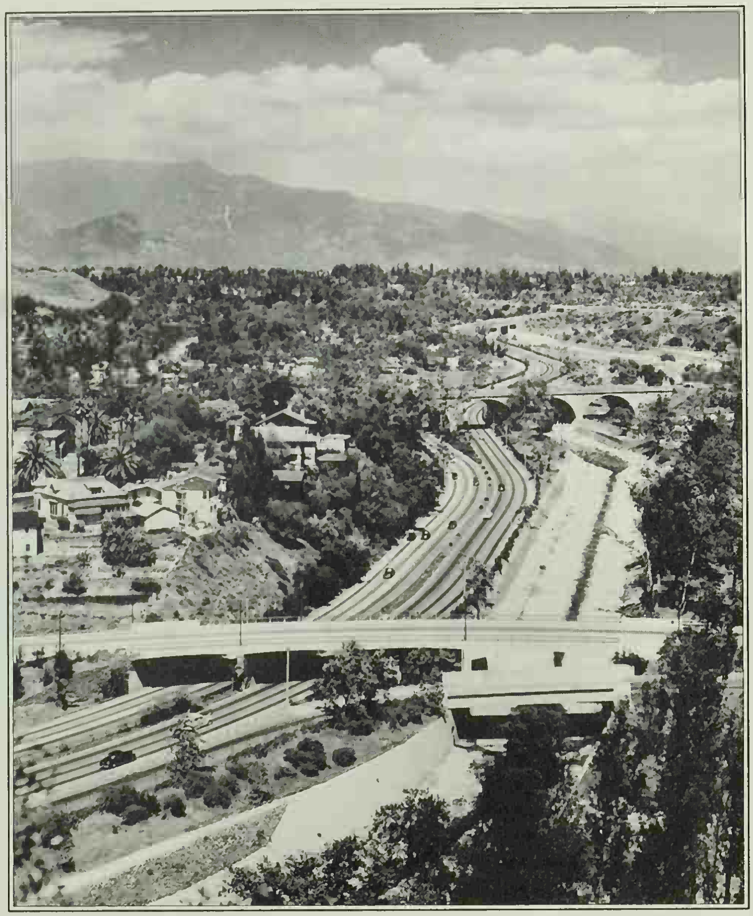
Atkinson's *Los Angeles County Historical Directory* lists 21 sites along Hollywood Boulevard, including Mann's (formerly Grauman's) Chinese Theatre (lower left), which opened in 1927, shortly before this photograph was taken. *Courtesy Security Pacific National Bank.*

in Los Angeles County that could be remotely considered historical.

For Janet Atkinson, a Simi Valley teacher and producer, it was a long-time labor of love. Such effort was justified, she believes, because few books exist that provide access to significant historical landmarks. She does give credit to Gebhard and Winter's *Guide to Architecture* and to my own guide, but comments, rightly, that they are hard to find in local bookstores.

Atkinson recognizes the pitfalls of putting together a historical directory: "In the field of history and preservation longevity is the exception, change typical. One year the city runs an historic site, the next year they turn it over to a private group, or vice versa. It is hard to keep up." Quite so. A guidebook of any kind is obsolete almost at the moment of publication.

The book surveys more than 100 communities. Rather than emphasize well-known historic sites, she concentrates on the smaller towns "in order to enhance their resources." Hundreds of people contributed information. Her modus operandi was first to contact a local chamber of commerce,



Arroyo Seco Freeway, Los Angeles, in the 1940s. After World War II, suburban growth led to the development of elaborate, multi-lane road systems. Los Angeles, with its many small communities, was crisscrossed by freeways. As population increased, the roads were extended. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*

then historical societies, homeowners' organizations, libraries, and individuals. All provided grist for her mill.

The data on each community includes its history, books about it, local historians (phone numbers included), historical societies, museums, historical landmarks, restaurants, businesses, schools, churches, theaters, parks, special events, realtors, "oldtimers," artists, craftsmen, chambers of commerce, etc. Classifications vary. Los Angeles city, divided geographically, receives the largest number of citations (32 pages).

This book is tremendously useful for visitors to southern California and nothing should qualify my strong recommendation to buy it. However, I do have a few minor reservations:

The site selection is highly eclectic (trees, mountains, signs, people). I see no purpose in listing items long gone (nothing of the original remaining to make it worth the trip), such as an Agoura ranchhouse, Mt. Lowe hotels, a Beverly Hills eucalyptus, a Hollenbeck Park bridge, a Hollywood drugstore. And some of those that do exist seem strange. I can understand how the Spruce Goose airship makes the book, but why the oil-drilling islands offshore from Long Beach? Why list a contemporary restaurant simply "because its theme is historic?"

Some of the items appear promotional (her respondents had a stake in having their places listed). Some of the material seems quoted from handouts (e.g., see Beverly Hills). The presentation is inconsistent; for example, in Boyle Heights we encounter homes, private homes, Victorian homes, residences and cottages; in Encino homes are listed with and without street addresses.

The community selection also might raise a few eyebrows. Why include La Habra and Los Alamitos from Orange County and leave out such municipalities as Compton, Lawndale, or Hermosa Beach? Why mention Manzinar in the Owens Valley?

Any encyclopedic work will contain a few typos and factual errors; this is no exception.

An appendix lists Historic Realtors (basis for inclusion unclear), Historic Districts, and three sections that go beyond Los Angeles to include five other counties—Historic Restaurants, Bed and Breakfast Inns, "Weddings, Receptions, Christmas"—and concludes with her own company's address.

The major obstacles to this book's success are those that plagued its predecessors: 1) Times change rapidly and the information becomes dated; e.g., a Hope Street church is demolished; no longer is the Renaissance Fair in Agoura nor is Art Reeves with the Dominguez Water Company. 2) It probably will be difficult to obtain at the local bookstore; the key is professional marketing. But the product itself—vast in scope and a model sourcebook for local history—is worth the effort. CHS

Keepers of our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s-1930s.

By David J. Russo. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988, 312 pp., $39.95.)

Reviewed by Gregg M. Campbell, *Professor of History, California State University, Sacramento, who recently served as Chair of the Sacramento Sesquicentennial Committee.*

In content, David J. Russo's *Keepers of our Past* might seem to be of only passing interest to Californians. A native of Deerfield, Massachusetts, and a professor of history at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Russo's inquiry is focused on the eastern and northern sections of the United states. Chapter 2, for example, is entitled "The New England Pioneers." Moreover, in defending the amateurs and the antiquarians, Russo launches a somewhat crabbed attack on academic historians:

> Academic scholarship has been largely misdirected, yet another indication of the distorting power of nationalism in this century. . . . In one fundamental aspect, the amateurs, with a passionate concern to recover *their* past in the context of their community, have been the better historians. (p. 4)

Yet, Russo's premise that amateur local historians were important pioneers is supported by the fact that "history as written in the United States, until recently, was written mostly by amateurs and typically was local (or at least subnational) in its range and coverage." (p. 3)

Russo's spirited defense of the antiquarians echoes sentiments advanced at the dawn of the twentieth century by Josiah Royce. In his essay entitled "Provincialism," first given as a Phi Beta Kappa address at Iowa State University in 1902 and published in *Race Questions and Other American Problems* in 1908, Royce stated:

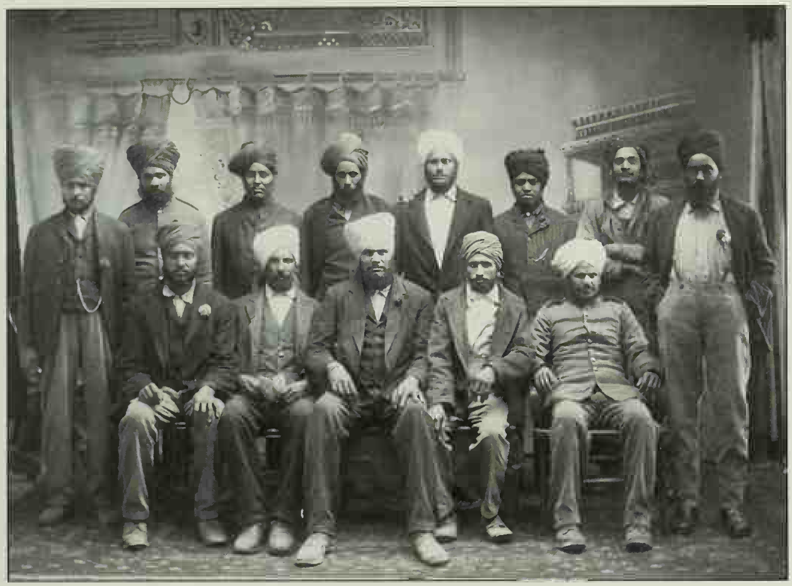
> My thesis is that, in the present state of the world's civilization, and of life in our own country, the time has come to emphasize, with a new meaning and intensity, the positive value, the absolute necessity for our welfare, of a wholesome provincialism, as a saving power . . .

Royce believed a wholesome provincialism would be a powerful antidote "to counteract the leveling tendencies of modern civilization." "Keep the province awake," he exhorted, "that the nation may be saved from the disastrous hypnotic slumber so characteristic of excited masses of mankind." Russo's defense of local historians is of interest for the way in which he echoes Royce's views on the primacy of the province and the role of amateur local historians in nurturing a spirit of local and regional pride.

As academic revisionists of the 1970s sought to counter the traditional Anglo male narrative of American national virtue by writing history from "the bottom up," so we can think of amateur local historians as writing history from "the inside out." While many amateur local historians were male members of respected families reflecting traditional values, they also enjoyed the unique role of having been in a sense present at the creation of their communities. Whatever their failings of bias, limited horizons, or amateur sensibilities, these first recorders of the local and regional saga do perform an important function in our understanding of ourselves and our communities.

In California the primacy of local history is being recognized on a number of fronts. A revised state education code calls for the study of local history from original sources in the primary grades. In fostering regional solutions to local problems, such groups as Bay Vision 2020, Los Angeles 2000, and the Sacramento Tomorrow Coalition rely on an historic understanding of the origins of local issues. And further afield, environmentalists with their concept of bio-regional development find local and regional histories useful to their endeavors.

David Russo's *Keepers Of Our Past* advances an argument of interest to Californians, not so much in its content, which is



A gathering of northern California Sikhs, ca. 1910. *Courtesy California State Library.*

largely focused on the mid-Atlantic and New England states, but in its theme, which recognizes the contributions of local historians to understand our past. CHS

The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975.

By Bruce La Brack. (New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1988, xviii, 489 pp., $67.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by H. Brett Melendy, *Professor of History, San Jose State University, and author of* Asians in America.

La Brack's comprehensive sociological study of the Sikhs in California is part of the publisher's series on immigrant communities and ethnic minorities in the United States and Canada. This book focuses upon the Sikhs of the Stockton and Marysville-Yuba City areas, but some attention is paid to the Sikhs of the Imperial Valley.

The history of the Sikhs'migration follows in general the immigration restraints placed upon these people by the United States. The author examines in considerable detail the reasons for the migration of South Asians to overseas destinations. He also describes the culture of the people of the subcontinent. The Sikhs came from the province of Punjab, which India and Pakistan divided at the time of independence in 1947. Sikhs began arriving in North America in 1904. This first period of immigration continued until 1923.

La Brack reports on the Ghadar Party and its championing of Indian nationalism during World War I. He also traces the activities of the small number of Sikhs who first worked in California agriculture. Following Congressional exclusion of South Asians in 1917, Sikhs had to enter the United States illegally. This immigration phase continued until 1946. The author describes the development of families during the '20s and '30s as Sikhs married Mexican women, and he recounts the adjustment problems presented by these marriages.

After 1946, legal immigration was once again possible, and La Brack describes the regeneration of the Sikh society over the next thirty years. He shows how new immigrants led in restoring the Sikh culture, particularly in the Marysville-Yuba City area. He also traces the agricultural activities of the Sikhs, particularly in the growing of peaches. Passage of the 1965 immigration law greatly accelerated the number of Sikhs entering the United States. Even so, the total number in California remains relatively small. La Brack reports that of the 100,000 in the United States in 1975, about 90,000 were concentrated in Sutter and Yuba Counties. In a follow-up chapter covering the years 1975 (when he completed his field work) to 1986, La Brack reports a growing dispersion of the Sikhs in California and shows that they, as were other small farmers, were encountering difficulties in maintaining their farms. As well as reporting on the Sikh culture in California, he talks of the problems resulting from independence in India.

This study is the result of extensive interviews in the Marysville-Yuba City area by the author, who also spent some time in India. The book is peppered with thirty statistical tables that serve to reinforce his findings. As noted at the outset, this well-researched study is largely sociological. But the Sikhs and their culture are described largely in abstract terms. As a historian, I would have wished to see the Sikhs portrayed more humanistically.

The Port Chicago Mutiny: The Story of the Largest Mass Mutiny Trial in U.S. Navy History.

By Robert L. Allen. (New York: Warner Books, 1989, xxi, 192 pp., $19.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenberg, *Vista Community College and author of* Golden Gate Metropolis: Perspectives on Bay Area History.

When author Robert Allen was a young man in the 1960s, he demonstrated against the Vietnam War and resisted induction into the armed forces. In later years, as editor of *The Black Scholar* magazine and in other scholarly and activist guises, Allen continued to protest against what he believed to be American racism and militarism. Given this background, it is no surprise that Allen was attracted to the story of the Port Chicago "mutiny" of 1944.

The incident occurred shortly after America's largest domestic disaster of World War II, a massive explosion on the evening of June 17, 1944, at the Port Chicago naval depot on Suisun Bay, about 35 miles northeast of San Francisco. The blast completely destroyed two Liberty Ships, onto which ammunition was being loaded, and severely damaged the surrounding military base. Of the 320 men killed, 202 were black sailors employed as ammunition loaders. During the war, the Navy usually assigned African Americans to ship duty only as messmen and stewards ("chambermaids for the braid," they were called). Most of the Navy's black recruits and draftees, like the Port Chicago ammunition loaders, served as shoreside laborers in segregated units commanded by white officers. The Navy was by no means unique in this regard; the Army, Air Corps, and Marines were also segregated during the war.

Three weeks after the Port Chicago explosion, about 300 surviving black sailors were ordered to begin loading ammunition again. Almost all refused, and eventually 50 of the men were convicted of mutiny and sentenced to between 8 and 15 years of hard labor. The incident became a *cause célèbre* for civil rights groups, black newspapers, and others opposed to military segregation. As a result of a concerted public relations and lobbying campaign, the government set aside the sentences and returned the men to active duty in January 1946. A month later the Navy officially ended its segregation policy, and during the succeeding summer the Port Chicago "mutineers" were allowed to leave the service with honorable discharges.

Allen effectively fleshes out this important story, relying in part on the trial transcript and on various official reports and correspondence that had remained classified until 1972. His most valuable sources are oral histories given by some of the convicted sailors, particularly the alleged "ringleader" Joseph Small. Allen not only publishes much of Small's interview, but also includes substantial portions of a manuscript the former sailor prepared. The result is to make Joseph Small a virtual co-author, and, in truth, his prose is sometimes livelier than Allen's.

The book is weakest when Allen attempts to apply sociological theories of group behavior to the Port Chicago case. But the author does a good job of putting the incident into a broad context of wartime social and racial change in America. He also argues persuasively that racist attitudes affected the court martial proceedings, including the actions of prosecutor J. Frank Coakley, who, as Alameda County District Attorney during the 1960s, also prosecuted hundreds of Berkeley protestors. Most important, Allen (and Small) provide solid and sometimes moving evidence to support the book's central contention that the incident was not a mutiny but a valid protest, caused by understandable fear and trauma and by a justifiable reaction to inadequate training, dangerous working conditions, bigoted and incompetent officers, and the underlying policy of segregation. Referring to the dangerous job of ammunition loading, one convicted sailor asked, "Why don't they get some whiteys and put them down there?"

Today, even in the Bay Area, Port Chicago is all but forgotten. In 1968 the Navy purchased and demolished the civilian town of that name, and the military base is now called the Concord Naval Weapons Depot, a storage and transfer facility for both conventional and nuclear devices. But the base can still be a place of conflict and controversy. In 1987 Robert Allen was one of many demonstrators who were arrested there

During the Depression, apricot orchards like this one drew thousands of hopeful migrant families to low-paid seasonal work in the Santa Clara and San Joaquin valleys. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*

while protesting U.S. policies in Central America. The prisoners were temporarily detained in the same wooden trailers that the Navy had used to transport the black ammunition loaders to the docks during World War II. On the day of his arrest, Allen wore a T-shirt decorated with the slogan "Remember Port Chicago." In his book, Allen has succeeded admirably in preserving the memory of the place, and in defending the reputations of 50 sailors who had the courage to stand up for their rights 45 years ago. CHS

The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to The Grapes of Wrath.

By John Steinbeck. Introduction by Charles Wollenberg. (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 1988, 80 pp., photos, $7.95 paper.)

Reviewed by James N. Gregory, *Associate Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley.*

Two and one-half years before the publication of *The Grapes of Wrath,* John Steinbeck wrote a series of articles for the San Francisco *News* that signaled his mounting concern for the plight of the Dust Bowl migrants. California was just beginning to learn about the families arriving in large numbers from Oklahoma and the surrounding southern plains states, and Steinbeck's report helped bring to public attention the serious challenges that greeted these newcomers in the state's Central Valley. Photographer Dorothea Lange was also busy during 1936 and 1937. Her empathetic shots of migrant families suffering the indignities of farm labor and the wretched conditions of squatter camp life brought more attention and concern. Now, fifty years later, Charles Wollenberg has brought author and photographer together in a new edition of Steinbeck's 1936 articles illustrated with Lange's remarkable photographs. The seven articles in this slim volume tell a story that is instantly recognizable to anyone familiar with the novel that followed. In terms every bit as stark as *The Grapes of Wrath,* Steinbeck builds a portrait of misfortune, suffering, and oppression. In place of the fictitious Joads, nameless real families face brutal conditions in agricultural California, living in miserable squatter camps, where children died of malnutrition and families fell into helpless despair.

Steinbeck was very sure about the source of this tragedy. Blame went to the system of large-scale agriculture and the corporate growers who controlled it. Carefully exempting small farmers, he indicted agribusiness for luring the migrants to California, keeping them in conditions of near starvation, and ruthlessly repressing all attempts at labor organization. The good guys in this scenario are equally apparent. As in the novel, Steinbeck found hope for the migrants first in the migrant labor camps established by the Farm Security Administration, and second in the promise of unionization.

As a guide to the actual experience of the Dust Bowl migrants, *The Harvest Gypsies,* like *The Grapes of Wrath,* leaves much to be desired. It overlooks the majority of newcomers who suffered nothing like the destitution of the squatter encampments. It also oversimplifies the social and economic context. The travail of farm workers was not simply the result of the scale of farm ownership; small family farms could also exploit. Nor were Steinbeck's solutions very useful. Like most liberals in the late 1930s, Steinbeck put his faith in unions, in the federal government, and in an ethos of cooperation. The Okies had little use for any of these. Their progress out of poverty and out of agriculture would depend primarily on the tremendous expansion of economic opportunity afforded by World War II and subsequent decades.

But *The Harvest Gypsies* is a marvelous document of its time, important both to those interested in Steinbeck's personal development and the background to his classic novel, and for anyone interested in the political passions surrounding the Dust Bowl migration. Steinbeck was a reformer, not a social historian. His articles reveal much about the sympathies that radicals and New Dealers registered for the disadvantaged, and especially for the rural poor. They suggest as well the angry contest between liberals and agricultural interests that became one of the cornerstones of California politics in the 1930s.

Charles Wollenberg's otherwise excellent introduction might have done more to establish this context. Wollenberg provides a careful overview of the migrants' experience in Depression-era California and much interesting detail about Steinbeck's research and writing. He corrects some of the novelist's assertions by showing, for example, the error and ethnocentrism in Steinbeck's assumption that the influx of "white labor" would make unionization possible, since whites would "insist on a standard of living much higher than that which was accorded the foreign 'cheap labor.' " More of this would have been useful. One other small concern: these articles were reprinted once before, in a 1938 pamphlet entitled *Their Blood is Strong*, and Steinbeck then wrote a concluding essay that for some reason was not included in the present volume. Still, we are lucky to have the original series back in print. By resurrecting these fascinating essays, Wollenberg has given new life to an important artifact of California history.

Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities.

By Brian I. Godfrey. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, xvii, 233 pp.)

Reviewed by Fred W. Viehe, *Assistant Professor of History at Youngstown State University and author of articles on Los Angeles and its environs.*

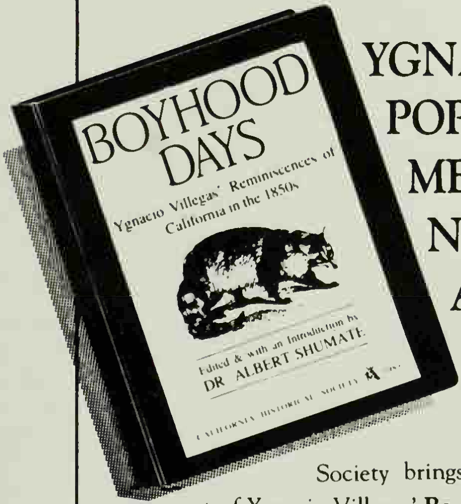
Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities is a major contribution to our understanding of community history in a major city. In this work, Brian I. Godfrey presents a new model of neighborhood development, illustrating that ethnic and nonconformist communities change in similar, but also different, ways.

Godfrey focuses on two San Francisco communities, the Mission district and the Haight-Ashbury district. The former is an Hispanic neighborhood, while the latter is well-known as a counter-cultural center. Since both ethnic and nonconformist subcultures have a cultural detachment from mainstream American society, they cluster in the city rather than assimilate into it. At the same time, there are distinct differences between these two communities, perhaps best summarized by the comment, "Hispanics are not a counter-culture; we are trying to preserve our culture, not change it." (p. 216) In the Mission district, the 1930s and 1940s represented the period of Hispanic penetration; the 1950s, the period of ethnic invasion; and the 1960s, the era of consolidation. In contrast, Haight-Ashbury experienced a bohemian influx during the 1960s, a middle-class transition during the following decade, and gentrification most recently. As can be readily seen, the Hispanic community in the Mission district remains, while Haight-Ashbury has been transformed.

While *Neighborhoods in Transition* is a geographical work, it contains a significant message for students of urban and community history. Godfrey reinforces the view that the strength of ethnic communities lies in the refusal of their residents to adopt American values. In contrast, Haight-Ashbury failed to survive as a counter-cultural mecca because in reality it represented values more aligned with American culture than antithetical to it. That explains why the Mission district continues as an Hispanic community, while the Haight-Ashbury undergoes gentrification.

Besides his focus on the Mission and Haight-Ashbury districts, Godfrey also presents a brief history of greater San Francisco. The section that is particularly enlightening deals with the period since World War II. In this section, there is an excellent overview of the San Francisco experience from the viewpoint of Japanese Americans, blacks, Chinese Americans, Filipino Americans, Hispanics, and smaller Asian and Pacific groups, as well as Beats, hippies, and gays. From this overview, the reader receives an excellent impression of San Francisco's diversity.

Neighborhoods in Transition is required reading for all those interested in urban, community, and California history. It also will be enjoyed by San Franciscans who seek a deeper understanding of their city.


BOYHOOD DAYS
Ygnacio Villegas' Reminiscences of California in the 1850s
Edited & with an Introduction by DR ALBERT SHUMATE
California Historical Society

YGNACIO VILLEGAS' POPULAR MEMOIR NOW AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

The California Historical Society brings to life once again the colorful account of Ygnacio Villegas' **Boyhood Days** in the recently reprinted paperbound edition, edited and with an introduction by Dr. Albert Shumate.

Villegas' vivid narrative recalls life in Central California in the 1850s with tales of wild horse roundups, a bear and bull fight, bandits and lively descriptions of California's tule landscape.

Members of the California Historical Society may purchase **Boyhood Days** for $5.95 (plus $1.50 for postage and handling and 39¢ tax), non-members may purchase the book for $7.95 (plus $1.50 for postage and handling and 52¢ tax). Please send your check to the: **California Historical Society**, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, California 94109.

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, that need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address.

Blumberg, Rhoda. *The Great American Gold Rush.* New York: Bradbury Press, 1989. $16.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-02-711681-6. Order from: Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc.; Front & Brown Streets; Riverside, NJ 08370.

Boutelle, Sara Holmes. *Julia Morgan, Architect.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1988. $55.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-89659-792-X. Order from: Abbeville Press; Subs. of Artabras Books; 488 Madison Ave.; New York, NY 10022.

Bradley, Bill. *The Last of the Great Stations: 50 Years of the Los Angeles Union Passenger Terminal.* Revised edition. Interurbans Special 72. Glendale: Interurban Press, 1989. $25.00 (paper) ISBN 0-916374-84-X. Order from: Interurban Press; Post Office Box 6444; Glendale, CA 91205.

Chinn, Thomas W. *Bridging the Pacific: San Francisco Chinatown and Its People.* San Francisco: Chinese Historical Society of America, 1989. Edited by Rebecca Pepper and Sean Cotter. $34.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9614198-3-0, $19.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9614198-4-9. Order from: Chinese Historical Society of America; 17 Alder Place; San Francisco, CA 94133.

Cleland, Robert G. *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-1880.* San Marino: Huntington Library, 1989. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87328-006-7, $12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87328-097-0. Order from: Huntington Library Publications; 1151 Oxford Road; San Marino, CA 91108.

Estudillo, Jesus Maria. *The Journal of Jesus Maria Estudillo: Sketches of California in the 1860's.* Edited and annotated by Margaret Schlichtmann. Fredericksburg, Tex.: Awani Press, 1988. $10.00 (paper) ISBN 0-915266-18-0. Order from: Awani Press; Post Office Box 881; Fredericksburg, TX 78624.

Fifteen Seconds: The Great California Earthquake of 1989. San Francisco: Tides Foundation; Covelo: Island Press, 1989. $19.95 (paper) ISBN 1-55963-038-8. Order from: The Tides Foundation; 15 Seconds Project; 1388 Sutter Street, 10th Floor; San Francisco, CA 94109.

Gottlieb, Robert. *A Life of its Own: The Politics of Water and Power.* San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988. $20.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-15-195190-X. Order from: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich; 1250 Sixth Ave.; San Diego, CA 92101.

Hamlin, Rick. *Tournament of Roses: A One Hundred Year Celebration.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988. $34.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-07-025794-9. Order from: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.; 8171 Redwood Highway; Novato, CA 94947.

Jacoby, Harold. *Pacific: Yesterday and the Day Before That.* Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1989. $15.00 (paper) ISBN 0-933994-09-5. Order from: Comstock Bonanza Press; 18919 William Quirk Memorial Drive; Grass Valley, CA 95945.

Lowell, Waverly, ed. *Architecture Records in the San Francisco Bay Area: A Guide to Research*. New York: Garland, 1988. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-8240-6614-6. Order from: Garland Publishing Inc.; 136 Madison Ave.; New York, NY 10016.

Neelands, Barbara. "Reason P. Tucker, the Quiet Pioneer." *Gleanings*, Vol. 4, no.2. Napa: Napa County Historical Society, 1989. $1.89 (paper) plus .91 tax and postage. Order from: Napa County Historical Society; 1219 First Street; Napa, CA 94558.

O'Hare, Carol. *A Bicyclist's Guide to Bay Area History*. Sunnyvale: Fair Oaks Publishing Company, 1989. Rev. ed. $8.95 (paper) ISBN 0-933271-03-4. Order from: Fair Oaks Publishing Company; 941 Populas Place; Sunnyvale, CA 94086.

Osterbrock, Donald E., et al. *Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988. $25.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-520-06109-8. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Pattiani, Evelyn Craig. *Index to Queen of the Hills: The Story of Piedmont: A California City*. Piedmont: Piedmont Historical Society, 1989. $2.00 (paper).

Rawls, James J. *New Directions in California History: A book of Readings*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988. $14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-07-051253-1 Order from: McGraw-Hill Publishing Co.; 8171 Redwood Highway; Novato, CA 94947.

Robinson, John W. *The San Bernadinos: The Mountain Country from Cajon Pass to Oak Glen; Two Centuries of Changing Use*. Arcadia: The Big Santa Anita Historical Society, 1989. $30.00. Order from: The Big Santa Anita Historical Society; 7 North Fifth Avenue; Arcadia, CA 91006.

Ruhge, Justin. *The Western Front: The War Years in Santa Barbara County 1937 to 1946*. Goleta: Quantum Imaging Associates, 1989. $9.00 (paper) plus $1.00 postage. Order from: Quantum Imaging Associates; Post Office Box 2216; Goleta, CA 93118.

Starr, Kevin. *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-19-504487-8. Order from: Oxford University Press, Inc.; 16-00 Pollitt Dr.; Fair Lawn, NJ 07410.

Vigil, James Diego. *Barrio Gangs: Street Life and Identity in Southern California*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. $22.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-292-77613-6, $8.95 (paper) ISBN 0-292-71119-0. Order from: University of Texas Press; Post Office Box 7819; Austin, TX 78713-7819.

Weber, Dickinson. *Early Tall Buildings from the Agricultural Valley Towns of Central and Northern California: A Sentimental Sketchbook Collection of Downtown Street Views of Main Street California, U.S.A.* Concord: Sandscape Press, 1988. $15.00 (paper) ISBN 0-936721-0104. Order from: Sandscape Press; 1647 Willow Pass Road, Suite 300; Concord, CA 94520

Young, Stanley. *The Missions of California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1988. $14.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87701-540-6. Order from: Chronicle Books; 275 Fifth Street; San Francisco, CA 94103.

California Historical Society
BOOK SALE

The California Historical Society is pleased to offer this selection of books and posters at very special prices:

BOOKS

Backstory: Interviews with Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age by Pat McGilligan (paperbound)	$10.95
Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow (paperbound)	$17.95
A Companion to California by James D. Hart (paperbound)	$13.95
Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion by Richard E. Lingenfelter (paperbound)	$13.95
The Diaries and Writing of Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921 edited by John E. Keller (clothbound)	$3.95
Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century by Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh (clothbound)	$23.00
Felipe De Neve: First Governor of California by Edwin A. Beilharz (clothbound)	$10.00
Indians of California: The Changing Image by James J. Rawls (paperbound)	$18.50
Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo by W.W. Robinson (paperbound)	$4.00
The Making of Golden Gate Park 1906-1950 by Raymond Clary (paperbound)	$12.95
Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land by Augusta Fink (paperbound)	$9.95
Place Names of the Sierra Nevada by Peter Browning (paperbound)	$9.95
To the Promised Land by Ken Light (clothbound)	$25.00
Southern California: An Island on the Land by Carey McWilliams (paperbound)	$6.95
Stairway Walks of San Francisco by Adah Bakalinsky (paperbound)	$5.95
Index to the California Historical Society Quarterly:	
Vols. 1-40, 1922-1961	$6.90
Vols. 41-54, 1962-1975	$9.00

POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

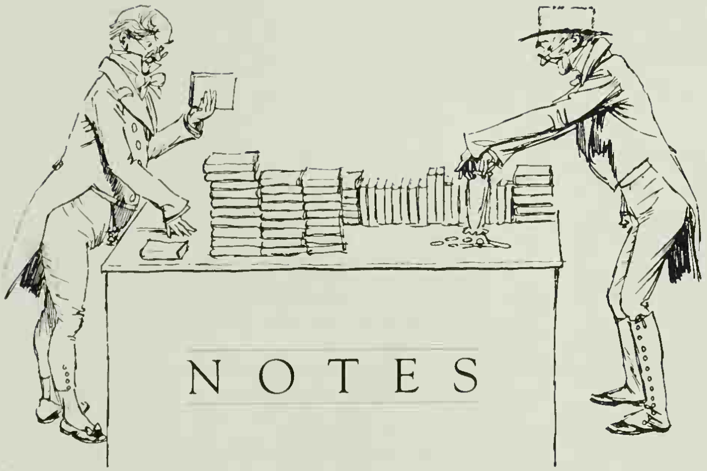
After Dark (boxing playbill)	$4.00
San Francisco Wharf woodcut print by Dan Quest	$12.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	$5.00
History of California Women	$5.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory	$10.00

Book and poster supplies are limited. All items are sold on a no-return basis. Please pre-pay all orders.

Postage and handling charges: $1.50 for first item, $.50 for each additional item. California sales tax 6¾ percent.

Send orders to: CHS BOOKS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109
Please allow 6–8 weeks for delivery.

Additional information is available upon request.



NOTES

HURTADO, "California Indians," pp. 2-11.

1. The most comprehensive overview of the image of the American Indian is Robert F. Berkhoffer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978). See also Ray A. Billington, *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981), 105-128; Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982); Glenda Riley, *Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1825-1915* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 1-81.
2. David Smits, "The 'Squaw Drudge': A Prime Index of Savagism," *Ethnohistory* 29 (1982):281-306; Robert A. Trennert, "Educating Indian Girls at Nonreservation Boarding Schools, 1878-1920," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (July 1982): 271-90.
3. The most comprehensive study of Indian policy and reform is Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians*, 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 2:609-86. On Indian farming see R. Douglas Hurt, *Indian Agriculture in America, Prehistory to the Present* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1987).
4. Schurz, quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, ed., *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings of the "Friends of the Indian," 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 25.
5. Schurz, quoted in ibid., 25.
6. Leupp, quoted in Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 168.
7. Sherburne F. Cook judged mission Indian labor to be a failure and cited cases of Indian resistance; Cook, "The Indian versus the Spanish Mission," *Ibero-Americana* 21 (1943):91:101. Nevertheless, relying exclusively on Indian workers, the missions became the paramount economic institution of the province. See Robert Archibald, "The Economy of the Alta California Mission, 1803-1821," *Southern California Quarterly* 58 (Summer 1976):227-40, and *The Economic Aspects of the California Missions* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1978). For descriptions of Indian cultures before the advent of the missions see Robert F. Heizer, ed., *Handbook of North American Indians*, vol. 8, *California* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978).
8. Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 32-54; Elinore Lawrence, "Horsethieves on the Spanish Trail," *Touring Topics* 23 (January 1931): 22-25, 55; Sylvia Broadbent, "Conflict at Monterey: Indian Horse Raiding, 1820-1850," *Journal of California Anthropology* 1 (1974):86-101; Thomas N. Layton, "Traders and Raiders: Aspects of the Trans-Basin and California-Plateau Commerce, 1800-1830," *Journal of California and Great Basin Anthropology* 3 (Summer 1981):127-36. A good description of Indian raiding and the San Joaquin horse herds is in William Robert Garner, *Letters from California, 1846-1847*, ed. Donald Munro Craig (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 104.
9. The best description of southern California developments is George Harwood Phillips, *Chiefs and Challengers: Indian Resistance and Cooperation in Southern California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975).
10. John A. Sutter, "Reminiscences of General John Augustus Sutter," MS, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
11. Sutter to Pierson B. Reading, May 11, 1845, Reading Collection, California Room, State Library, Sacramento.
12. Albert L. Hurtado, " 'Saved So Much as Possible for Labour': Indian Population and the New Helvetia Work Force," *American Culture and Research Journal* 6, no. 4 (1982):63-78.
13. Sutter, "Reminiscences;" Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, trans., ed., *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850: The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard* (Los Angeles: The Calâfia Society, 1942), 7, 68; Sutter to John Marsh, October 7, 1840, Marsh Collection, California Room, State Library, Sacramento; and Sutter, et al., *New Helvetia Diary: A Record Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California, from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1939).
14. The shield was permeable. See Sutter to José de Jesus Vallejo, October 15, 1840,

NOTES

Sutter Collection, California Room, State Library, Sacramento.

15. James Peter Zollinger, *Sutter: The Man and His Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), 104-105.
16. There are no reliable censuses of Indians in California before the Mexican War. Anglo settler John Marsh offered his estimate of ten thousand "civilized or rather domesticated" Indians in an 1845 letter to Lewis Cass, "Letter of Dr. John Marsh to Hon. Lewis Cass," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 22 (December 1943):315-22. Nineteenth-century historian Hubert Howe Bancroft estimated that there were about three or four thousand ex-neophytes living in the towns and on ranchos, plus about double that number of former mission inmates living among the independent tribes. Bancroft, *History of California*, 7 vols. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1886-1890), 6:3. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the bulk of these worked at least part time for non-Indians. And some Indians who had never been in the missions worked for whites like Sutter in the interior. It should be added, however, that estimating the Indian population of nineteenth-century California is risky. See Hurtado, "California Indian Demography, Sherburne F. Cook, and the Revision of American History," *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (Aug. 1989): 323-43.
17. Sherburne F. Cook, "The Physical and Demographic Reaction of the Nonmission Indians in Colonial and Provincial California," *Ibero-Americana* 22 (1943):1-53. An Indian account of such an attack is in Hans Jørgen Uldall and William Shipley, comps., *Nisenan Texts and Dictionary*, University of California Publications in Linguistics, vol. 46 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 69. See also, Hurtado, " 'Saved so Much as Possible for Labour,' " 63-78.
18. For examples see James Axtell, *The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), 42, 262-64; Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1975), 146-70; R. David Edmunds, *The Shawnee Prophet* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 117-42; Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846-1870* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 157-58, 166, 168, 191, 197-201.
19. The best source on the recruitment and payment of Indian soldiers is the Fort Sutter Papers, the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also John Adam Hussey and George Walcott Ames, Jr., "California Preparations to Meet the Walla Walla Invasion, 1846," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 21 (March 1942): 9-21; Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (1848; reprint, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 359-60; Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, *Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, 3 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970-1973), 2:235, 302; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 77-85.
20. Bancroft, *California*, 6:3; Sherburne F. Cook, *The Population of the California Indians, 1769-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 44.
21. Cook, *Population of the California Indians*, 59, 65; Rodman W. Paul, *California Gold: The Beginning of Mining in the Far West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), 23-24.
22. Richard Barnes Mason describes Indian miners in Mason to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, August 17, 1848, in *Message from the President. . . to the Two Houses of Congress. . .*, Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 30th Cong., 2nd sess., ser. 537, 56-64. See also James Rawls, "Gold Diggers: Indian Miners in the California Gold Rush," *California Historical Quarterly* 55 (1976):28-45; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 100-124.
23. Edwin A. Beilharz and Carlos U. López, trans. and ed., *We Were 49ers! Chilean Accounts of the California Gold Rush* (Pasadena: Ward Ritchie Press, 1976), 52. For examples of the variety of Indian experience in the mines see Lyman L. Palmer, *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California* (San Francisco: Slocum, Bowen, 1881), 58-62; L. D. V. Haler to G. W. Patten, September 20, 1852. Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Dept. of the Pacific, Letters Received, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
24. Rawls, "Gold Diggers," 34-37.
25. John Carr, *Pioneer Days in California* (Eureka, Calif.: n.p., 1891), 104.
26. James Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984), 126-32, 171-86; Robert F. Heizer, ed., *The Destruction of the California Indians* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Peregrine Press, 1974); Robert F. Heizer, ed. *They Were Only Diggers: A Collection of Articles from California Newspapers, 1851-1866, on Indian and White Relations* (Ramona, Calif.: Ballena Press, 1974), 23-57; Robert F. Heizer and Alan F. Almquist, *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination under Spain, Mexico, and the United States to 1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 23-48; Lynwood Carranco and Estle Beard, *Genocide and Vendetta: The Round Valley Wars of Northern California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981), 84-156;
27. An excellent description of Indian conditions in Nevada County is found in W. P. Crenshaw to Thomas J. Henley, December 16, 1854, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, GR 75, National Archives Microfilm M234, reel 34 (hereinafter M234: reel number).
28. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 175-80. For documentary accounts see Heizer, ed., *Destruction of California Indians*, 271-84.
29. Gae Whitney Canfield, *Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983), 6-9; W. P. Crenshaw to Thomas J. Henley, December 16, 1854, M234:34; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 174.
30. "Cruelty to Squaws," *Daily Alta California*, January 17, 1858, 1; Heizer, ed., *Destruction of the California Indians*, 278.
31. Heizer, ed., *They Were Only Diggers*, 29, 34-35.
32. Sherburne F. Cook, "The Indian Versus the California Mission, *Ibero-Americana* 21 (1943):28-29; Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 180-92.
33. *Statutes of California*, 1850, chapter 133; Old Bill File, California State Archives, Sacramento; *California State Senate Journal*, 1850, 217, 224, 228-29, 257, 337-38, 343, 369, 384-87.
34. Heizer, ed., *They Were Only Diggers*, 1. See also Heizer, ed., *Destruction of the California Indians*, 226-41.

NOTES

35. George Harwood Phillips, "Indians in Los Angeles, 1781-1875: Economic Integration, Social Disintegration," *Pacific Historical Review* 69 (1980):427-51.
36. See, for example, John Sutter to Thomas Henley, February 9, 1856, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880, RG 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, reel 35.
37. Irvin Ayres, "Biographical Sketches," Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.
38. Thoughtful agriculturalists urged California farmers to mechanize as rapidly as possible. *California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences* 1 (June 15, 1854):189.
39. Paul Wallace Gates, ed., *California Ranchos and Farms, 1846-1862* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 42-44; Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relationship to the Productivity of Labor in the United States during the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1931), 125-53.
40. Fannie Reading to her mother, July 8, 1864, Reading Papers, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California; and Reading Ranch Journal, 1854, Reading Collection, California Room, State Library, Sacramento, California.
41. J. Ross Browne to Luke Lea, April 2, 1857; T. J. Henley to Charles E. Mix. November 19, 1858, both in Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881, Record Group 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, reels 34 and 36 respectively; and Henley to G. W. Manypenny, September 4, 1856, in *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1856, Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 34th Cong., 2d sess., ser. #875, 789.
42. Sutter to Henley, February 9, 1856, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1880, RG 75, National Archives Microfilm Publication M234, reel 35.
43. Hurtado, *Indian Survival*, 149-53.
44. A. B. Greenwood to John A. Dreibelbis, July 30, 1860, in *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1860, Sen. Ex. Doc. 1, 36th Cong., 2d sess., ser. 1078, 455-56
45. Cook, *Population of the California Indians*, 44-73; Sherburne F. Cook, "The Destruction of the California Indians," *California Monthly* 79 (December 1968):14-19.
46. Perhaps the best description of California Indian life in the last half of the nineteenth century is Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), republished in 1976 (Berkeley, University of California Press). For a modern overview of California Indian history see George H. Phillips, *The Enduring Struggle: Indians in California History* (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser, 1981).
47. Howard Lamar offers a revisionist view of free labor in the West in "From Bondage to Contract: Ethnic Labor in the American West, 1600-1890," in Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds., *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 293-324.
48. Albert L. Hurtado, " 'Hardly a Farm House—a Kitchen without Them': Indian and White Households on the California Borderland Frontier," *Western Historical Quarterly* 13 (July 1982):245-70.

PETERSON, "Thomas Starr King," pp. 12-21.

1. See James F. Carson, "California: Gold to Help Finance the War," *Journal of the West* 14 (1975), 25-41; Phyllis F. Butler, "New Almaden's Casa Grande," *California Historical Quarterly* 54 (1975): 315-322. For California's military involvement in the war, see Oscar Lewis, *The War in the Far West, 1861-1865* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1961): especially 39-97, 129-157; Tom Generous, "Over the River Jordan: California Volunteers in Utah during the Civil War," *California History* 63 (1984): 200-211; Leo P. Kibby, "Some Aspects of California's Military Problems during the Civil War," *Civil War History* 5 (1959): 251-262; Darlis A. Miller, *The California Column in New Mexico* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); and Leo P. Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Civil War Governors," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 44 (1965): 311-321. The author contends that about 16,000 California volunteers served, and about $185 million in gold was shipped from San Francisco alone. California also contributed her share of the direct tax imposed by Congress.
2. Benjamin F. Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (1941): 154-170; Ronald C. Woolsey, "Disunion or Dissent? A New Look at an Old Problem in Southern California Attitudes toward the Civil War," *Southern California Quarterly* 66 (1984): 185-205; Robert J. Chandler, "California's 1863 Loyalty Oaths: Another Look," *Arizona and the West* 21 (1979): 215-234; John W. Robinson, "A California Copperhead: Henry Hamilton and the *Los Angeles Star*" ibid. 23 (1981): 213-230; Henry H. Goldman, "Southern Sympathy in Southern California, 1860-1865," *Journal of the West* 4 (1965): 577-586; Ann Casey, "Thomas Starr King and the Secession Movement," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 43 (1961): 245-275; and Walton Bean and James J. Rawls, *California: An Interpretive History*, 5th ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988): 104-106. Also, see Andrew F. Rolle and John S. Gaines, *The Golden State: A History of California* 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights, Illinois: AHM Publishing Corp., 1979): 144-145.
3. For King's social origins and youth, see Charles W. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1921), 3-68. Also, see Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 1860-1890 (Santa Barbara, California: Wallace Hebberd, 1970, originally published, 1890), 287, 731: and obituary notices in the *Boston Transcript*, March 5, 1864; the *San Francisco Bulletin*, March 4, 1864; and the *San Francisco Daily Alta California*, March 5, 1864.
4. *Alta California*, March 5, 1864; Parker's observation is quoted in William D. Simonds, *Starr King in California* (San Francisco: P. Elder, 1917), 6.
5. As quoted in Wendte, *Thomas Starr King*, 69.
6. Ibid., 196.
7. Carol Dunlap, *California People* (Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, 1982), 110.

NOTES

8. See Gerald Stanley, "Slavery and the Origins of the Republican Party in California," *Southern California Quarterly* 60 (1978): 1-16; "The Slavery Issue and Election in California, 1860," *Mid-America* 62 (1980): 35-46; and "Civil War Politics in California," *Southern California Quarterly* 64 (1982): 115-132.
9. See especially Arnold Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty: Starr King in California* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), 38.
10. Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez, *A Short History of California* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1929), 526. Also, see Russell M. Posner, "Thomas Starr King and the Mercy Million," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 63 (1964): 291-308; Robert H. Bremner, "The Impact of the Civil War on Philanthropy and Social Welfare," *Civil War History* 12 (1966): 293-303; and James D. Hart, *A Companion to California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 443-444.
11. James Hulse, "Thomas Starr King and the Comstock Lode: The California Patriot's Visits to Nevada," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 26 (1983): 91-96; Bancroft, *History of California*, VII, 287, 729. For King "secularity and religion existed neither in disjunction nor in a continuum, but were brought together by spiritual insight." See Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), paper edition, 109.
12. U.S. 72nd Congress, 1st session, 1931-32, *Acceptance and Unveiling of the Statues of Junípero Serra and Thomas Starr King* (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932).
13. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 122. For Broderick's career, see David A. Williams, *David C. Broderick: A Political Portrait* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1969).
14. Crompton, *Apostle of Liberty*, omits King's environmentalism from his account. The text in question is Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, and Richard J. Orsi, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 286.
15. His book on the White Hills. . .was regarded as a masterpiece of description and travelogue." See Sandra Sizer Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives in Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 23.
16. Starr, *Americans and the California Dream*, 100, 104. For information on Mrs. Frémont and Starr King, see Pamela Herr, *Jessie Benton Frémont: American Woman of the 19th Century* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1987), esp. 311-17, 319, 324, 371-72.
17. Starr, 100.
18. Ibid., 101. King's letters about the California landscape sent to the *Boston Transcript* have been collected in a handy volume, John A. Hussey, ed., *A Vacation among the Sierra: Yosemite in 1860* (San Francisco: The Book Club of San Francisco, 1960).
19. As quoted in Wendte, *Thomas Starr King: Patriot and Preacher*, 141. Wendte duplicates passages from the more notable letters sent to the *Transcript*.
20. John Muir, *My First Summer in the Sierra* (New York: Penguin Books, 1987, originally published, 1911), 133.
21. As quoted in Wendte, 122.
22. As paraphrased in ibid., 120-121.
23. As quoted in ibid., 121.
24. Arriving in California in 1835 aboard a hide and tallow trader out of Boston, Dana praised California's fruitful environment: "Blessed with a climate, than which there can be no better in the world; free from all manner of disease, whether epidemic or endemic; and with a soil in which corn yields from seventy to eighty-fold. In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be." See Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (New York: Airmont Publishing Co., 1965, originally published, 1840), 136-137.
25. As quoted in Wendte, 121-122.
26. Ibid., 128.
27. Ibid., 133-134.
28. See Hart, *A Companion to California*, 474. For Clarence King's later role with the U.S. Geological Survey, see Henry Nash Smith, "Clarence King, John Wesley Powell, and the Establishment of the United States Geological Survey," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 34 (1947-1948): 37-58.
29. As quoted in Wendte, 136-137.
30. Ibid., 138.
31. Oscar T. Shuck, comp., "Selections from a Lecture-Sermon after Visiting Yosemite Valley," *The California Scrap Book* (San Francisco: Hubert H. Bancroft, 1869), 457; and Thomas S. King, *Christianity and Humanity* (Boston: James R. Osgood, 1877), 293. Edited by Edwin P. Whipple, the latter contains 22 of Starr King's major sermons.
32. On the Hetch Hetchy controversy, see Kendrick A. Clements, "Politics and the Park: San Francisco's Fight for Hetch Hetchy, 1908-1913," *Pacific Historical Review* 47 (1979): 185-216; Elmo R. Richardson, "The Struggle for the Valley: California's Hetch Hetchy Controversy," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 38 (1959): 249-258; and Stephen P. Sayles, "Hetch Hetchy Reversed: A Rural-Urban Struggle for Power," ibid. 64 (1985): 254-263. Although Muir outlived King by 50 years, both Muir and King died shortly after pursuing their great causes to the bitter end.
33. Dunlap, *California People*, 110.
34. Starr, 190.
35. Dunlap, 110.
36. See Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965, paper ed.), 122.
37. Ibid., 122-126. For a biography of Olmsted, see John E. Todd, *Frederick Law Olmsted* (Boston: Twayne, 1982).
38. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 405.
39. *Alta California*, March 7, 1864.
40. Starr, 191.
41. King regarded John C. Frémont as intellectually inferior to his wife, Jessie. "Referring to a suggestion that Frémont be appointed ambassador to France, he commented dryly: '*She* would have made a most brilliant and serviceable minister, and *he* can at least talk French.' " See Herr, *Jessie Benton Frémont*, 313.
42. Hart, *A Companion to California*, 261.
43. *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 404-405.

LANGLOIS, "Mary Austin," pp. 22-35.

1. The term "literary magazines" refers to those American magazines which published stories, poems, and essays, and were influential in the development of American literature.

NOTES

2. John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1969), 119.
3. Robert E. Spiller, et al., eds., *The Literary History of the United States*, 4th ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, Inc., 1974), 960.
4. Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1932), 177.
5. Edwin R.Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest* (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1955), 51.
6. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 231.
7. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 231.
8. Thomas Matthew Pearce, *Mary Hunter Austin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), 39.
9. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 231.
10. A. B. Nye to Mary Austin, 12 January 1906, A. B. Nye Papers, Bancroft Library.
11. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 291.
12. Bingham, *Charles F. Lummis: Editor of the Southwest*, 49.
13. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 294.
14. R. Gordon Kelly, *Children's Periodicals of the United States* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984), 379.
15. Mary Austin, "Regionalism in American Fiction," *English Journal*, February 1932, 102.
16. Mary Austin to William Booth, 11 June 1907, Mary Austin Collection, Huntington Library, hereinafter cited as H. L.
17. Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History*, 111.
18. "Mary Austin," *My Maiden Effort*, intro. by Gelett Burgess (New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1921), 15.
19. Bliss Perry to Mary Austin, 25 February 1902, H. L.
20. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 38.
21. Bliss Perry, "The Short Story in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, August 1902, 247.
22. Mary Austin, "The Folk Story in America," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, January 1934, 10.
23. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 230.
24. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 200.
25. Mary Austin to Houghton Mifflin Company, 25 November 1902, in *The Women Who Make Our Novels*, by Grant Overton (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918), 164-169.
26. Mary Austin, *Lost Borders* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1909), 3.
27. Mary Austin, *The Basket Woman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1904), v.
28. Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 258.
29. Dudley Taylor Wynn, "A Critical Study of the Writings of Mary Hunter Austin (1868-1934)" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 1939), 32.
30. Austin, *The Basket Woman*, vii.
31. Mary Austin, "The Lost Mine of Fisherman's Peak," *Out West*, November 1903, 501.
32. Mary Austin, "Regionalism in American Fiction," 107.
33. Mary Austin to William Booth, 1 October 1907, H. L.
34. Lee Ann Johnson, "Western Literary Realism: The California Tales of Norris and Austin," *American Literary Realism, 1870-1910*, Vol. 7, No. 3, (Summer 1974): 279.
35. "Editor's Study," *Harper's*, January 1909, 324.
36. "Editor's Study," *Harper's*, January 1908, 313.
37. Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History*, 109.
38. "In Western Letters," *Land of Sunshine*, May 1901, 393-394.
39. Charles Amadon Moody to Mary Austin, 3 November 1904, H. L.
40. Bliss Perry to Mary Austin, 7 August 1903, H. L.
41. Bliss Perry, *And Gladly Teach* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), 176.
42. "Editor's Study," *Harper's*, January 1909, 324.
43. William H. Briggs to Mary Austin, 29 May 1929, H. L.
44. William Dean Howells, *Literature and Life* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1902), 9-10.
45. Many of Mary Austin's California stories and sketches are available in two recently published works. *Western Trails, A Collection of Short Stories by Mary Austin*, selected and edited by Melody Graulich (Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1987), includes more than a dozen short stories written by Mary Austin during the period 1892 to 1910. *The Land of Little Rain* and *Lost Borders* appear under one cover in *Stories from the Country of Lost Borders*, edited and with an introduction by Marjorie Pryse, (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1987).

GELBER, "Sequoia Seminar," pp. 36-51.

1. Laurence R. Iannaccone, "A Formal Model of Church and Sect," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (Supplement 1988): S241-S268; Gary S. Becker, *The Economic Approach to Human Behavior* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
2. Murry G. Brooks, et. al., *This One Thing: A Tribute to Henry Burton Sharman* (Toronto: Student Christian Movement of Canada, 1959), 27-28.
3. [Abbie Lyon Sharman], "The Genesis of the Jesus Study Group, A Paper on the work of H. B. Sharman Written in 1935 by an Anonymous Author," typescript, Creative Initiative Archives, Beyond War headquarters, Palo Alto, Calif. These archives are not open to the public. See also Donald Layton Kirkey, Jr., "'Building the City of God': The Founding of the Student Christian Movement of Canada" (M.A. thesis, McMaster University, 1983), 18-28.
4. Mary McDermott Shideler, "*Via Crucis*: A Study of the Philosophy of Henry Burton Sharman," n.d., typescript, Henry Burton Sharman Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Ottawa, Ontario.
5. Interview with Harry and Emilia Rathbun, October 28, 1985, Palo Alto, Calif.
6. "Meeting of Those Interested in Seminars and Method of Leadership, 8th August, 1944, Camp Minnesing," and "Alpha Psi Zeta Foundation, Minutes of Meeting, Camp Minnesing, 20.8.44," Sharman Papers.
7. Harry J. Rathbun to E.L. Willmott, Western Union Night Letter, January 15, 1945, copy in Creative Initiative Archives.
8. For support for commitment as a precondition of participation, see Glenn Olds to Earl Willmott, n.d., copy in Creative Initiative Archives.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.; Harry Rathbun to Glenn and Eva Olds, Jan. 29, 1945, Creative Initiative Archives.

NOTES

11. Elizabeth Boyden Howes to Steven M. Gelber, February 12, 1987; John A. Sanford, ed., *Fritz Kunkel: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1984), 3-31.
12. Elston John Hill, "Buchman and Buchmanism" (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1970); Rathbun interview, October 28, 1985.
13. Interview with Harry and Emilia Rathbun, November 18, 1984, Palo Alto, Calif.; Howard Louis Love, "Gerald Heard's Natural Theology in Relation to the Philosophy of Henri Bergson" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1962), 77-92.
14. Earl Willmott, "Alpha Psi Zeta Foundation Discussions at Camp Minnesing 1945," 1, copy in possession of the author.
15. Ibid., 10-12.
16. Ibid., 4.
17. Ibid., 13-14.
18. Interview with Harry Rathbun, October 14, 1984, Palo Alto, Calif.; "Biographical information on Harry J Rathbun, Professor of Law, Emeritus, at Stanford University," typescript, Creative Initiative Archives.
19. Ibid.
20. Rathbun interview, October 14, 1984.
21. Ibid.
22. [Harry Rathbun], "The 4 Absolutes," January 18, 1974, 4, notes, Creative Initiative Archives.
23. Interview with Emilia Rathbun, September 21, 1984, Palo Alto, Calif.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; chronology of lives of Henry B. Sharman and Harry and Emilia Rathbun, ca. 1978, Creative Initiative Archives.
26. Ibid.; Frances Horn, *I Want One Thing: An Autobiography* (Marina del Rey, Calif.: DeVross & Co., 1981), 31, 55-57, 61-63.
27. Ibid.; Emilia Rathbun to Henry B. Sharman, September 20, 1948, Creative Initiative Archives.
28. Rathbun interview, October 14, 1984.
29. Earl Willmott and others to Co-Worker with the Records, March 5, 1946, Sharman papers; Dora Willson to Dear Friends, June, 1947, Sharman Papers; Dryden Phelps to Dear Friends, April 15, 1953, Creative Initiative Archives.
30. "Sequoia Iota Sigma Seminar," announcements for 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, Creative Initiative Archives.
31. Ibid.
32. Harry Rathbun to Henry J. Kaiser, December 8, 1945, Creative Initiative Archives.
33. Emilia Rathbun to Henry B. Sharman, October 11, 1948, Creative Initiative Archives.
34. Harry Rathbun to Merle Dennis, May 25, 1950, Creative Initiative Archives.
35. *San Jose Mercury News*, August 6, 1950, clipping in Creative Initiative Archives; Rathbun to Dennis, May 25, 1950, Creative Initiative Archives; Leon and Lucille Carley to Sequoia People, July 3, 1950, Creative Initiative Archives.
36. "Sequoia Iota Sigma Seminar," announcement, 1946, Creative Initiative Archives.
37. "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1959," 1,Creative Initiative Archives; repeated verbatim in "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1960," 1, Creative Initiative Archives.
38. "Leadership Seminar - 1955, Discussion on Leadership," Creative Initiative Archives.
39. "S.S. Newsletter," November, 1958, 2, Creative Initiative Archives.
40. Interview with Emilia Rathbun, Richard Rathbun, Donald Fitton, and others, September 16, 1987, Palo Alto, Calif.
41. "Sequoia Seminar, Organization and Operating Principles," December 24, 1955, Creative Initiative Archives.
42. "Sequoia Seminar, Operating Committees," May 13, 1956, revised October 3, 1956, Creative Initiative Archives.
43. "S.S. Newsletter," February, 1956, Creative Initiative Archives.
44. Sequoia Seminar roll books, 1947, 1948, 1955, Creative Initiative Archives.
45. "On Inviting People to Make a Study of the Records of the Life of Jesus at a Summer Seminar," n.d., ca. 1959, Creative Initiative Archives; "Sequoia Seminar Planning Group, Brainstorming Ideas From Meeting of 2/21/59," Creative Initiative Archives.
46. Sequoia Seminar roll books, 1947-1959, Creative Initiative Archives.
47. "S.S. Newsletter," May, 1957, 3, Betty Eisner Papers, private collection, Los Angeles.
48. "S.S. Newsletter," n.d., ca. 1956, 1, Betty Eisner Papers; "S.S. Newsletter," February, 1959, 5, Betty Eisner Papers.
49. Newsletter, August, 1951, 7, Betty Eisner Papers; George Bahrs, et. al., circular letter, November 16, 1954, Creative Initiative Archives.
50. "Sequoia Seminar Foundation, Statement of Income and Expenses, 1955," in "Sequoia Seminar Planning Committee, Minutes of Meeting, March 17, 1956," Creative Initiative Archives.
51. "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1957," Betty Eisner Papers; Sequoia Seminar annual reports, 1958-1961, Creative Initiative Archives.
52. Sequoia Seminar roll books, 1947-1956, Creative Initiative Archives; "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1960" and "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1961," Creative Initiative Archives.
53. Sequoia Seminar Planning Group, Brainstorming Ideas From Meeting of 2/21/59," Creative Initiative Archives.
54. "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1957," Betty Eisner Papers; "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1958," Creative Initiative Archives; John Levy, circular letter, June 15, 1957, Betty Eisner Papers.
55. "Sequoia Seminar, Report for 1959," 2, Betty Eisner Papers.
56. Ibid.; "Sequoia Seminar Planning Group, Brainstorming Ideas From Meeting of 2/21/59," Creative Initiative Archives.
57. Ibid.
58. Rathbun interview, November 18, 1984.

Trusted by Californians since 1852.

Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word—and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.

© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

WELLS FARGO BANK

The Public Historian

Sponsored by the National Council on Public History

SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE

- **The Field of Public History: Planning the Curriculum** (Vol. 9, No. 3)
- **The National Park Service and Historic Preservation** (Vol. 9, No. 2)
- **Archives and Public History: Issues, Problems and Prospects** (Vol. 8, No. 3)
- **The Debut of Public History in Europe** (Vol. 6, No. 4)
- **Business and History** (Vol. 3, No. 3)
- **Editing, Publishing, and Public History** (Vol. 4, No. 2)
- **Public History and Local History** (Vol. 5, No. 4)
- **Public History: State of the Art** (Vol. 2, No. 1)

Single Copies: $7.00 Individuals, $9.50 Institutions, $4 Students.

Send orders and subscription inquiries to: The Public Historian, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

990 Summer

3 9042 02348915 3

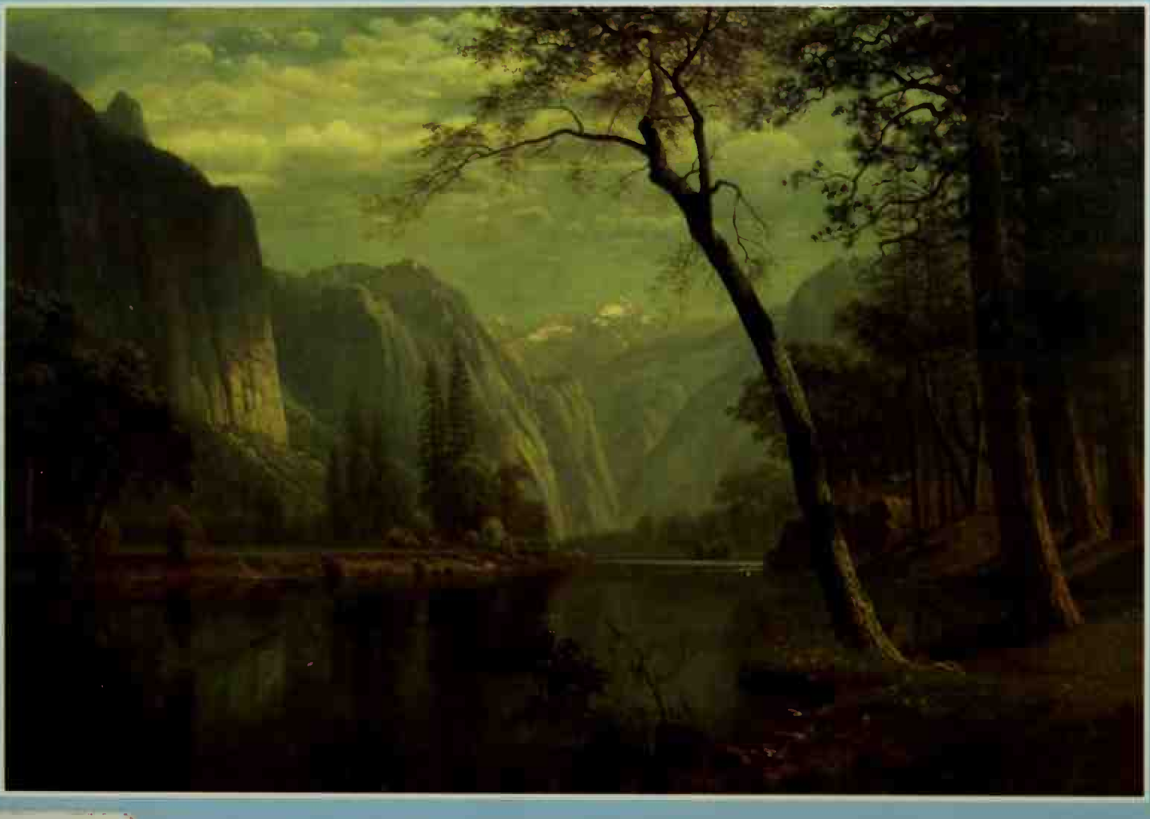
$7.95

SUMMER 1990

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

YOSEMITE AND SEQUOIA

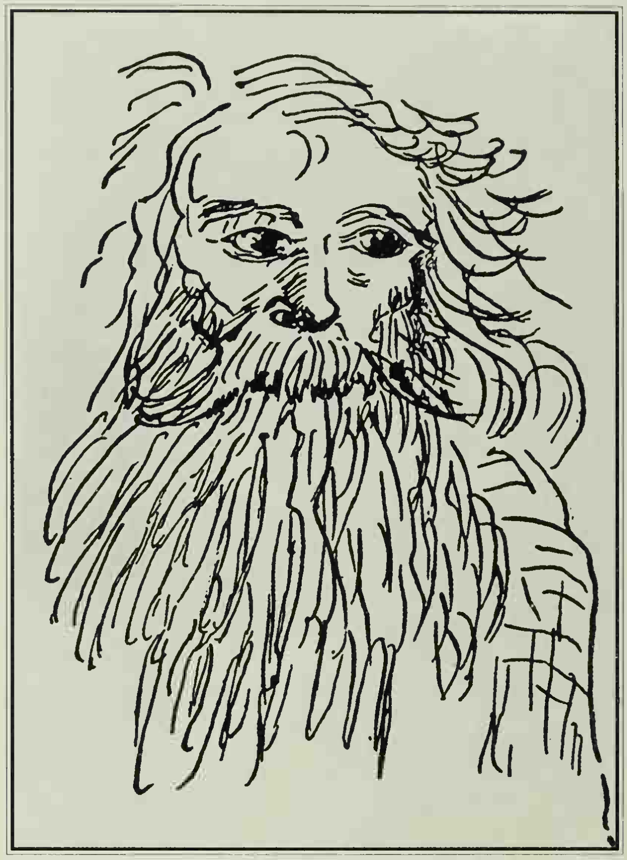
A Century of California National Parks



BURLINGAME
OCT 9 1990
LIBRARY

Milestones in California History—
John Muir and the California National Parks

A distinctive feature of John Muir's self-portrait, sent in a letter to a friend in 1887, is the large and penetrating eyes, an appropriate representation of his wilderness vision. Jeanne Carr, his early mentor and confidante, wrote to him that God had given him an "eye within the eye, to see in all natural objects the realized ideas of His mind." Indeed, Muir had sight beyond sight, for he was able to perceive and comprehend the spiritual, ecological, and rejuvenating qualities of wilderness-values that were heretofore unrecognized by the majority of nineteenth-century Americans. The names John Muir and Yosemite will, of course, be forever linked. Muir's scientific contribution of the glacial origins of Yosemite Valley alone is significant, but he also became Yosemite's leading publicist and defender.



John Muir, self-portrait, pencil sketch, 1887. *Courtesy Holt-Atherton Center for Western Studies, University of the Pacific.*

Yosemite was opened to the outside world in March 1851, when the Mariposa Battalion pursued Indians into the valley. In July 1856, J. M. Hutchings began promoting Yosemite attractions in his Hutchings' California Magazine. *Prompted by the writing of Horace Greeley and Thomas Starr King, the photography of C. L. Weed and C. E. Watkins, and the artistry of Thomas Ayres and Albert Bierstadt, many Californians began to recognize the aesthetic value of the state's spectacular mountains. In order to prevent further private claims to Yosemite Valley and to preserve the natural beauty of Yosemite and the nearby Mariposa Big Trees, a group of public-spirited citizens helped draft congressional legislation granting Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees to the custody of California for preservation as a park solely "for public use, resort, and recreation." Signed into law in 1864 by President Abraham Lincoln, this was the first official attempt at wilderness preservation and thus constituted the beginning of our national park system.*

To be sure, Muir was not the only California visionary. The passage a century ago this year of legislation officially designating the Yosemite and Sequoia regions as national parks would not have been possible without the cooperation of many individuals with similar vision. A coalition of local, state, and national interests, including representatives from the press, business, aesthetic, and scientific communities, worked to secure congressional approval in the summer and fall of 1890. Since Yellowstone had been designated a national park in 1872, Sequoia and Yosemite became the second and third federally managed wilderness parks. Muir and other catalysts of the 1890 bills were interested in protecting the areas and winning converts to the then radical idea of wilderness preservation. Like Muir, other individuals were disappointed in the state's guardianship of the valley, but some were interested in achieving national park status primarily for utilitarian reasons. Community and agricultural interests in the San Joaquin Valley supported the legislation to assure federal protection of forest watersheds. The Southern Pacific Railroad provided crucial assistance because its leaders recognized the benefit of enhancing railroad land values and increasing railroad revenues from higher crop production and passenger traffic.

Significantly, 1890 also marked the symbolic end of the American frontier, for it was that year that the federal census confirmed what was already suspected: there were few wild and unexplored places left in America. The end of the era of wilderness exploitation and destruction was thus marked by major milestones—the 1890 founding of Yosemite and Sequoia national parks—in the dawning of another era devoted to the preservation of some of America's great natural resources.

The ability of Muir and other visionaries to imagine the future is a rare talent. This California national parks centennial issue pays tribute to the wilderness visionaries of our past and hopes to inform and inspire those of tomorrow.

Keith Kennedy, Editorial Assistant, *California History.*

Front Cover: *On the Merced River,* undated painting of Yosemite Valley, by Albert Bierstadt. The early artists of Yosemite are the subjects of an article by Kate Nearpass Ogden in this issue. *CHS Collection, San Francisco. Photographed by Cecile Keefe.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIX No. 2

Summer 1990

SAMUEL B. KERMOIAN
Acting Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

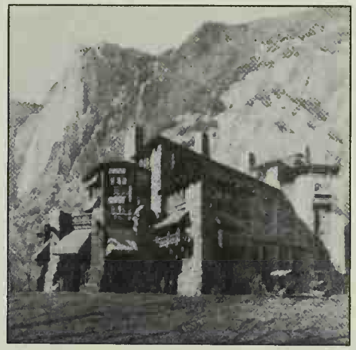
THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
Pamela Challinor, Frederick J. Isaac, Keith Kennedy, Brenda Sutton

86

92


154

86 The California National Parks Centennial: Introduction to the Special Issue
by Alfred Runte, Guest Editor

92 California National Parks Chronology

98 Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management
by Lary M. Dilsaver and Douglas H. Strong

118 Visiting "The Realm of Wonder": Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916
by Peter J. Blodgett

134 Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops: Nineteenth-Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite
by Kate Nearpass Ogden

154 From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six: Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930
by Anne F. Hyde

170 Joseph Grinnell and Yosemite: Rediscovering the Legacy of a California Conservationist
by Alfred Runte

182 In Harmony with the Landscape: Yosemite's Built Environment, 1913-1940
by Robert C. Pavlik

196 Conservation Conflict and the Founding of Kings Canyon National Park
by Lary M. Dilsaver

207 Reviews

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.

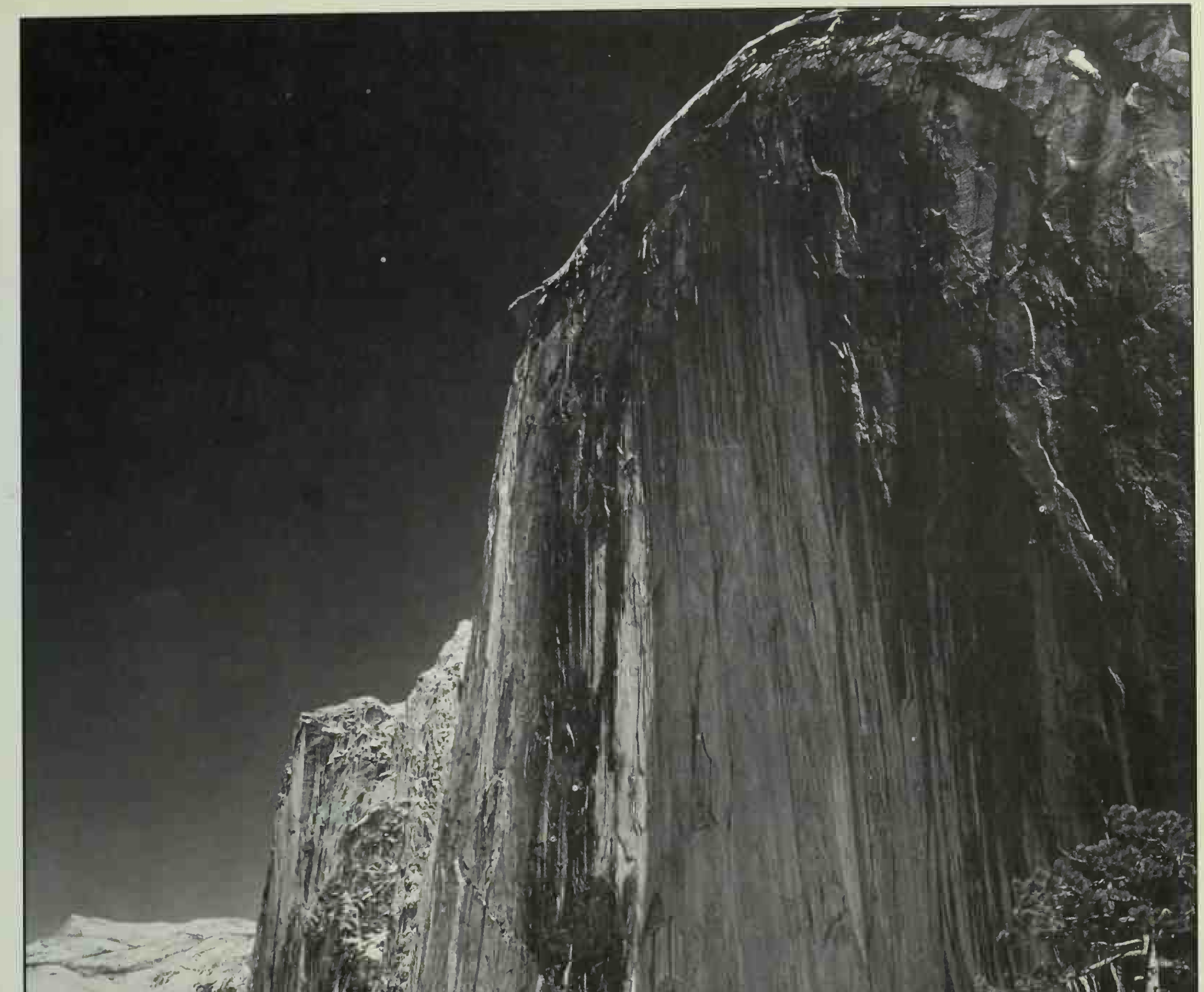
The California National Parks Centennial:
INTRODUCTION TO THE SPECIAL ISSUE

by Alfred Runte
Guest Editor

This special issue of *California History* recognizes California's seminal importance in the establishment and evolution of national parks. A century and a quarter ago, the national park idea was born in the High Sierra when so-called "gentlemen of fortune, of taste, and of refinement"[1] asked the state's junior United States senator, John Conness, to sponsor legislation setting aside Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of giant sequoias "for public use, resort, and recreation; . . . inalienable for all time."[2] Conness enthusiastically endorsed the proposal and shepherded it through a Congress grown weary by the tragedy of civil war. On June 30, 1864, President Abraham Lincoln signed the legislation, and the United States had its first park expressly devoted to the protection of natural scenery.[3]

Only because Congress designated California to be the actual guardian of the grant has the state's significance as the birthplace of national parks been challenged or discounted. The fact remains that the Yosemite Grant originated as a piece of *federal* legislation, and was awarded to California only so long as the state observed the express conditions contained in the act. Twice following its approval, in 1868 and 1871, California petitioned Congress for permission to recognize disputed land claims in Yosemite Valley. Josiah Dwight Whitney, writing on behalf of the Yosemite board of park commissioners, was among those who objected in 1868 on the grounds that Yosemite was "a National public park."[4] The historic case that emanated from the dispute, *Hutchings v. Low*, soon made it all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. In December 1872 the court upheld the original legislation of June 30, 1864, and thereby reaffirmed California's legal obligation to hold Yosemite Valley and the big trees "inalienable for all time." The land claims in Yosemite Valley were "inoperative" unless "ratified by Congress." But no such ratification had been approved, "and it is not believed," the court concluded, "that Congress will ever sanction such a perversion of the trust solemnly accepted by the State."[5]

In fact, then, if not in name, Yosemite was indeed the first national park. Neither Congress nor the U.S. Supreme Court would allow California to renege on the absolute acceptance of the terms of



"Monolith, the Face of Half Dome, Yosemite National Park, California, 1927." *Photograph by Ansel Adams. Courtesy of the Trustees of The Ansel Adams Publishing Rights Trust. All Rights Reserved.*

John Muir (left) and President Theodore Roosevelt leaving Yosemite Valley, May 15, 1903. It was at this famous meeting that Muir impressed Roosevelt with the importance of preserving wilderness in national parks and convinced the president that the valley, then under state management, should be returned to federal control for incorporation within Yosemite National Park, which had been created in 1890. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*

Yosemite's enabling legislation. Granted, Yellowstone, established as a public park in 1872, was the first area to eventually be *called* a national park. But its own precedent was Yosemite. By 1872 Congress was well aware of the disputed land claims in Yosemite Valley; the decision to hold Yellowstone in federal ownership was based in large measure on its sponsors' determination to avoid similar problems.[6]

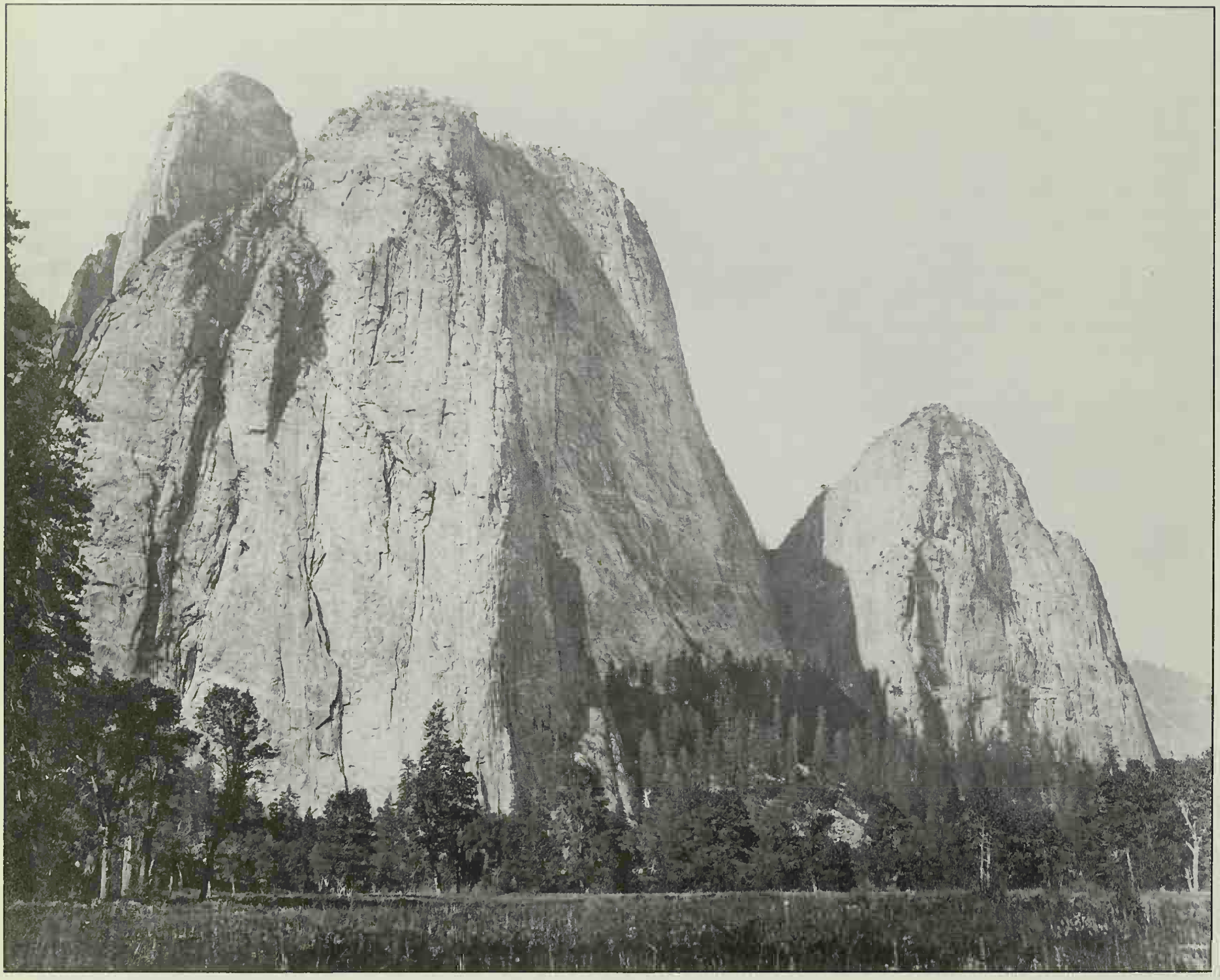
With the exception of portions of Mackinac Island (established in 1875 as a national park, but later returned to the state of Michigan), the Yosemite Grant and Yellowstone Park represented the sum total of national parks for an entire generation. Then, in 1890, California gave rise to the national park *system* with the protection of Yosemite, Sequoia, and the General Grant Grove. In response to pressure from local residents and a nationwide group of preservationists led by John Muir, Sequoia was approved as "a public park" on September 25; the Yosemite high country and the General Grant Grove, initially designated as "reserved forest lands," were set aside on October 1. The act of October 1, 1890, further enlarged Sequoia. Shortly afterward, sensing that Congress also intended Yosemite and General Grant to be managed as "public parks," Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble amended their titles accordingly. Henceforth, all three areas—Yosemite, Sequoia, and General Grant—would be known universally as national parks.[7]

Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove, however, remained under state administration until 1906, when preservationists forced their return to federal management. General Grant National Park is now known simply as the General Grant Grove, which is a detached unit of Kings Canyon National Park. Indeed, this is not only the centennial year of Yosemite and Sequoia national parks but also the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of Kings Canyon. For administrative purposes, Sequoia and Kings Canyon are generally recognized today as one and the same park. They were, nonetheless, originally established separately, and remain, in the minds of their loyal followers, distinct if adjoining units.[8]

Obviously, there is much to celebrate in 1990. Yet celebration must have a purpose. The perception and management of these three great parks is the subject of this special issue. By itself, Yosemite offers a remarkable example of the pressures for development that every national park in the United States has at times undergone. In Yosemite, debating environmental change is a process now a century and a quarter old. Yosemite, as the oldest park of its kind, has the longest history of modification. Tourists were familiar with Yosemite Valley well over a decade before the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone were even explored. The issues of park development were raised and debated first in Yosemite. Even today, no other national park more dramatically reflects America's alleged failure to reconcile the protection of the environment with the wants and demands of modern civilization. The histories of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks are also long and instructive. As Douglas Strong and Lary Dilsaver remind us, both parks have been especially important as proving grounds for new approaches in resources management.

The concentration of the remainder of this issue on Yosemite is in recognition of its overarching significance, including its far earlier promotion as one of the great icons of American culture. Kate Nearpass Ogden, Anne Hyde, and Peter Blodgett have combined a variety of important perspectives on the origins and distinctiveness of Yosemite's notoriety, exploring, among other topics, the role of Yosemite in landscape art and western tourism. Turning from the nineteenth to the twentieth century, Robert Pavlik describes how the growing

The high backcountry of Kings Canyon National Park along Bubbs Creek, as photographed in the early twentieth century. *CHS Library, San Francisco.*



Carleton E. Watkins, *Cathedral Rocks*. Watkins was the first major photographer to visit Yosemite. His mammoth prints made during the early 1860s were displayed in Washington, D.C., as part of the campaign in 1864 to preserve the valley as a national park. *Courtesy California State Library.*

popularity of Yosemite forced park officials to confront a host of management problems, most notably the need to harmonize new construction with the natural environment. That challenge, originally addressed during the 1920s and 1930s, still frustrates park designers, who nowadays often concede that the pressure to accommodate larger numbers of visitors detracts from the importance of other park values.

Perhaps if management had remained true to the principles of biological stewardship, as reflected in the wisdom of natural scientists such as Joseph Grinnell, the problem of overcrowding might have been headed off years ago. As director of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology of the University of California at Berkeley, Grinnell argued that the purposes of Yosemite were strictly scientific, inspirational, and educational in nature. The privilege of learning in Yosemite, he argued, should be far more important than recreation for its own sake. But abandoning their initial emphasis on visitation would prove extremely difficult for the national parks. In the eyes of Congress, it was numbers that mattered. The surest measure of success for the National Park Service was to demonstrate that more and more Americans were enjoying the parks. People, not preservation, confirmed that Yosemite, Sequoia, and Kings Canyon were worth the investment in congressional appropriations.

And so, even today, the issue remains joined. Indeed, every conflict in the history of the national parks, and therefore every suggestion of those conflicts yet to come, can be traced to some compromise of the ideal that the national parks first and foremost should exist for the preservation of their natural environments. As the authors in this issue remind us, the histories of Yosemite, Sequoia, and Kings Canyon national parks are filled with examples of attempts to impose layer upon layer of artificiality over the natural scene. It follows that the second century of California's centennial parks will be no less controversial than their first. The lessons of history, in that regard, are all the more relevant. California's wilderness parks are an unrivaled state, national, and international legacy. Each is too important to be just another place. In that perception, and no other, lie the only tried and true principles for guiding the future of these parks and their natural heritage. CHS

See notes beginning on page 219.

CALIFORNIA NATIONAL PARKS CHRONOLOGY

Yosemite Valley in the nineteenth century. Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins. *Courtesy California State Library.*

YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

1833 - Joseph Walker party crossed present Yosemite National Park and may have seen Yosemite Valley from the rim.

1851 - Mariposa Battalion under James Savage became the first non-Indians to enter the valley. The valley was then occupied by the Ahwahneeches, a tribal branch of the southern Sierra Miwok.

1855 - James Hutchings brought first party of sightseers to Yosemite Valley.

1856 - Lower Hotel, first permanent structure built, at base of Sentinel Rock.

1864 - Yosemite Valley and Mariposa Grove granted to California as a public trust.

1865 - Frederick Law Olmsted prepared the first detailed plan for the future needs and management of the Yosemite Grant.

1868 - John Muir made his first trip to Yosemite.

1874 - Coulterville and Big Oak Flat stagecoach roads completed to the valley.

1879 - Present building of Wawona Hotel constructed; Yosemite Chapel built.

1882 - Construction of Tioga Road began (completed in 1883).

1889 - Mirror Lake dam built to increase area of lake.

1890 - Yosemite National Park created on October 1. The Yosemite Valley Grant remained under California state management.

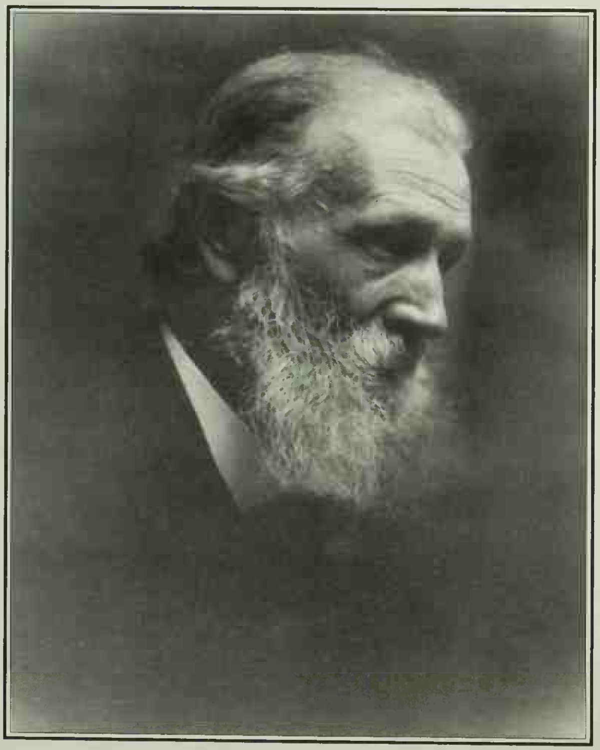
1891 - Captain A.E. Wood, first acting superintendent, arrived with federal troops (Fourth Cavalry) to administer national park from a base in Wawona.

Mid-1890s - Last grizzly bear shot in Yosemite (at Crescent Lake).

1899 - Curry Camping Company established at present-day Curry Village.

1905 - Area of national park reduced by Congress. Mt. Ritter, the Minarets, and Devil's Postpile eliminated on the southeast side, the south fork of the Merced River on the southwest side.

1906 - President Theodore Roosevelt signed the



John Muir, principal advocate of Yosemite National Park and the national park system, as photographed in 1912 by W. E. Dassonville. At this time, Muir's campaign against San Francisco's project to build a reservoir at Hetch Hetchy in Yosemite was nearing a climax. In 1913, however, Congress passed the reservoir bill, and the bitterly disappointed Muir died the next year. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

bill making Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove part of the national park.

1913 - Raker Act authorized use of Hetch Hetchy as a reservoir for the city of San Francisco. Automobiles allowed to enter Yosemite Valley.

1914 - Civilian employees replaced military in administration of the park.

1916 - National Park Service Act passed, creating a new agency under the Department of the Interior.

1924 - New National Park Service administrative center and village site developed on north side of Yosemite Valley (Old Yosemite Village near present chapel site).

1925 - Yosemite Park & Curry Company formed by consolidation of Curry Camping Company & Yosemite National Park Company.

1926 - All-year Highway (140) opened.

1927 - Ahwahnee Hotel opened.

1930 - Rockefeller Purchase restored nearly 8,700 acres along the western boundary of park.

1932 - Wawona Basin added to national park.

1934 - Hetch Hetchy water flowed to San Francisco.

1935 - Ski lodge built at Badger Pass.

1937 - Carl Inn Tract added, rounding out the addition of endangered sugar pine forests along the park's western side. Legal entanglements held up acquisition until 1939.

1941 - Bear feeding program in Yosemite Valley eliminated.

1954 - Park annual visitation exceeds one million.

1956 - New Yosemite Lodge central buildings completed, and old lodge razed.

1967 - Park annual visitation exceeds two million.

1968 - Last Firefall from Glacier Point on January 25.

1970 - Free shuttle bus operation begun in Yosemite Valley on February 9. Mariposa Grove Road closed to private cars; tram cars available for transportation.

1971 - Prescribed burning of selected forest undergrowth began as a technique to decrease fire hazard and to encourage new tree growth. Mirror Lake dredged for the last time.

1972 - Wilderness permits required for backcountry use. Yosemite Village parking area converted to non-vehicular pedestrian mall.

1973 - Music Corporation of America (MCA) purchased Yosemite Park & Curry Company.

1977 - Trailhead quota system established to control backcountry use.

1980 - General Management Plan completed.

1984 - 677,600 acres (eighty-nine percent of park) designated wilderness under terms of the Wilderness Preservation Act of 1964.

1986 - First reintroduction of bighorn sheep on Yosemite's eastern boundary.

1987 - Park annual visitation exceeds three million.

1990 - Yosemite National Park celebrates its one hundredth anniversary.

SEQUOIA NATIONAL PARK

1858 - Hale Tharp, with an Indian guide, became the first white man to enter the Giant Forest.

1864 - The California State Geological Survey, led by William Brewer, explored the High Sierra and viewed the upper Kern River Canyon.

1873 - A silver strike at Mineral King opened this high mountain valley to settlement.

1875 - John Muir named the Giant Forest while exploring the giant sequoias south from the Mariposa Grove.

1881 - Senator John F. Miller of California introduced the first bill in Congress to establish a national park in the southern Sierra.

1885 - Members of Cooperative Land and Colonization Association (the Kaweah Colony) initiated an ill-fated attempt to claim lands in the Giant Forest.

1890 - A movement led by George W. Stewart, editor and publisher of the *Visalia Delta*, culminated on September 25, with creation of Sequoia National Park, the nation's second national park; on October 1, Congress passed separate legislation creating General Grant Grove and Yosemite

Giant Forest Lodge 601
Sequoia Nat Park

Giant Forest Lodge in 1918, showing some of the first automobiles to make it into Sequoia National Park. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

national parks and tripling the size of Sequoia National Park.

1891 - U.S. Cavalry troops began administering the park.

1893 - President Benjamin Harrison signed a proclamation creating the Sierra Forest Reserve, including the watersheds of the Kern and Kings rivers.

1903 - First wagon road reached Giant Forest.

1914 - Park management passed to civilian control under Walter Fry.

1916 - Congress created the National Park Service.

1920 - Colonel John R. White became superintendent.

1926 - Congress added Kern Canyon and the crest of the Sierra Nevada around Mount Whitney to the park, tripling its size. The Generals Highway opened to Giant Forest.

1933 - Completion of the John Muir Trail linked Sequoia to Yosemite National Park.

1933 - The Civilian Conservation Corps made
1942 major improvements in the national parks.

1953 - Visitation to Sequoia and Kings Canyon surpassed one million.

1956 - Mission 66 spurred development of na-
1966 tional park facilities.

1964 - Richard Hartesveldt conducted the first prescribed burn in Kings Canyon National Park; the Wilderness Act passed Congress.

1974 - The Park Service extended wilderness use limits to all the Sequoia and Kings Canyon backcountry.

1978 - Congress approved the addition of Mineral King Valley after a proposed development of a major resort by Walt Disney Productions resulted in a national controversy.

1980 - The Giant Forest development concept plan established removal of concession facilities from the grove as a primary goal.

1984 - Eighty-five percent of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks set aside in wilderness under the Wilderness Act of 1965; work commenced on a development zone in Clover Creek, to which Giant Forest concession facilities will theoretically move.

1987 - Annual visitation to Sequoia and Kings Canyon reached a record high of 2,220, 561.

1990 - Centennial Celebration.

KINGS CANYON NATIONAL PARK

1873 - John Muir visited the Kings Canyon area and called for its protection.

1881 - Senator John Miller introduced an unsuccessful bill to create a national park in the Sequoia and Kings Canyon areas.

1902 - The U.S. Geological Survey published a water resource survey of the Kings River.

1920 - Creation of the Federal Power Commission spurred the city of Los Angeles and San Joaquin Valley interests to file plans for Kings River development.

1933 - The administration of General Grant National Park separated from that of Sequoia National Park.

1939 - Representative "Bud" Gearhart introduced a compromise bill to create Kings Canyon National Park without its two great canyons; the Forest Service completed road to Cedar Grove in Kings Canyon.

1940 - Kings Canyon National Park created on March 4, incorporating General Grant Grove.

1943 - The administration of Kings Canyon National Park combined with that of Sequoia National Park.

1965 - Cedar Grove and Tehipite Valley added to park.

1976 - The Park Service adopted a development plan for Kings Canyon calling for minimal development.

1990 - Kings Canyon National Park celebrates its fiftieth anniversary. CHS

Kings River Canyon, as photographed from Bubbs Creek in the early twentieth century.
CHS Library, San Francisco.

Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks:

One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management

by Lary M. Dilsaver and Douglas H. Strong

In 1990, when Sequoia National Park marks its centennial, Kings Canyon National Park will celebrate its fiftieth birthday. These contiguous parks in the southern Sierra Nevada constitute one of the nation's finest wilderness regions. The history of their establishment represents a major success story in preservation efforts in the United States, and the account of their management adds a valuable chapter to the history of the National Park Service.[1]

Such success did not come easily. The creation of Sequoia resulted primarily from the determined efforts of a few San Joaquin Valley residents, and the expansion of the park and establishment of Kings Canyon came only after extended battles and compromises. The history of their management reveals the transiency of policies that depend on changing public awareness, lobby groups, and leadership.

Between 1772, when Europeans first sighted the Sierra Nevada, and the discovery of gold at Sutter's mill in 1848, few white people set foot in the Sierra Nevada.[2] Not until 1858 did cattleman Hale Tharp make the first known visit by a white person to the mountainous area east of the central San Joaquin Valley that became Sequoia National Park. Guided by local Indians, he traveled to Giant Forest, one of the finest concentrations of giant sequoias, where he later established a summer cattle camp. Although the Indians appealed to Tharp to protect their land, nothing could prevent the increasing influx of settlers into the Sierra foothills. Smallpox, scarlet fever, and measles devastated the Indians. The survivors retreated into the high mountains and crossed the Sierra to the east. The Indians of Kings Canyon met the same fate.[3]

Soon sheepherders, prospectors, and lumbermen in pursuit of their trades entered the Kings-Kern-Kaweah watersheds in the Sierra east of Fresno and Visalia. Following the great California floods and drought of 1862-1864, sheepherders from the southern San Joaquin Valley drove their flocks north and east into the highest mountains in search of grazing land. Unfortunately, sheepherding practices at that time, combined with a complete lack of governmental control over the use of public land, resulted in widespread damage to the mountain watersheds. When sheep entered the mountains as the snow melted each spring, their sharp hoofs cut deeply into the moist soil, severely damaging the meadows. Sheepherders' fires, set in the fall to clear away brush and deadfall, ran unchecked over the mountain slopes.[4]

Fires and overgrazing alarmed some explorers of the Sierra. In 1873, Clarence King noted that the Kern Plateau, which had numerous meadows and lush grass when he had visited earlier, now appeared as a "gray sea of rolling granite ridges."[5] Two years later, John Muir vividly described the threat to Kings Canyon's fragile beauty. He urged that the forests be protected so the spring run-off would be sure to provide enough water for the San Joaquin Valley during the dry summer months. In Muir's opinion, "sheepmen's fires" did a great

The General Sherman Tree in Giant Forest is the largest living thing on earth. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

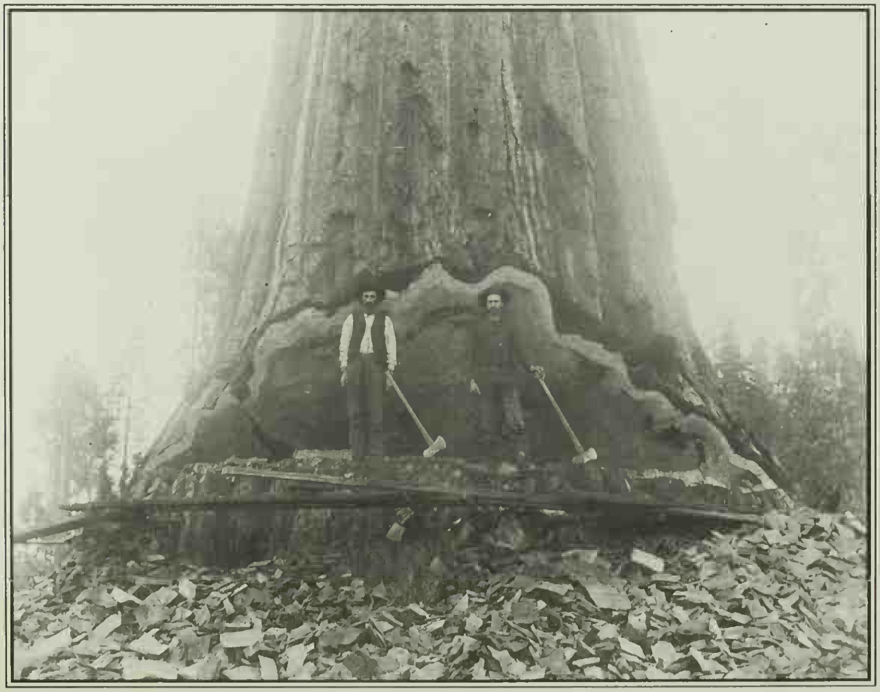
deal more damage than lumbermen's axes or mill fires.[6]

Prospectors also participated in the early exploration and utilization of the Kings-Kern-Kaweah watersheds. Their extensive prospecting came to little except for one strike at Mineral King. The discovery of silver in 1873 touched off a rush to this high mountain valley. With the completion of a road into the isolated mining camp by the end of the decade, Mineral King reached its peak of development. The boom soon ended, however. With the failure of the mines, the toll road passed into the hands of the county and became a public highway. A few summer tourists, attracted by the cool mountain air, built cabins and continued to visit the valley each year.[7]

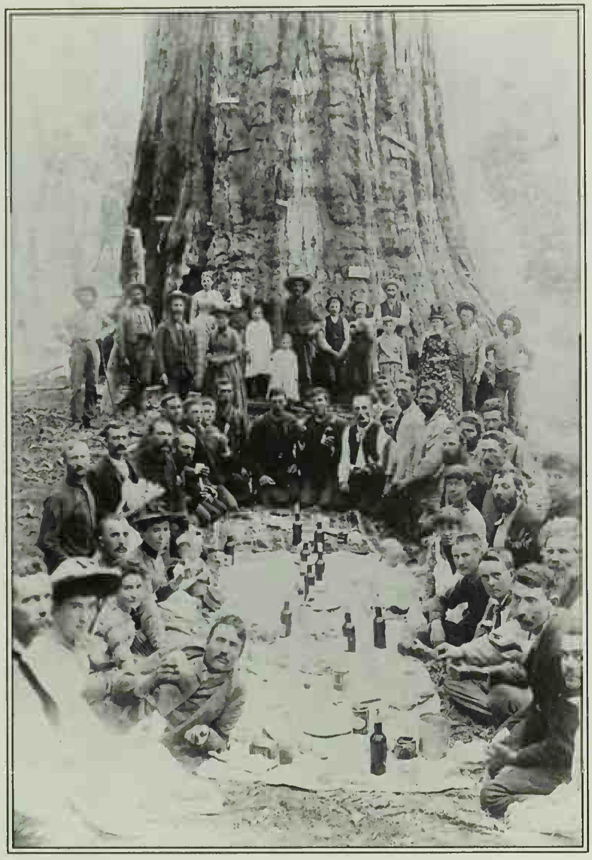
In the meantime, discovery of the big trees elsewhere in the Sierra Nevada had attracted worldwide attention. In 1852, a hunter named A.T. Dowd, tracking a wounded bear, stumbled on the stand of giant sequoias now known as the Calaveras Grove of big trees. Together with Yosemite Valley, the enormous trees became a mecca for tourists. While the coastal redwood reached a greater height and the bristlecone pine of California's White Mountains was older, no other species of tree came even close to matching the giant sequoia in sheer bulk and grandeur.

In the 1860s lumbermen entered the forests of the Kings and Kaweah watersheds. At first lumber mills served only local communities, but the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad line through the San Joaquin Valley in the mid-1870s opened more distant markets. Although pine and fir trees provided most of the lumber, many giant sequoias were cut to provide shakes, fence posts, and grape stakes. The worst was yet to come. Log flumes, introduced in 1889, opened previously inaccessible timberlands to loggers. Perhaps the finest stand of giant sequoias, in the Converse Basin, fell quickly.

Danger to the General Grant Grove first stimulated interest in protection of the giant sequoias of the Kings-Kaweah watersheds. As early as 1864 the Brewer expedition, in its report to the state of California, noted that big trees to the west of the grove were being cut for fence posts. Israel Gamlin established a squatter's claim to part of the grove in 1872 and completed a rough road to haul timber to the valley below. Three years later, within the very shadow of the General Grant tree, two men



Lumbermen Bill Mills (left) and S.D. Phips stand before the Mark Twain Tree in the area of modern Grant Grove in Kings Canyon National Park. They felled the tree in 1891 to provide exhibition sections for New York and London. *Photograph by C.C. Curtis. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*



The Kaweah Colony celebrates completion of their access road to the plateau of Giant Forest with a picnic in 1890. Soon thereafter their land ownership claims were suspended and Sequoia National Park created. *Photo by C.C. Curtis. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

took nine days to fell an enormous tree and then set fire to its stump. Two 16-foot sections were cut into sections that could be shipped and reassembled in the East. But visitors at the exhibit the next year thought the whole thing was a hoax. How could a tree be that big? Beginning in 1878, editorials in the Visalia *Delta* criticized the destruction of the forests, including the cutting of giant sequoias for exhibit.[8]

In 1880 Theodore Wagner, the United States Surveyor General for California, wrote to the registrar of the United States Land Office in Visalia to request that four sections in the Grant Grove be suspended from entry, temporarily prohibiting anyone from claiming the land under existing land laws. He was responding to the concerns of Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz, several scientists, and a growing number of local citizens who advocated protection of the big trees. In the following year, General John F. Miller of California introduced into Congress the first bill to establish a park.[9] The measure died in committee, however, perhaps because the proposed park was so large and would be opposed by timber and grazing interests.

In 1885 fifty members of the Cooperative Land and Colonization Association, with the intention of founding a utopian community, filed ownership claims on extensive tracts of land in Giant Forest under the Timber and Stone Act. They next sought capital for a railroad to connect with a road they planned to build from the foothills to the forestlands. When the railroad plan failed, they formed a joint stock company, the Kaweah Cooperative Commonwealth Company, and constructed an 18-mile road through rugged country to the edge of Giant Forest.[10] After setting up a portable sawmill, the colonists produced a small amount of lumber.

While a government land agent examined the Kaweah Company's land claims, local residents in Tulare County initiated a determined drive to protect the Sierra forests by having Congress permanently withdraw large tracts of land from the market. There were precedents for such action. Congress had granted Yosemite Valley to California in 1864 for "public use, resort and recreation." It was the first area in the country specifically set aside to be preserved for all future generations. As such, Yosemite marked the real beginning of the national park system, even though Yellowstone, created in 1872, was the first officially designated national park. Yosemite did not achieve this status

The two most important individuals in the history of Sequoia National Park stand before a big tree in Giant Forest. George Stewart (right), a Visalia newspaperman, led the fight to create the park in 1890. Colonel White served as superintendent for most of the period 1920 to 1947 and shaped both its development and preservation. *Photo by Lindley Eddy. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

until 1890, and the valley actually remained under state management until 1906.

Farmers in the San Joaquin Valley wanted to protect the watershed on which they depended for irrigation, and they also wished to preserve the groves of giant sequoia remaining in public ownership as scenic and recreational areas. With these goals in mind, George W. Stewart, editor and publisher of the Visalia *Delta*, spearheaded the movement to protect the southern Sierra Nevada.[11]

Stewart became concerned when the state of California tried to acquire parts of the Grant Grove in 1889 as indemnity school land, and several private individuals also filed on part of the same grove. Although the grove had been withdrawn from the market in 1880, Congress had done nothing to guarantee its permanent protection. Stewart warned of the damage sheep and manmade fires could cause to the watershed and the valley below. Also, increasing numbers of vacationers needed protected areas for summer recreational use.

The *Delta's* editorials soon attracted local attention, and members of the Tulare County Grange called a meeting for October 9, 1889, in Visalia. Prominent residents from Fresno, Kern, and Tulare counties who attended agreed unanimously to petition Congress to establish a national park. When Stewart and Tipton Lindsey, former receiver of the U.S. Land Office, drew a map of the proposed reservation, they expanded it to include the entire western slope of the Sierra from the present Yosemite National Park in the north to the southern end of the forest belt in Kern County. They wished to protect all major rivers flowing from the mountains into the San Joaquin and Tulare valleys.

A few months later, Stewart and his local supporters—including John Tuohy, Frank Walker, and Lindsey—became alarmed over rumors that the federal government was about to open the Garfield Grove—south of Giant Forest—to private land ownership under the Swamp and Overflow Act, Timber and Stone Act, and other statutes. Lumbermen coveted the timber, and sheepmen desired access to mountain meadows. Letters sent from the *Delta* office to interested groups and influential people from coast to coast warned of the danger to the world's largest trees, the giant sequoias. Lindsey notified Congressman William Vandever, initiating a full-scale campaign for a park.

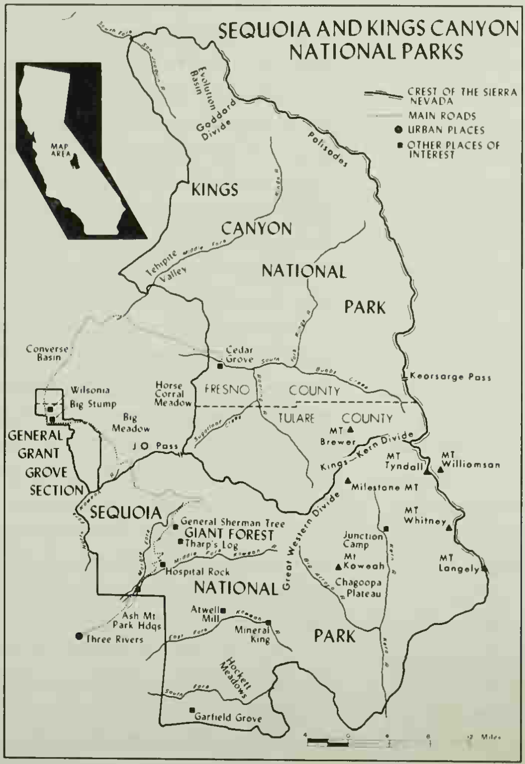
By the end of July 1890, Vandever introduced a bill for a national park in the township that included the Garfield Grove.[12] The *Delta's* campaign attracted the support of *Garden and Forest*, *Forest and Stream*, and other publications. The California Academy of

Sciences, American Association for the Advancement of Sciences, and American Forestry Association also adopted resolutions favoring the park bill. Such support brought results; President Benjamin Harrison signed the bill on September 25, 1890. Sequoia National Park became the nation's second national park, created eighteen years after Yellowstone. The enabling act provided that two townships plus four sections be withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale, and that they be set apart as a public park or pleasure ground for the enjoyment of the people.[13]

Wanting to see all the forests of the Sierra preserved, Stewart declared in the *Delta* that the first important step in a great work had been taken. Believing that the Kings and Kern canyons and other desirable areas could be added later, park advocates had not clamored for a large park because of the imminent danger to the Garfield Grove. They felt that any effort to secure a larger park, which would have included much privately held land, would be sure to fail without an educational campaign that they had no time to conduct.

On October first, less than one week after creation of the park, Congress passed a second bill that established Yosemite National Park, tripled the size of Sequoia, and set aside the Grant Grove as a small separate national park.[14] The measure came as a complete surprise to Stewart and others who had initiated the movement and worked so hard for the first bill. Daniel K. Zumwalt, a resident of Visalia and a land agent of the Southern Pacific Railroad who visited Vandever in Washington, has been credited with proposing both Grant National Park and the expansion of Sequoia, as well as for lobbying on behalf of establishment of Yosemite National Park. He had a personal interest both in protecting the watershed and preserving the giant sequoias. He knew of the 1889 petition and subsequent correspondence of the park advocates. More important, the Southern Pacific had long been concerned about protecting the water supply of the San Joaquin Valley, and it recognized that national parks would attract tourists and increase business.[15] Support by the powerful Southern Pacific helped win the day for Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant national parks.

The Kaweah colonists, however, were shocked and dismayed by the news of the October first legislation. To make matters worse, a special land


SEQUOIA AND KINGS CANYON
NATIONAL PARKS
CREST OF THE SIERRA NEVADA
MAIN ROADS
URBAN PLACES
OTHER PLACES OF INTEREST
MAP AREA
Evolution Basin
Goddard Divide
Palisades
KINGS
CANYON
NATIONAL
PARK
Tehipite Valley
Converse Basin
Cedar Grove
Kearsarge Pass
Wilsonia
Big Stump
Horse Corral Meadow
FRESNO COUNTY
TULARE COUNTY
Big Meadow
GENERAL GRANT GROVE SECTION
J O Pass
MT Brewer
Kings–Kern Divide
MT Tyndall
MT Williamson
Milestone MT
SEQUOIA
General Sherman Tree
GIANT FOREST
Tharp's Log
Hospital Rock
NATIONAL
Great Western Divide
MT Whitney
Junction Camp
Mt Koweah
MT Langely
Chagoopa Plateau
Atwell Mill
Ash Mt Park Hdqs
Three Rivers
Mineral King
PARK
Hockett Meadows
Garfield Grove
4 0 4 8 12 Miles

Courtesy of the Sequoia Natural History Association.

agent of the Department of the Interior reversed a previous report and ruled unfavorably on the colony's already-filed land claims in Giant Forest. Despite widespread support of the colonists by many residents of Tulare County, who respected the time and labor they had invested, Secretary of the Interior John Noble ruled against the colonists' land claims in April 1891. The government even denied compensation for the road they had built.[16]

The creation of the three national parks in California marked only the first step in protecting the Sierra watershed. Further prompt action was clearly needed. Within a decade, the population of Fresno and Tulare counties had more than doubled. The California State Board of Forestry frankly admitted that lack of funds prevented proper fire control. And as most of California was still the property of the national government, the state looked to Washington for legislative help.

Fortunately, in March 1891, Congress passed legislation that permitted the president to proclaim permanent forest reserves—today's national forests.[17] Protectors of the Sierra could now propose that land be set aside in forest reserves or national parks; it mattered little that no clear distinction between the two kinds of reserves existed at that time. In April, Stewart recommended that Sequoia and General Grant national parks be extended eastward to the summit of the Sierra Nevada. John Muir and Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of *Century Magazine*, both of whom had played a leading role in the establishment of Yosemite National Park, also continued to agitate for a large forest reserve in the southern Sierra.

In October, the commissioner of the General Land Office directed Special Agent B.F. Allen to investigate the forest reservation proposed in the Tulare County petition of 1889.[18] The petition had requested that the government reserve a tract of land embracing over 200 townships. On Allen's recommendation, the commissioner withdrew 230 townships from settlement under federal land laws, pending investigation of these lands. While an "Anti-Park Association," led by local sheepmen and lumbermen, protested that the forest reservation would hurt local prosperity, most residents of the San Joaquin Valley either approved the withdrawal of land or were neutral.

Early in 1892, Johnson suggested to Secretary Noble that President Benjamin Harrison reserve all of the Sierra Nevada above a certain altitude. If that were done, Johnson reasoned, later, at a moment of less urgency, Congress could convert some of it from forest reserve to parkland. He dreamed of an eventual large national park incorporating the southern Sierra.

Special Agent Allen redrew the boundaries he had been investigating to exclude arable land in the foothills, thus eliminating a good deal of potential opposition to the proposed reserve. When he completed his report in early 1893, he stressed the dependence of the economic future of the San Joaquin Valley on the protection of the watershed. Finally, on February 14, Harrison signed a proclamation establishing the Sierra Forest Reservation —a vast area of over four million acres stretching from Yosemite National Park on the north to a point well south of Sequoia National Park.[19]

While park advocates had presumed the adjacent Kings and Kern watersheds—part of the new forest reserve—might soon be added to Sequoia and General Grant national parks, pleas for park expansion fell on deaf ears. In 1905, the Department of Agriculture gained jurisdiction over all forest reserves and soon changed the name to national forests. Under Forest Service policy of multiple use and sustained yield, grazing and logging remained options on national forests of the Sierra Nevada. The Sierra Club and other park advocates continued to call for permanent preservation of outstanding scenic areas in national parks.

In 1911, California Senator Frank Flint introduced a bill to create a vast national park in the southern Sierra.[20] Earlier, William Colby of the Sierra Club had proposed a series of national monuments in the Kings River Canyon, Tehipite Valley, and other scenic areas, and Robert Marshall of the Geological Survey had initiated a plan for a large park incorporating both the Kern and Kings river watersheds. Advocates argued that an enlarged Sierra park would increase government appropriations, attract tourists, and stimulate the local economy.

But many local people opposed the enlargement. Stockmen, who paid only a small fee for grazing on national forest lands, would be excluded from a park. Hunters opposed the elimination of such a large hunting area. Prospectors claimed that much valuable ore would be excluded from use, and lumber interests decried the loss of valuable timber. Others argued that the natural features of the Sierra already had protection through their ruggedness and inaccessibility. Chief U.S. Forester Henry S. Graves insisted that all proposals for new national parks be deferred until a Bureau of National Parks was created.

The 1913 loss of the Hetch Hetchy Valley of Yosemite National Park to a dam site to provide water for San Francisco made park enlargement in the southern Sierra seem all the more important. Under heavy pressure, Congress established the National Park Service in 1916. Stephen Mather, its first director, led prominent guests into the Sierra to gain support for park expansion.

Opposition intensified, however. Cattlemen in the San Joaquin Valley still coveted summer grazing lands in the mountains; the Forest Service argued that any future park should exclude timber, mineral, and grazing lands of commercial value; the Los Angeles Bureau of Power and Light planned major dams at Cedar Grove in Kings Canyon and Tehipite Valley; its rival, the San Joaquin Light and Power Company, filed applications for its own power sites; and local irrigationists defended their need for the water and hydroelectric power of the Kings River.

The contest between rival interests ended in a standoff and left the door open for negotiations. The Federal Power Commission decided that Los Angeles had no immediate need for hydroelectric power from the Kings River and that the city's claims interfered with the park proposal. The Park Service and Forest Service, after lengthy discussions, compromised on drawing boundary lines. In the end, however, the irrigationists succeeded in excluding the whole Kings Canyon watershed from the proposed park expansion, claiming that they would need sites for future hydroelectric power projects. Mather and the Sierra Club, which had played a central role in the negotiations, decided to settle for what they could get—the Kern Canyon and the Sierra Nevada around Mount Whitney—and to work for a power-free Kings River park later. A Sequoia National Park enlargement bill received the president's signature on July 3, 1926.[21]

Discussions continued through the late 1920s on proposals to add the Kings Canyon region to the national park system. Once more, however, park advocates and irrigation and hydroelectric power interests could not agree on whether the area should be preserved for its wilderness and recreational values or for the construction of dams. Little happened until 1935, when Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes proposed a bill to establish Kings Canyon National Park and announced that the new park would be treated as "primitive wilderness."[22] This meant access would be restricted to a state highway, then under construction, that was not to be extended farther than the canyon floor of the south fork of the Kings River. The Sierra Club, after receiving assurances that the Park Service would not overdevelop the region for recreational purposes, actively supported the park movement.

Ickes's park proposal, however, met with sharp criticism. Many valley commercial interests feared the Park Service would prohibit development, especially dams for hydroelectric power and irrigation. They favored continued administration by the Forest Service with its more utilitarian approach. Local Forest Service officials, opposed to the growing national park system, fought to defend its management principles and the land under its jurisdiction.

After a major battle in Congress, the contending parties reached a settlement. To win the support of the irrigationists, Ickes and local congressman Bertrand W. Gearhart supported separate legislation to develop the Pine Flat reservoir and related reclamation development projects to the west of the park. In addition, the dam sites of Cedar Grove on the south fork of the Kings River Canyon and Tehipite Valley on the middle fork were excluded from the proposed park, leaving the door open to future development. President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the park bill on March 4, 1940, thus ending the lengthy struggle to establish Kings Canyon National Park.[23]

The park was perhaps the best compromise possible at the time. The Park Service gained a magnificent mountain wilderness of more than 450,000 acres. The small General Grant National Park, created in 1890 and administered jointly with Sequoia National Park until 1933, was converted into a part of the new Kings Canyon National Park. Since 1943, the neighboring parks of Sequoia and Kings Canyon have been administered jointly.

In the years that followed, the city of Los Angeles made new proposals for water and power development, not only in Tehipite Valley and at Cedar Grove, but within the park itself.[24] The Sierra Club objected, and the Federal Power Commission ruled once again against the applications. Although Cedar Grove and Tehipite Valley together embraced relatively few acres, they were important to the park. Cedar Grove represented the one area in Kings Canyon that could be reached by automobile and that could be developed for use by tourists; Tehipite Valley, dominated by a remarkable granite dome that rose high above the middle fork of the Kings River, provided a noted wilderness attraction.

The Forest Service had earlier agreed to Park Service management of Cedar Grove, but uncertainty about the ultimate fate of the south fork of the Kings River Canyon had blocked its development. When alternative dam sites, especially at Pine Flat, were identified downriver, the irrigationists finally withdrew their opposition to including the contested areas in the park. In 1965 Congress added Cedar Grove and Tehipite Valley to Kings Canyon National Park.[25]

Just as the decades-old battle over Kings Canyon ended, controversy broke out over Mineral King, just south of Sequoia National Park.[26] Excluded from the park in 1890, the former mining community had remained a quiet summer camping area ever since. The Forest Service administered the valley as part of Sequoia National Forest and, after 1926, as a game refuge. With the enlargement of the park that year, the valley became an enclave, surrounded on three sides by national park lands.

Responding to rapid increase in outdoor recreation following World War II, the Forest Service invited proposals from private developers for a ski resort at Mineral King. Due to the high estimated cost, especially of the construction of an improved road, no acceptable developer could be found until the 1960s. Early in 1966, the Forest Service granted Walt Disney Productions a preliminary planning permit for a year-round resort. The Disney proposal included a Swiss-style village, ski-lifts to serve 20,000 skiers daily, and parking for 3600 vehicles. The Sierra Club argued in opposition that, if it were developed, Mineral King would sustain irreversible damage and that its wilderness values made the valley worthy of national park status.[27]

When Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall approved a proposal to construct an improved road across national park land into the valley, the Sierra Club responded, filing suit in 1969 in United States District Court for an injunction to block federal officials from issuing permits. Three years later, the United States Supreme Court upheld a ruling by the United States Court of Appeals that the club did not have the legal standing necessary to pursue the lawsuit. The court, however, left the door open for the club to amend its original complaint in the district court. Faced with further delays and possible defeat in the courts, disappointed by the California legislature's refusal to fund improvements of the road to Mineral King, and aware of growing public opposition to its plans, Disney looked elsewhere for a resort site. In 1978, Congress ended the controversy by adding Mineral King to Sequoia National Park.[28]

Looking back on the creation of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks, it is clear that various commercial interests—lumbermen, stockmen, hydroelectric developers, irrigationists, resort developers —managed to block broadly supported efforts to expand the national park system. It often appears that support for parks prevailed in Congress only when economic interests had been satisfied. On the other hand, the establishment of Kings Canyon as a wilderness park in 1940, and the more recent addition of Mineral King to Sequoia National Park, represent important steps toward protecting the ecological integrity of the national parks. Kings Canyon became one of the first parks specifically recognized for its wilderness qualities, and the protection of Mineral King, in the face of the determination of the Disney Corporation, marked a milestone in American preservation history.

The campaigns to establish and enlarge Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks make up only one facet of their history. A parallel story concerns their management. Park managers and citizens asked how these national parks could best serve the public interest. Would they be best administered as natural preserves, or as recreation areas? These questions proved difficult to answer, and to this day no real agreement has been reached on the meaning and purpose of the national parks.

To begin with, Congress in 1890 provided no instructions or funding for Sequoia National Park.[29] At the request of Secretary of the Interior John Noble, the Secretary of War sent troops to protect the national parks of California from trespassers and vandals, a practice earlier introduced in Yellowstone. But the troops lacked authorization to patrol the Sierra Forest Reserve, and there were not enough soldiers for this purpose anyway.

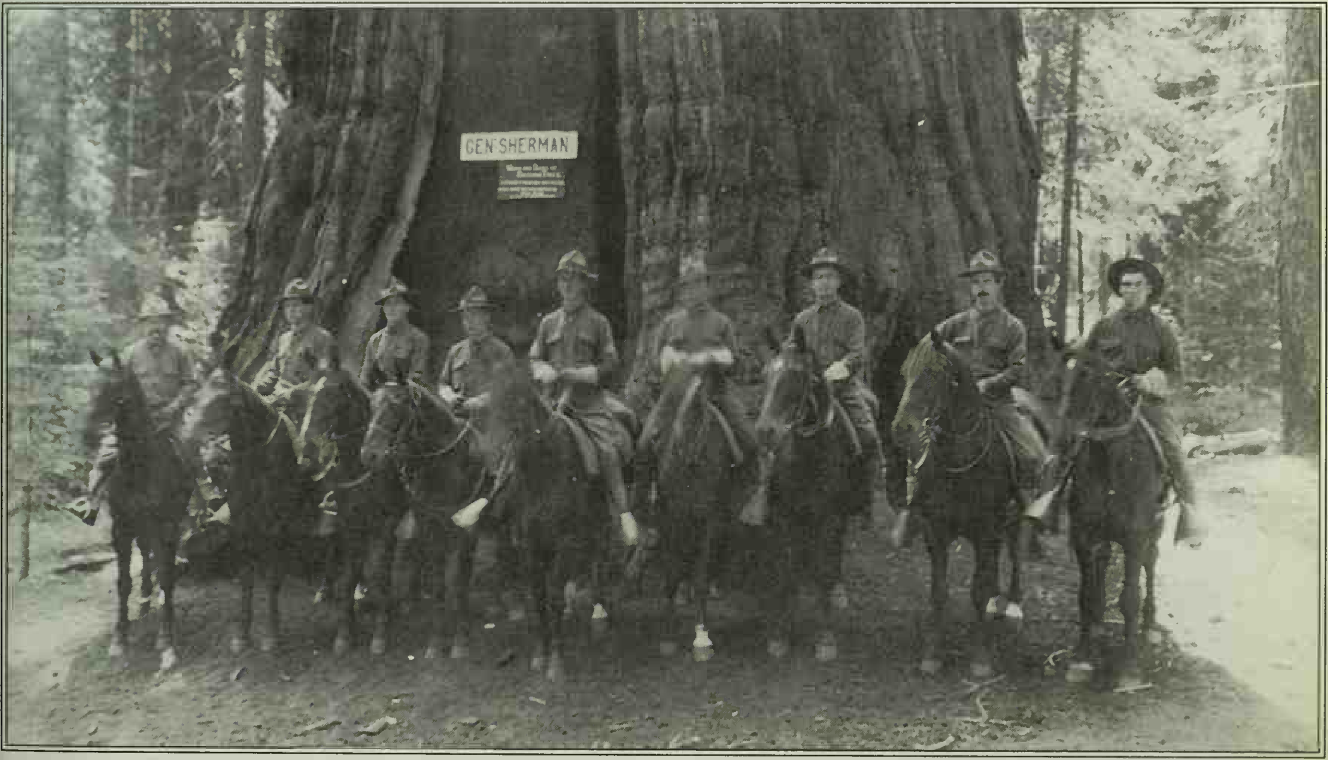
Protection of just the parks proved difficult at first. When soldiers first arrived in June 1891 and camped outside the park at Mineral King, they found many parts of Sequoia inaccessible, even to patrols on horseback. Hunters killed game, particularly deer, as winter snows forced the animals down from the high mountains. Sheepherders persisted in driving their sheep across the poorly marked park boundaries and remained largely immune to punishment for repeated illegal entry. Wholesale devastation from overgrazing and fires resulted.

In 1898, Lieutenant Henry B. Clark, acting superintendent at Sequoia, pondered the purpose of a national park: "Is it a playground for the people, a resort for the tourist, a mecca for travelers, a summer house where the inhabitants of crowded cities can repair and fill their lungs with the pure air of mountain and forest?"[30] If so, he concluded, Sequoia was a failure, for its scenic wonders remained inaccessible. Clark and others urged construction of a road to the giant sequoias. In response in 1900, Congress finally authorized $10,000 for the protection and improvement of the park. These funds allowed for repair of the old Kaweah Colony road and its extension into Giant Forest. Completed in 1903, Colony Mill Road opened the door at last to the general public visiting Sequoia National Park. From this time on, the early trickle of tourists grew slowly, but inevitably, into a steady stream.

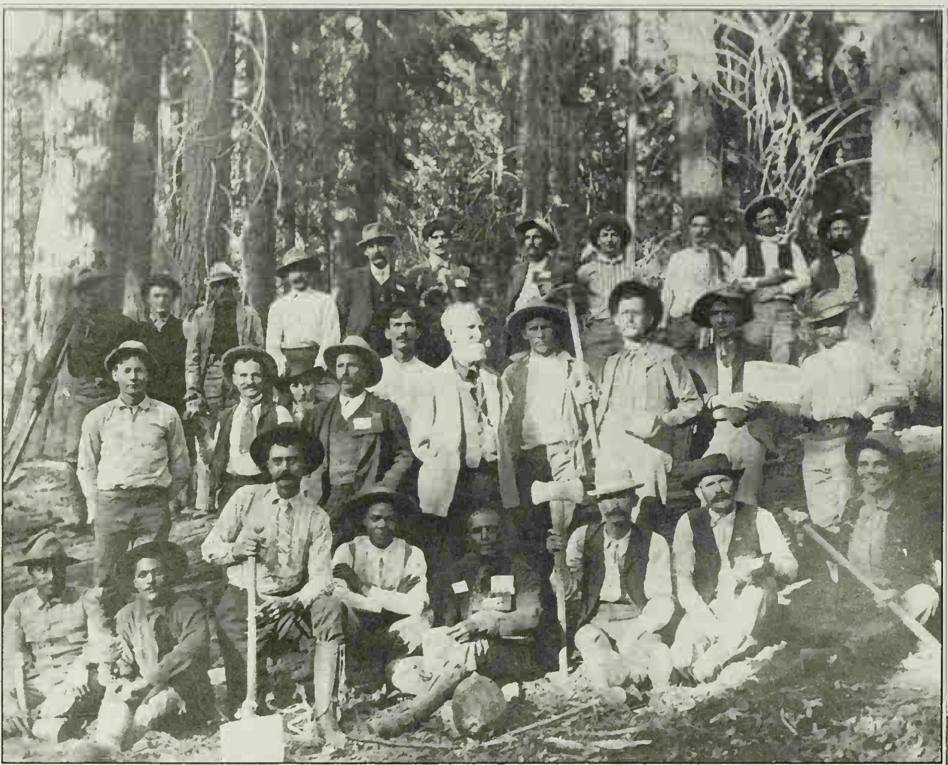
In spite of the valuable service provided by the military guard, the continued use of troops had its drawbacks. Soldiers, assigned temporarily, could neither know the parks well nor take the same interest in their protection that park rangers did. The almost annual rotation of acting army superintendents, each with his own interests and ideas, made continuity of management policy all but impossible. Whereas some superintendents called for protection of the wildlife, others urged removal of all predatory animals to protect "the deer and other smaller animals and game birds."[31]

Civilians were first employed in Sequoia and General Grant in 1898 during the Spanish-American War and then steadily after 1900. Park ranger Ernest Britten provided the first winter protection for the parks from 1900 to 1905, and Walter Fry took on the responsibility until 1914. By that year, the military had withdrawn permanently, and Fry assumed full authority over the park's management. He inherited a park that had changed little since its establishment in 1890. It was still little known and almost wholly undeveloped. Lack of a consistent policy by the military superintendents and by the Department of the Interior continued to cause confusion.

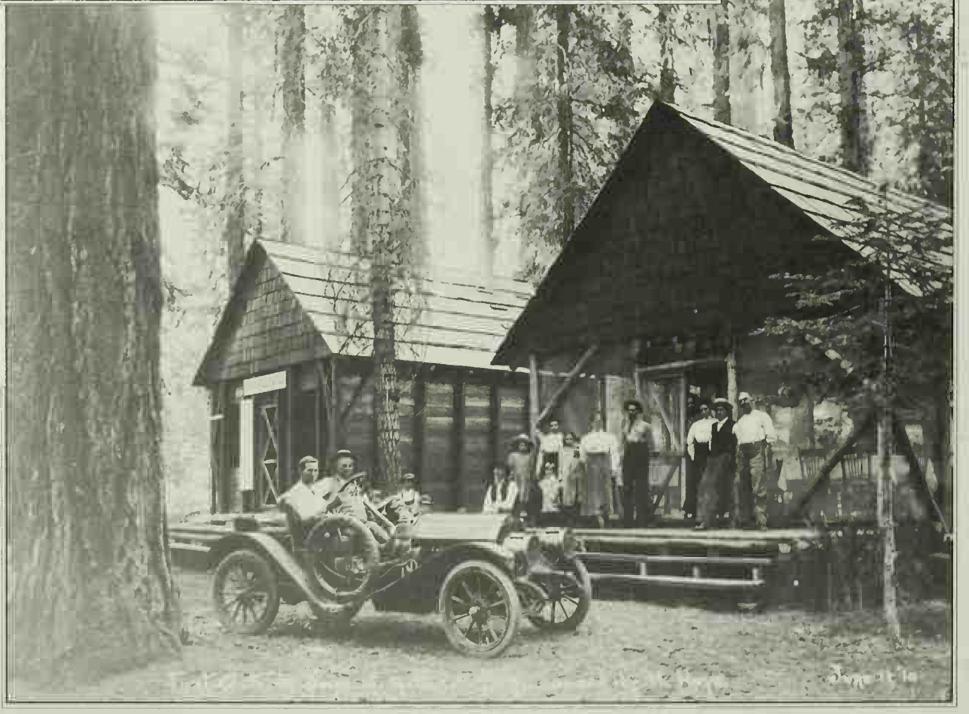
The situation promised to change after August 25, 1916, with the establishment of the National Park Service. The new agency, with a small, committed staff of professionals, became a permanent advocate for the parks. It set forth a well-intentioned, but often contradictory, administrative guideline that caused no end of difficulty for future park managers: "to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life . . . and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future



The U.S. Cavalry administered Sequoia and General Grant national parks from 1891 to 1913. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*



Captain Charles Young (seated front-center) was the only active, commissioned black graduate of West Point when he served as park superintendent in 1903. During his park stint he supervised completion of the first road into Giant Forest. Here he poses with several of his men and the road crew. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*



Early concession facilities concentrated at Giant Forest, where visitation increased markedly after the first auto arrived in 1910, as shown in this photograph. *Photo by Howard Hays. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

generations."[32] How the parks could be preserved unimpaired and enjoyed by the public at the same time remained to be seen.

Two Californians, Stephen Mather and Horace Albright, took the lead in the formation and early operation of the Park Service, Mather as the first director and Albright as second-in-command. They were familiar with Sequoia and General Grant national parks and with their problems. For example, each summer hardy visitors on horseback or in stagecoaches struggled up the steep and narrow Colony Mill Road. After 1913 occasional automobiles, which chugged up the same dusty road, frightened the horses. At Giant Forest, visitors found ramshackle camps with inadequate water and sewage systems. In addition, private land claims in and around Giant Forest and the Grant Grove, acquired prior to 1890, threatened the parks with development and deterioration.

Mather first tackled the problem of private land inholdings. For more than two decades, military superintendents had tried to buy 3877 privately-owned acres, scattered in many different plots. Captain Charles Young had even managed to obtain an option on most of these lands for about $19 per acre. Yet time and again a frugal Congress had rejected requests for appropriations.[33] To help overcome this obstacle, Mather offered to match congressional funding with private donations. Between 1916 and 1927, he cajoled money from the National Geographic Society and wealthy industrialists and contributed more than $50,000 from his own pocket. With the eventual approval of Congress, the Park Service bought most important inholdings, with the notable exception of a 160-acre plot near the Grant Grove. This area, developed in 1919 for summer cabins, remains today as Wilsonia Village.[34]

The campaign to acquire privately-owned lands had been best left in Mather's hands. The development of tourist and resource management policies, however, needed strong local leadership. Mather found such a person in Colonel John Roberts White. Oxford educated and recently returned from the Great War, White had met Albright while canvassing Washington for a job. In only eight months he advanced from temporary ranger to assistant superintendent at Grand Canyon National Park. In June 1920, he assumed the superintendency of Sequoia and General Grant. He would play a leading role at the two parks for most of the next quarter-century.[35]

Like Mather and Albright, White believed the best way to preserve the parks was to make them popular with the public. This meant new roads and visitor centers, more trails, and advertising to explain park wonders. Construction of a new road began in 1922 to replace the inadequate Colony Mill Road. The new route, via the middle fork of the Kaweah River, provided much easier access for automobiles. Plans soon included a thirty-mile link between Sequoia and General Grant. The "Generals Highway" would allow visitors to drive into one park and out the other in the same day. Indeed, with great fanfare, it opened to Giant Forest in 1926, and nine years later connected both parks. Construction of axial roads to Crescent Meadow, Lodgepole, and Wolverton, plus a state highway to Cedar Grove, virtually completed the present road network of Sequoia and Kings Canyon.[36]

As road construction proceeded, Mather looked for ways to improve the concession services at Giant Forest and Grant Grove. He believed a single concessioner would provide the best service and be the most accountable. Fortunately, some small local operators in the parks declined to renew their options, and after one trial monopoly failed, Mather convinced an old business friend, Howard Hays, to take over the Sequoia and General Grant operations.

With Mather's promise to support development, Hays and his brother-in-law George Mauger began operations in 1926, just as the new road opened to Giant Forest. After moving the dining and retail facilities to the new road, Hays began replacing old, dilapidated cabins with new ones. Between 1926 and 1930 the concessioner built more than two hundred cabins and tent-tops at Camp Kaweah, Pinewood Auto Camp, and Giant Forest Lodge. Hays and Mauger also rebuilt cabins in Grant Grove, but said their primary interest would remain Giant Forest, where the chief tourist attractions and the greatest opportunities for profit were to be found.[37]

The 1926 addition of the Mount Whitney country to the park also demanded attention. White regarded access to backcountry wilderness as essential to educating visitors in the ways of nature. A trail-building program received vigorous support from the Sierra Club, whose members sought expanded opportunities to explore and enjoy the new alpine parkland.[38]

The Park Service, which inherited a network of former Indian, livestock, and military trails, soon undertook construction of two highly publicized special trails. The John Muir Trail, from Yosemite to Mount Whitney, began as a state project in 1915. Completed in 1933, the trail linked Sequoia to its more famous northern neighbor. White took a greater interest in the second project, known as the

The Auto Log has been a major Giant Forest attraction since the earliest cars arrived. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

High Sierra Trail. This carefully designed trail connected Giant Forest with Mount Whitney and provided easy access to the backcountry for hikers and people on horseback. By 1934, Sequoia's trail system, like its road system, was virtually complete.[39]

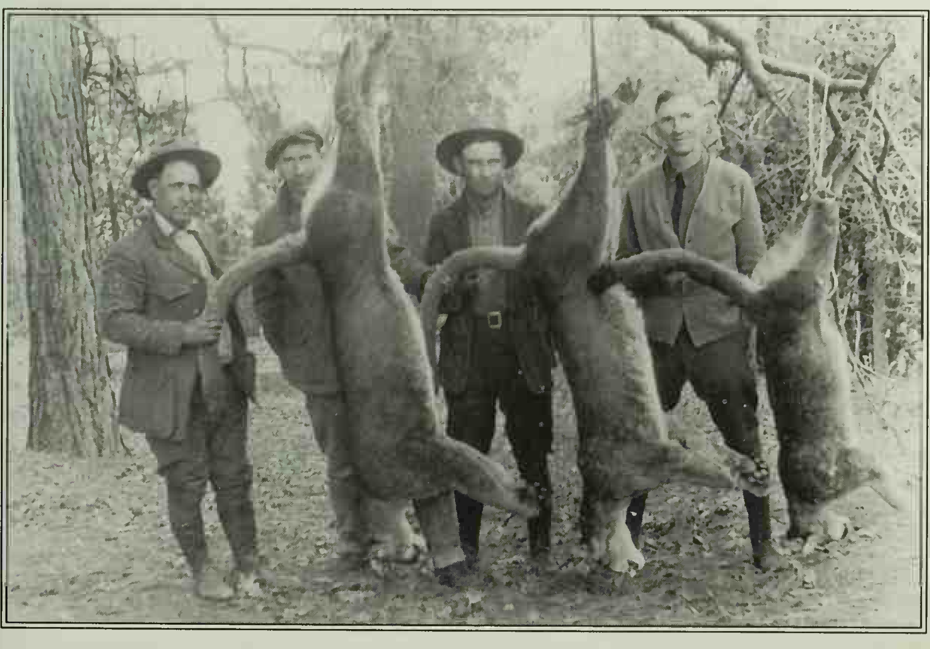
With the expansion of the parks' infrastructure during the 1920s, visitation to Sequoia and General Grant increased markedly. Mather and Park Service personnel sought further ways to encourage the visiting public to participate in park advocacy. Radio addresses, newspaper articles, and public speeches by White and others helped. The most effective means, however, began with inauguration of an "interpretation" program in Yosemite in 1920. Two years later Walter Fry introduced the program at Sequoia with a series of now-familiar guided walks, campfire programs, and museum displays. This service proved so successful and dovetailed so nicely with White's ideas of visitor education that by 1931 he had manipulated his budget and the National Park Service's Washington office, and had successfully created a department of naturalists. The impact of the program can be gauged only by its overwhelming popularity.[40]

Interpreting the natural world became a Park Service trademark in the 1920s, but park management left much to be desired. In keeping with the prevailing misconceptions about wild animals, wildlife was handled on a good animal/bad animal basis, much as it had been under the military superintendents. Good animals included deer—often made tame by visitor feeding—while bad animals included any that preyed upon good animals. Thus mountain lions, coyotes, and bobcats were systematically trapped or poisoned. Fire supression became truly effective with the addition of new fire roads, specially trained crews, and regular funding. Although well-intended, vigorous fire fighting also resulted in the dangerous accumulation of inflammable materials. World War I had brought a return of cattle grazing to Sequoia, a wartime expediency that Mather and his new agency diplomatically allowed. It took until 1930 to remove the livestock —an early lesson to the Park Service that a policy once established, no matter how destructive, was hard to reverse.[41]

During the first decade and a half of Park Service administration, visitation to the two parks increased more than eightfold, as tourists enjoyed the new road, filled the new cabins, hiked the new trails, and attended the new campfire programs. Although most visitors thought the parks were well run and fully protected, White and many of his staff during the late 1920s began to suffer doubts about the efficacy of park management policies. The construction and publicity had succeeded in drawing unwieldy crowds. On July 4, 1930, more than 2000 cars carrying some 4300 people had entered the park. White grimly recorded the scene at Giant Forest, where a jostling, honking, mechanical jam spilled out of the parking lots and alongside roads. Campsites overflowed onto access roads, and trash littered built-up areas. Visitors ran shouting through the groves, scaled fences protecting the best-known sequoias, and engaged in every form of amusement from softball to square dancing. Lost in the disarray was the inspiration of the massive sequoias. In the face of such intensive recreational use, the original idea of a park as a preserved area faded. White realized that development for tourists had gone too far and that a park experience should encompass more than fun and frolic.[42]

Even before road and housing construction were complete, Colonel White began to suggest new goals for park planning—goals of "atmosphere preservation" and visitor education. In order to avoid the mistakes of the past, White, who felt a personal responsibility for the two parks in his charge, declared himself an obstructionist—ready to block or remove any policy or development that threatened the parks' natural atmosphere. Additional impetus for this policy came from professional landscape architects, who advised White on almost every decision.[43]

From the mid-20s through the mid-40s, the last two decades of his superintendency, White tried to recreate the parks in the image of his vision of natural preservation. Because of an unusual combination of circumstances, he achieved remarkable success. His seniority and experience, coupled with eloquence and diplomacy, gave him an air of command rare in the Park Service. The Great Depression placed a powerful tool in his hands; White took charge of as many as 1100 men of the Civilian Conservation Corps, choosing projects within the parks and allocating labor. Had he been given this opportunity earlier in his career he might have built roads and buildings, opening thousands of acres to recreational development. Now he used the CCC to maintain and replace existing facilities, to landscape large areas of the visitor complexes, and to develop special attractions like Crystal Cave, Tunnel Log, and the stone staircase up Moro Rock.[44] The CCC also increased White's influence indirectly. In administering this huge program nationwide, the Park Service developed a system of regional



Prior to the 1930s, scientific wildlife management did not exist in Sequoia National Park. Predators were systematically eliminated because they harmed deer and other animals popular with visitors. Shown here in the late 1920s (left to right) are mountain lion hunters Clarence Fry, Jay Bruce, and George Brooks, with Park Superintendent John White. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

The Civilian Conservation Corps operated in Sequoia National Park from 1933 to 1941, primarily building roads and trails and landscaping. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

offices and functional divisions that still exist. During the early days of this expanded bureaucracy, the Park Service director and his Washington office became more distant from local park decisions, thus creating a temporary power vacuum into which Colonel White stepped.[45]

The opening round in the battle to control park development occurred in 1927. Barely a year after concessioner Howard Hays came to Sequoia, White suggested he abandon plans to develop the area of Giant Forest and instead develop the less environmentally sensitive pine-forested valley at Lodgepole. Hays reacted with alarm. Citing visitor preference for "sleeping beneath the Big Trees," he went over White's head to appeal directly to Mather, who supported his position. Thus, the first round in what became Sequoia's greatest management battle went to Hays and his company.[46]

Athough White acquiesced for a time, his consuming interest in restoring Giant Forest to its natural state led him to confront the concessioner again in 1931. Hays requested permission to add a few cabins to a housing complex known as Giant Forest Lodge. Recalling the distressing images of the previous Fourth of July, White rejected the application and again proposed that the company evacuate the grove. Hays again went over White's head with similar success. This time, however, Horace Albright, the new National Park Service director, recognized the need for some restrictions on construction. He established a so-called "pillow limit" for the lodge area.[47] Park planners later identified this decision as the first limit of its kind in any national park. Pillow limits on other Giant Forest complexes soon followed.

White successfully blocked other new developments. He defeated a proposal for another road from Ash Mountain to Giant Forest via the middle fork of the Kaweah River. According to White, a proposal for a widely promoted high-altitude highway to run the length of the Sierra Nevada died when he refused appropriations to build the portion in Sequoia.[48] He also blocked installation of electric power lines in Giant Forest and rejected a variety of proposals, ranging from golf courses and dance halls to hayrides and cable cars. Again and again, citing potential damage to the "atmosphere" of the parks, White assumed the high moral ground and portrayed prodevelopment forces as tawdry and greedy.

Despite pillow limits, the problem of crowding in Giant Forest continued to concern park planners. White and his assistants explored different strategies for restoring the grove's inspirational atmosphere. They limited the amount of time campers could stay at the four government campgrounds. They encouraged winter use, hoping it would distribute visitors seasonally. Instead, it added to the swelling numbers. When they encouraged the concessioner to add improvements to Kings Canyon and Grant Grove, the offer was spurned as unprofitable. Park planners moved some government administration and maintenance buildings from Giant Forest to Lodgepole Valley, but they were too few to make a difference. They even pondered redesigning the road system to decrease auto traffic. Nothing worked or promised any real hope except full removal of concession facilities from the grove.[49]

As the new decade of the forties dawned, White maneuvered to gain even tighter control over park planning and the concessions. The onset of World War II halted nearly all development and resource management programs in the national parks. Nationwide, visitation dropped by 80 percent, the parks' budget suffered a drastic cut, and the ranks of Park Service and concession employees declined sharply.[50] Given the respite, planning for future development accelerated. In Sequoia, concessioners Hays and Mauger hoped to replace some of the older Giant Forest cabins after the war and to expand the visitor complex. Superintendent White hoped for a return to CCC-type labor, for repair of roads and trails neglected during the war. He also hoped a combination of luck and pressure would enable him to remove concession facilities from Giant Forest. In order to strengthen his position, White called on his traditional allies, landscape architects. To a person, they recommended removal of concessions.

Unfortunately, White's control over local development decisions weakened after the war when the Washington office reassumed the reins. The imminent termination of the concessioner's contract in 1946 intensified direct negotiations between Hays and the national office. Feeling powerless, White railed against the concessioner, the policy of lengthy contracts for monopoly concessions, and what he regarded as usurpation of his duties. When Hays received a temporary extension of his contract, the colonel bitterly predicted that the concessioner would forestall his contract termination by obtaining indefinite contract extensions until a more amenable Park Service administration took over.[51]

White's acrimony henceforth proved a stumbling block in the concession contract negotiations and in 1947 resulted in his forced retirement. The era of John Roberts White, of local control, and of atmosphere preservation had ended. One of the most powerful superintendents in the system, White was replaced by a more pliant and development-minded man, Eivind Scoyen. A few years later, Park Service Director Newton Drury and Regional Director Owen Tomlinson also retired, to be replaced by people less committed to restoring Giant Forest to its natural state. Finally, in 1952, Hays and Director Conrad Wirth signed a new contract that ignored the question of Giant Forest. White's prediction proved remarkably accurate. The loss of this battle for Giant Forest marked the diminished influence of landscape architects and the philosophy of atmosphere preservation.

During World War II and its aftermath, Congress had provided minimal financial support for the national parks. While visitation to Sequoia and Kings Canyon increased nearly 125 percent between 1940 and 1955, for example, funding increased at less than half that rate. Partly in an effort to garner public support, the Park Service advocated a major development program, Mission 66. At the two southern Sierran parks, the project included three new visitor centers, extensive new employee housing, and expansion of park infrastructure.[52] Some in the Park Service feared Mission 66 would damage the parks and wondered what would save the "preservation" side of the Park Service's charter.

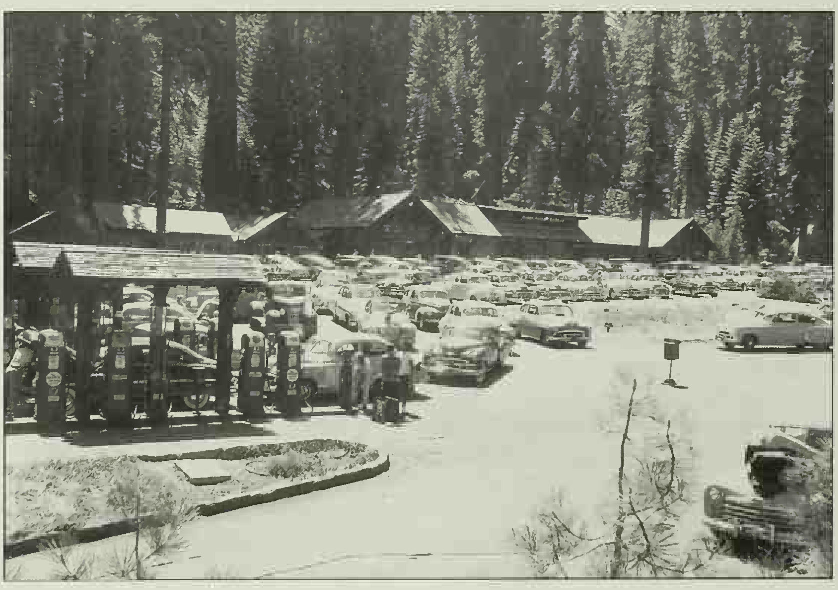
Science provided a possible answer through the application of ecological principles to park management.[53] Pioneering wildlife biologists Aldo Leopold and Joseph Grinnell helped shape future policy through their writings and by placing their students in the Park Service.[54] In the southern Sierra, forest pathologist Emilio Meinecke contributed with a 1926 study of human impact on Giant Forest.[55] In the 1930s scientific resource management gained a foothold in Sequoia and Kings Canyon, as well as nationally. George M. Wright, an independently wealthy scientist, funded a program of wildlife surveys in the national parks that revealed the inadequacy of earlier preservation efforts. Wright became the first national chief of the Park Service's Wildlife Division, but his untimely death in 1936 left it rudderless. The onset of World War II then eliminated his division and the incipient Park Service program of ecological management.[56]

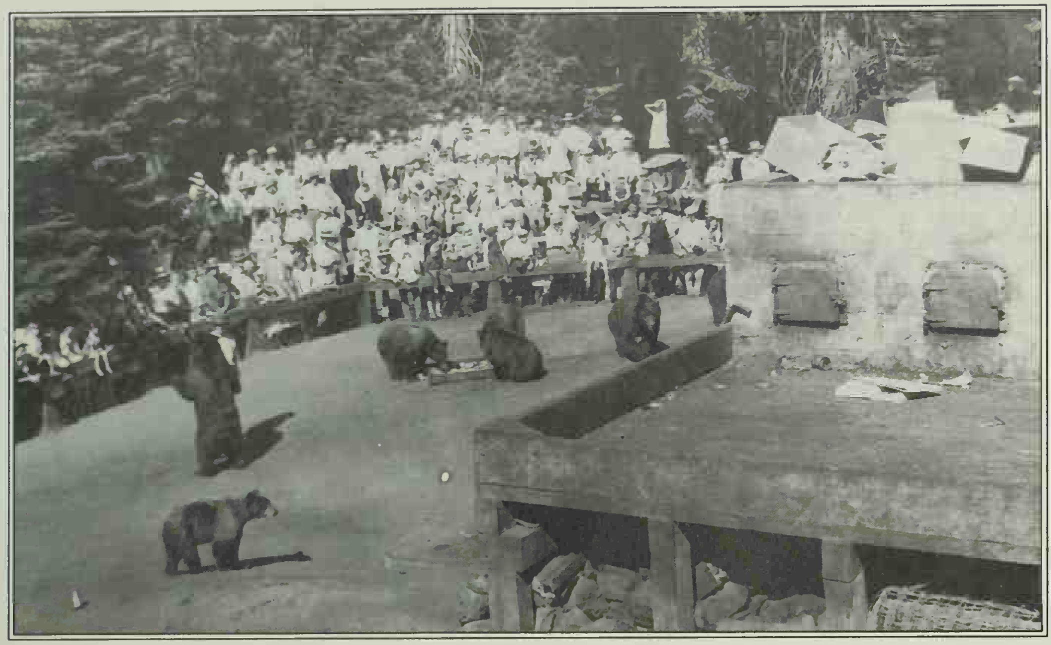
Nevertheless, some impetus from this ecological concern continued. At Sequoia and Kings Canyon, research scientist Lowell Sumner experimented with a deer reduction program, discontinued the Bear Hill show (a bizarre tourist attraction with bleachers surrounding a bear-infested garbage dump), institutionalized predator protection, and encouraged studies of backcountry meadows.[57] Meinecke issued another report on Giant Forest in 1944 in which he reinforced his earlier warnings about threats to the big trees.[58] This was followed in 1955 by a report of a special commission investigating damage to the sequoias in Yosemite National Park.[59] Meanwhile, a burst of activity from 1947 to 1951 produced several extensive reviews of backcountry resources in Sequoia and Kings Canyon. These were followed by a specifically commissioned scientific appraisal of backcountry meadows by Carl Sharsmith.[60]

Then, in 1959, ecologist Richard Hartesveldt released the first of several studies on giant sequoias, challenging policies that had allowed construction and suppressed fires among the big trees.[61] In questioning fire suppression, Hartesveldt struck at one of the oldest and most dearly held directives of the earlier preservation policy. He argued that older trees were endangered by abnormal accumulation of fuel around the base of their trunks, and pointed out that sequoia seeds rarely germinated in areas choked with vegetation. Periodic fires, he concluded, would clear the debris, solving both problems.

During the 1960s, as the environmental movement caught hold, the philosophy of ecosystem management came to the fore. In 1963 a committee of scientists commissioned by Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall released a path-breaking report named after its chairman, A. Starker Leopold.[62] Relying in part on data from Sequoia National Park, the report spelled out ecosystem preservation as the best means to protect the national parks for future generations. It insisted that all management policies allow or mimic natural processes. This meant removal of some development, the complete reorientation of resource management, and a vigorous program of scientific research. Udall ordered the Leopold Report implemented as the major policy guide for all national parks.

Faced with a groundswell of public environmentalism and the hard evidence of scientists, Congress in the 1960s passed important legislation that altered Park Service policies and planning. In 1964 the Wilderness Act provided a means for protecting roadless and undeveloped areas, much as the founding act of Kings Canyon National Park had done nearly a quarter century earlier.[63] In 1969, Congress passed the National Environmental Protection Act, requiring federal agencies to prepare statements on the environmental effect of all major federal projects and to propose alternatives to mitigate damage. Preservation groups, whose


Giant Forest Village in August 1953 demonstrated the problem of overcrowding in a sensitive environment. With the exception of the gas station, the facilities and crowding are still present in 1990. *Photo by Wayne Alcorn. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*



Bear feeding was a major attraction in Giant Forest from the early National Park Service years until 1940. Its cancellation due to its "unnaturalness" turned garbage-hungry bears loose in the campgrounds to the dismay of rangers and visitors. *Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

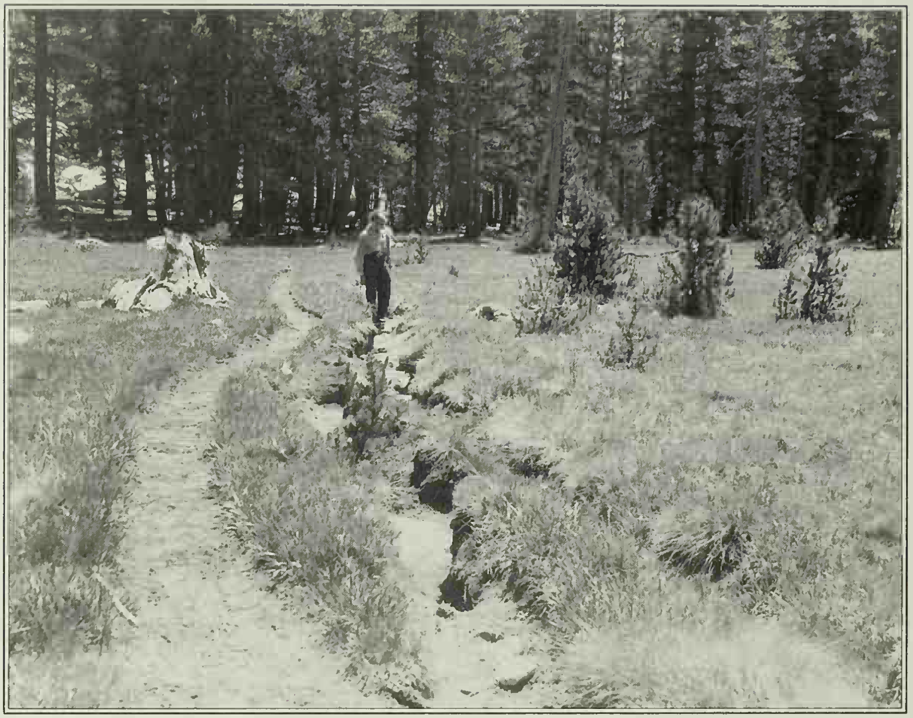
membership was growing rapidly because of the environmental movement, became the loudest and most persistent participants in public planning.[64]

At Sequoia and Kings Canyon, the impact of these changes first affected the backcountry. The 1961 publication of a *Backcountry Management Plan* followed reports on meadow ecology, a massive litter cleanup, and tighter controls over hikers and large parties of tourists on horseback or using pack animals. The plan became a blueprint for all other backcountry parks in the system. In it the Park Service called for some meadows to be closed to livestock use, and for the establishment of meadow and trail monitoring, litter cleanup programs, and better organization of research projects. As the 1960s progressed, park planners closed more meadows to visitors using livestock and, in some cases, even to backpackers.

While the environmental movement led the Park Service to confront its problems of livestock use, litter, and meadow damage, it also encouraged increasing numbers of backpackers to enter the backcountry. Annual visitation to the Sequoia and Kings Canyon backcountry jumped from 8000 in 1962 to more than 44,000 in 1971.[65] Armed with its ecological agenda and faced with the risk that people might love the delicate wilderness to death, the Park Service took a novel and important step. In 1972, in cooperation with the Forest Service, rangers began issuing wilderness permits that limited the number of people allowed into the most popular areas of the backcountry. For the first time the Park Service limited the number of people visiting a park area. That it did so on the basis of ecologically-based principles was even more remarkable.[66]

The combination of public concern for preservation and ecological planning also affected development plans elsewhere in the southern Sierra parks. Shortly after the creation of Kings Canyon National Park in 1940, San Joaquin Valley businessmen had proposed a major recreation complex outside the park at Cedar Grove. Concessioners Hays and Mauger, lacking interest in that area and fearing construction of a reclamation dam, refused to build visitor facilities in the canyon. With the addition of Cedar Grove to the park in 1965, the threat of reclamation ended. In the ensuing planning process for the area, the Park Service scaled down its own development plans in the face of opposition by park users, the Sierra Club, and others.[67]

Upon acquisition of Mineral King, the Park Service encountered similar public opposition to development. Although the Disney plan of the 1960s had called for a major resort, most people who participated in a public hearing rejected development.[68] In the resulting *Mineral King Comprehensive Management*



Despite cessation of cattle and sheep grazing, massive erosion continued in the backcountry from overgrazing by horses and mules. Studies such as the one underway in this 1949 photo show the damage along popular trails. *Photo by Lowell Sumner. Courtesy Sequoia National Park Archives.*

Plan (1980), the only change in the status quo was a decision to eliminate existing leases and cabins upon the deaths of their owners.[69]

Meanwhile, the Leopold Report of 1963 had a profound impact. Park scientists at Sequoia and Kings Canyon attempted to correct past mistakes with programs to eliminate exotic plant and wildlife species that had been introduced in the past, to reestablish native species such as golden trout and bighorn sheep, and to separate bears from campers.[70] The most startling change came in fire management. In 1964 Hartesveldt began experimenting with controlled fires in the sequoia groves. The successful regeneration of giant sequoias that resulted from these experiments encouraged the Park Service to establish a permanent policy of prescribed burning and monitoring natural fires. By 1969, the program was fully underway and has since gained widespread public acceptance.[71]

Of all management issues, development at Giant Forest remained the most difficult. In response to a report by a blue-ribbon Park Service panel, the government moved campgrounds, picnic areas, and most of its structures out of the area by 1972.[72] However, the concessioner's more than 350 buildings remained scattered throughout the forest. In 1980 the Park Service released its *Giant Forest Development Concept Plan*, which called for the relocation of concession facilities to Clover Creek just north of Lodgepole.[73] Despite Park Service and public support for removal and the weakness of Howard Hay's old argument that the public demanded to "sleep beneath the Big Trees," the new concessioner, Guest Services, resisted moving its buildings.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the Park Service continued to struggle with its original mandate: to provide for recreation, while protecting the parks unimpaired for future generations. At Mineral King, cabin leaseholders searched for ways to maintain their presence in the valley. In the backcountry, livestock use associations successfully defeated a plan that would have drastically reduced their access. Fishermen forced the Park Service to continue stocking some lakes and streams in spite of the unnaturalness of the procedure.[74] The controversy ignited by the explosive Yellowstone fires of 1988 temporarily forced a return to fire suppression in all the parks. Although the ban was lifted in Sequoia and Kings Canyon in December 1989, the fire management question and the whole philosophy of ecosystem management continues to be rigorously scrutinized.[75] And at the Giant Forest, the removal of concessions remains uncertain. As the concession company negotiates its next contract for 1992, no one can say what twist of circumstances may again be a reminder that parks are human creations, set aside by human design and controlled by human ideas and interests.

As the first century of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks draws to a close, ecological preservation seems well established as the operating management philosophy. Yet it is just a philosophy, a set of current beliefs and practices. The future of Sequoia and Kings Canyon rests in the hands of those who will manage their preservation and use in the century to come. CHS

See notes beginning on page 219.

Lary M. Dilsaver is an associate professor of historical geography at the University of South Alabama and a volunteer researcher for the National Park Service. With William Tweed he recently completed Challenge of the Big Trees, *a centennial history of Sequoia and Kings Canyon national parks.*

Douglas H. Strong is a professor of history at San Diego State University and has written extensively on American environmental history and the history of the national parks, including Tahoe: An Environmental History *(1984);* Trees—or Timber: The Story of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks *(revised edition, 1986); and* Dreamers and Defenders: American Conservationists *(1988).*

The Keyhole prescribed burn was conducted on June 22, 1987, in Giant Forest. Sequoia and Kings Canyon scientists pioneered research and development of Park Service fire management. *Photo by Elizabeth Knight.*

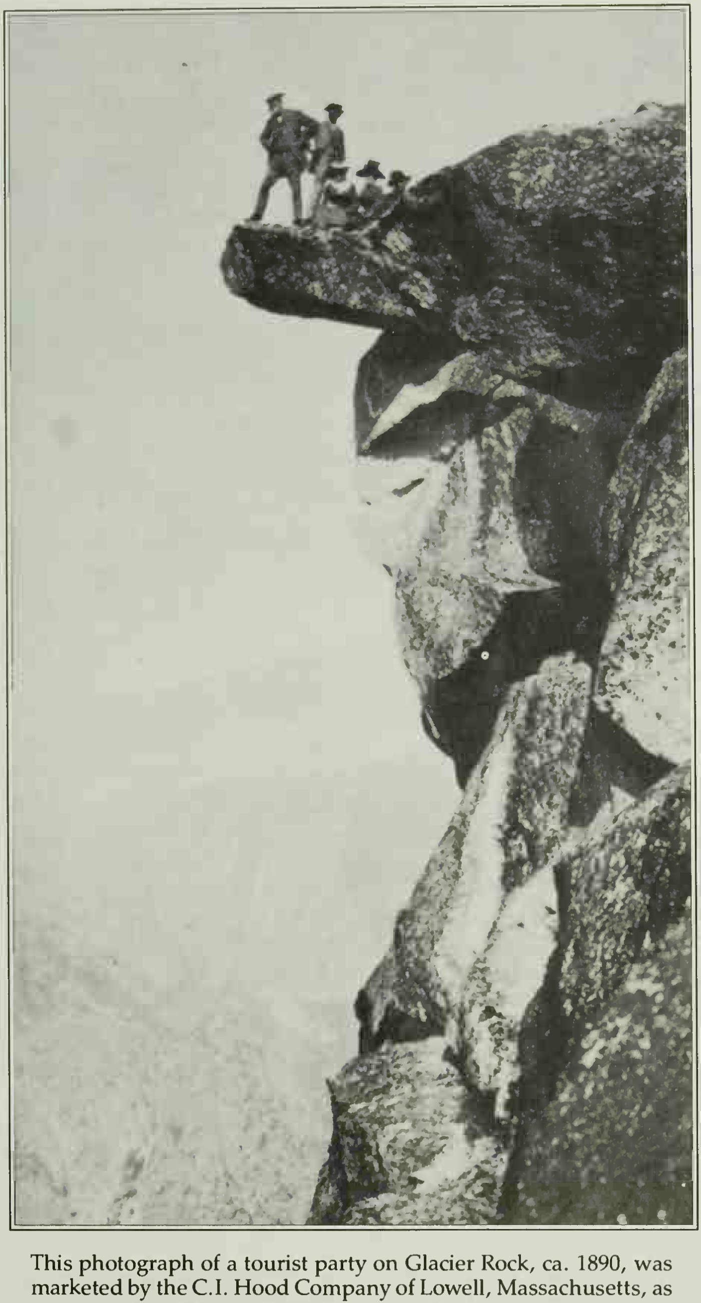
VISITING "THE REALM OF WONDER": Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916

by Peter J. Blodgett

Only five years after white men first descended into it on March 27, 1851, the Yosemite Valley began to attract curious and intrepid sightseers with reports of its scenic magnificence. Among them came artists, writers, and photographers. Their works, distributed initially across the state, then the nation and eventually the world, inspired many other people to visit the great valley and absorb its glories firsthand. Thus, through the six decades between the American Civil War and World War I, the numbers of visitors grew ever larger, and, as a consequence, stimulated the development of a substantial tourist industry in the valley that sought to profit from tourist dollars. Close study of that industry, therefore, contributes to better understanding of the evolution of commercial use of scenic wonders. Such study also illuminates tourism's impact on the fate of the Yosemite region through its encouragement of both natural preservation and commercial development.

Yosemite's first white "tourists," the volunteers of the Mariposa Battalion, a militia tracking Indians, for the most part proved quite impervious to the valley's marvels. Their pursuit of the local Indians in 1851 occupied most of their attention. The rapid eviction of most of the native population, however, opened the valley for peaceful excursions. In the early 1850s, newspaper reports drawing on the accounts of militiamen or prospectors who had explored the valley incited other Californians such as James Mason Hutchings, an English emigrant, to venture into the region. In turn, *their* descriptions of the valley's beauty, appearing in local newspapers or in Hutchings's *California Magazine*, drew still more travelers to the valley. Hutchings himself, as organizer in 1855 of the first sightseeing party to visit the valley, had taken care to capture a visual record of Yosemite by inviting the artist Thomas A. Ayres to accompany the party. Ayres's drawings, widely reproduced as lithographs, enhanced the valley's publicity during the 1850s.[1]

Shortly after Hutchings's pioneer visit to the valley, therefore, news of Yosemite's matchless scenery spread widely in California. Hutchings's account of his travels in the Mariposa *Gazette* was followed by other articles, freely reprinted by many newspapers in the state. Through these stories, word of the valley's existence also filtered east as early as 1856, when *The Country Gentlemen* of Albany, New York, reprinted an article from the *California Christian Advocate* that depicted the "Yo-ham-i-ty" Valley. Illustrated by lithographs based upon the work of Thomas Ayres, this piece presented the spectacle of Yosemite to an eastern audience for the first time. Further stories about Yosemite in the next few years increased public awareness of the valley and tempted a few more



This photograph of a tourist party on Glacier Rock, ca. 1890, was marketed by the C.I. Hood Company of Lowell, Massachusetts, as an energetic sales pitch for Hood's Pills, which could combat "bilious turns, headache, constipation, or any liver troubles." The site itself, with a party of travelers poised on the rock overhanging eternity, was a conventional image in nineteenth-century Yosemite photography. Through their commercialism, such images captured and advertised the spectacular natural formations of Yosemite. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

hardy visitors every summer, including the celebrated New York editor Horace Greeley in 1859. Publication of Thomas Starr King's series of Yosemite letters in *The Boston Evening Transcript* during the winter of 1860-61 and exhibition of the first photographs taken in the valley by Charles L. Weed and Carleton Watkins brought interest in the Yosemite to new heights, despite the nation's preoccupation with the course of the Civil War.[2]

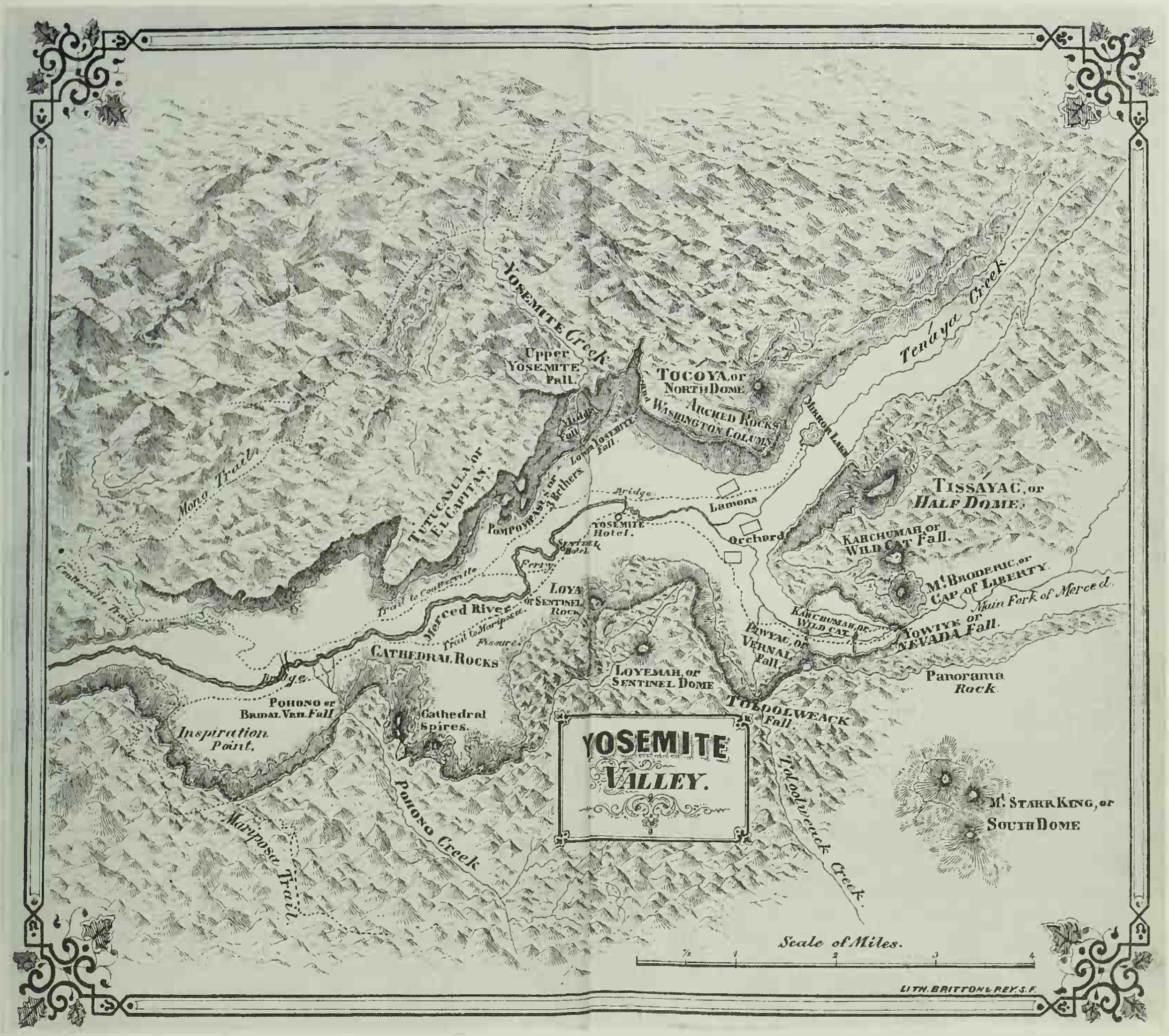
Measured by the number of visitors who trekked to the valley each year, Yosemite tourism remained inconsequential through its first decade. Only 653 people between 1855 and 1864 had overcome the many obstacles that surrounded the valley. The valley's psychological impact upon these visitors, however, was enormous. In recounting their experiences, travelers routinely reported the "awe and veneration" that overcame them at first sight of the valley, describing in reverent tones what one tourist in 1856 called the "gorgeous array of the vast and wonderful combined in this superb display of the beautiful and the sublime." To many "literary tourists" such as Greeley and Bayard Taylor who had begun exploring California's natural wonders in the 1850s, such special glories as the Yosemite deserved special protection against exploitation. Thus, despite the modest total of eyewitnesses, a movement to ensure the preservation of the valley's beauty was making rapid headway among some of the leading citizens of the state by the early 1860s. Deeply worried about the impact of uncontrolled development on the valley, they discreetly agitated for its ownership and management by the state. As Israel W. Raymond, California representative for the Central American Steamship Transit Company of New York, wrote to California's Senator John Conness in February 1864, "I think it important to obtain the proprietorship soon, to prevent occupation and especially to preserve the trees in the valley from destruction . . . ." As historian Kevin Starr later observed, the state's residents and its visitors could find in the valley a symbol of "all that California promised: beauty, grandeur, expansiveness, a sense of power and a sense of . . . an assured and magnificent future."[3]

In response to such concerns, Senator Conness successfully carried legislation through Congress that ceded control of both the valley and the Mariposa Grove of sequoias to the state of California in June 1864. Congress laid the grant squarely in the hands of the state, under the management of the governor and an appointed board of eight commissioners, who were enjoined to hold it for "public use, resort, and recreation . . . inalienable for all time." Although Senator Conness argued in debate that the land to be preserved had no value for such pursuits as cultivation, the legislation recognized an inherent value in providing the general populace with places of relaxation and scenic beauty. As one student of Yosemite's history has pointed out, the grant "became the first official recognition that man should not always subjugate nature, but also enjoy it recreationally and aesthetically, and that the government's role was to preserve areas for that purpose."[4]

Creation of the grant with its mandate for dedication of the valley to public purposes in perpetuity came at a crucial moment in Yosemite's history. Increasing traffic to the valley had already begun to attract the attention of various commercial interests. Three brothers, Houston, Andrew, and Milton Mann of Mariposa, had built a toll road to the valley in 1856, only one year after Hutchings's first visit there. Along their route, on the south fork of the Merced River, Galen Clark, another Yosemite pioneer, founded his first hotel in 1857. In 1859, the Lower Hotel, owned by Stephen Cunningham, opened in the valley itself to offer visitors crude but effective shelter.[5] Although the Mann Trail, Clark's Station, and the Lower Hotel would all soon pass into other hands, and their names disappear, each venture represented an outcropping of the entrepreneurial energy that characterized California during the Gold Rush.

Even before the state formally assumed management of the valley, some local businessmen, such as the Mann brothers, considered how they could profit from the growing numbers of visitors. For these early entrepreneurs, the Yosemite represented what one historian has dubbed "the new bonanza." If prospectors could find no gold ores in the valley, businessmen could still "mine" gold from the valley by supplying the needs of the travelers.

Given the unspoiled state of most of the valley and the surrounding region in the 1850s and 1860s, the needs of the early tourists were particularly great. With the exception of a few primitive hostelries such as the Lower Hotel and Clark's Station


Yosemite Creek
Upper Yosemite Fall
Tocoya, or North Dome
Arched Rocks
Washington Column
Mirror Lake
Tenaya Creek
Mono Trail
Coulterville Trail
Tutucanula, or El Capitan
Pompompasus, or 3 Brothers
Middle Fall
Lower Yosemite Fall
Bridge
Lamons
Yosemite Hotel
Sentinel Hotel
Ferry
Orchard
Tissayac, or Half Dome
Karchumah, or Wild Cat Fall
Mt. Broderic, or Cap of Liberty
Main Fork of Merced
Yowiye or Nevada Fall
Karchumah, or Wild Cat
Pywyac, or Vernal Fall
Loya or Sentinel Rock
Merced River
Trail to Coulterville
Trail to Mariposa
Fissures
Cathedral Rocks
Loyemah, or Sentinel Dome
Panorama Rock
Tooloolweack Fall
Bridge
Pohono or Bridal Veil Fall
Inspiration Point
Cathedral Spires
Yosemite Valley
Pohono Creek
Mariposa Trail
Tooloolweack Creek
Mt. Starr King, or South Dome
Scale of Miles
½
1
2
3
4
Lith. Britton & Rey, S.F.

"Yosemite Valley," lithographed map by Britton and Rey, San Francisco, was reproduced for the first Yosemite Valley guidebook, *Yosemite*, by John S. Hittell, 1868. The map reflects the continuing influence of Indian names in the early tourist era, as well as the earliest development of valley trails, hotels, and ferry. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

and a few improved paths such as the Mann brothers trail, the valley's visitor facilities remained, for the most part, unimproved. Consequently, both travel to the valley and a stay in it for any length of time demanded hardiness, persistence, and a taste for adventure.

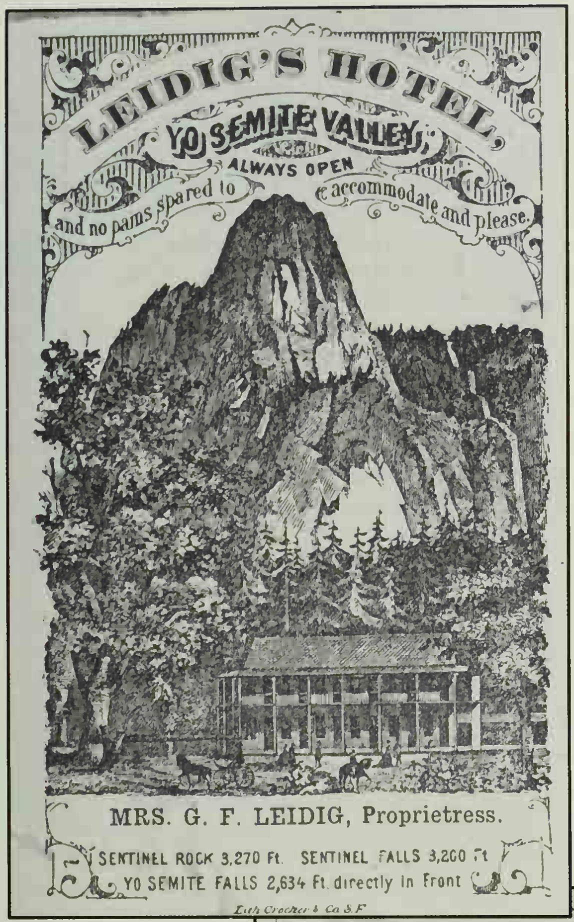
Simply approaching the valley proved a significant adventure in itself. Before 1872, no wagon roads reached the valley floor; travelers took to horseback many miles from the valley and rode in on dusty, rocky mountain tracks that pitched up and down steep inclines. Those tourists who braved the primitive trails found the trip to the valley dirty, exhausting, and nerve-wracking even in the best of circumstances. One visitor, writing in the summer of 1861, characterized the trip as "a hard one for the hardiest and terrible for ladies." They suffered "the wounds and bruises of 100 miles of the roughest and steepest mountain traveling on horseback," as well as the punishing effects of exposure that left them with "sunburnt faces wrinkled and drawn down with excessive fatigue."[6]

The cause of road improvement, therefore, achieved considerable importance in the early history of Yosemite's tourist industry. Some of the communities in the Yosemite region, such as Mariposa, eager to divert tourist dollars into the local economies, pressed hard for better roads. In several instances where the Yosemite Board of Commissioners seemed slow to act, local commercial interests launched their own projects. The commissioners sanctioned other toll roads to the valley rim or even down into the valley floor.[7]

Despite the formidable difficulties that road building in mountain country entailed, construction crews were approaching the valley from several directions in 1869 and 1870. The Mariposa and Big Tree Grove Turnpike Company, the Chinese Camp and Yo Semite Turnpike Company, and the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company all endeavored to link the valley by wagon roads to surrounding towns. Their progress significantly reduced the length of the saddle trip into the valley. During the same period, as the Central Pacific Railroad finished its short line east from Stockton into Calaveras County and then south into the San Joaquin Valley, other stage roads connected rail stops at Milton, Berenda, Raymond, and Merced to the valley turnpikes. Still larger numbers of tourists then could reach the valley in less time and with less discomfort than ever before. In the early 1870s a new transportation network grew up that could carry tourists from San Francisco to Oakland by ferry, from Oakland to Stockton, Milton, and eventually Merced by train, by stage to Gentry's or Clark's Station, and finally by horse or mule to the valley. In 1874, the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company finally pushed over the edge of the valley and laid out a wagon road down to the valley floor. Despite improved roads, as one 1871 guidebook urged, visitors to Yosemite should be "strong and fresh" when they made their plans for the excursion and take special care to equip themselves with "plenty of something soft and thick to come between [them] and the horse, during the necessary miles in the saddle."[8]

The greater number of visitors borne to the valley on these improved roads and new rail connections, in turn, created a growing market for other business ventures. More tourists demanded more services and facilities of all kinds in the valley itself. Many new commercial enterprises thus appeared in the valley during the 1860s and 1870s. Although neither Cunningham's Lower Hotel nor its neighbor the Upper Hotel were disturbed by competitors for some years after opening, the hospitality business in Yosemite directly felt the impact of Yosemite's expanding popularity. The rough cast of accommodations at the Upper and Lower hotels lessened, though it persisted in many aspects for as long as the valley was beyond reliable rail or wagon freight service. In particular, James M. Hutchings's return to the valley in 1864 as proprietor of the Upper Hotel brought much physical improvement to what became known as the "Hutchings House." Adding porches and partitions to increase privacy and soften the harsh edges of the main hotel, he also erected outbuildings, including the renowned "Big Tree Room" surrounding a 175-foot cedar tree and serving as both kitchen and sitting room.[9]

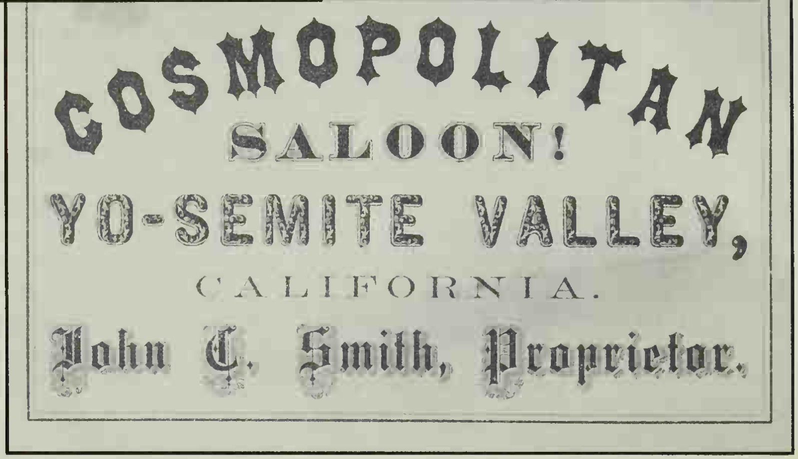
Completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869 established a direct, if somewhat rickety, connection between California's scenic attractions and the rapidly expanding pool of upper-class easterners interested in visiting natural wonders. In the particular case of the Yosemite Valley, the anticipation of greater tourism inspired much new



LEIDIG'S HOTEL,
YO SEMITE VALLEY,
ALWAYS OPEN
and no pains spared to accommodate and please.

MRS. G. F. LEIDIG, Proprietress.
SENTINEL ROCK 3,270 Ft. SENTINEL FALLS 3,200 Ft
YO SEMITE FALLS 2,634 Ft. directly in Front
Lith Crocker & Co. S.F

Hotel operators in Yosemite Valley employed various strategies to attract patrons. Leidig's Hotel trade card (left), closely modeled a familiar Carleton Watkins photograph of Sentinel Rock. The Cosmopolitan, not to be outdone, became renowned for its cleanliness and amenities such as billiard tables and its extremely well-stocked bar. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*



COSMOPOLITAN
SALOON!
YO-SEMITE VALLEY,
CALIFORNIA.
John C. Smith, Proprietor.

development in 1870 and 1871. Just as the Lower Hotel, the Hutchings House, and Clark's Station underwent considerable upgrading, so other aspiring capitalists founded La Casa Nevada between Vernal and Nevada falls, Leidig's Hotel near the Lower Hotel, Mountain View House on the trail between Clark's Station and the valley, and the Cosmopolitan Bath-house and Saloon near the Hutchings House. Each establishment tried to fashion its own identity, usually based on the character of its service.

None was more effective than the Cosmopolitan. Its success in providing the amenities living up to its name astonished visitors. The saloon advertised a "ladies' parlor," a "gents' reading room" furnished with the latest newspapers, a barber shop, hot and cold baths, billiards tables, games of quoits and shuffleboard, and a very well-stocked bar. With the promise that "No pains or expense will deter the Proprietor from rendering it A Desirable and Favorite Place of Resort!", the Cosmopolitan became an attraction in its own right for those tourists who had imagined that they would have to abandon clean towels, full-length mirrors, and carpeting for the duration of their visit.[10]

The transfer of Yosemite Valley from the public domain to state management in 1864 thus fostered a setting ripe with commercial possibilities. Dedicated in perpetuity to the purposes of public pleasure and recreation, the grant represented a guaranteed market for businesses engaged in serving the tourist. At the same time, however, the terms of the grant imposed significant restrictions on all uses of the valley. If the valley were to be protected for the use and enjoyment of future generations, unrestrained development in it could not be permitted. Upon the state of California, through the agency of the State Board of Commissioners, fell the ultimate responsibility for preserving the valley, while making it as accessible as possible to the general public.

During their tenure as managers of the Yosemite reservation, the commissioners sought to reconcile the interests of public and private enterprise and to create a harmonious balance between them. The board encouraged private road building with grants and authorized toll roads when the legislature provided insufficient funds for construction. The commission improved trails and roads and erected bridges in the valley to assist sightseers. And they waged a long, bitter struggle through the courts against several private landholders, including James Lamon and James Hutchings, who claimed land in the valley by virtue of settlement predating the 1864 act of cession.[11] In all these instances, the commissioners were wrestling with aspects of the single overriding dilemma that confronted them throughout their existence: how could they foster development in the valley for the benefit of visitors without irreparably damaging the valley's unspoiled character?

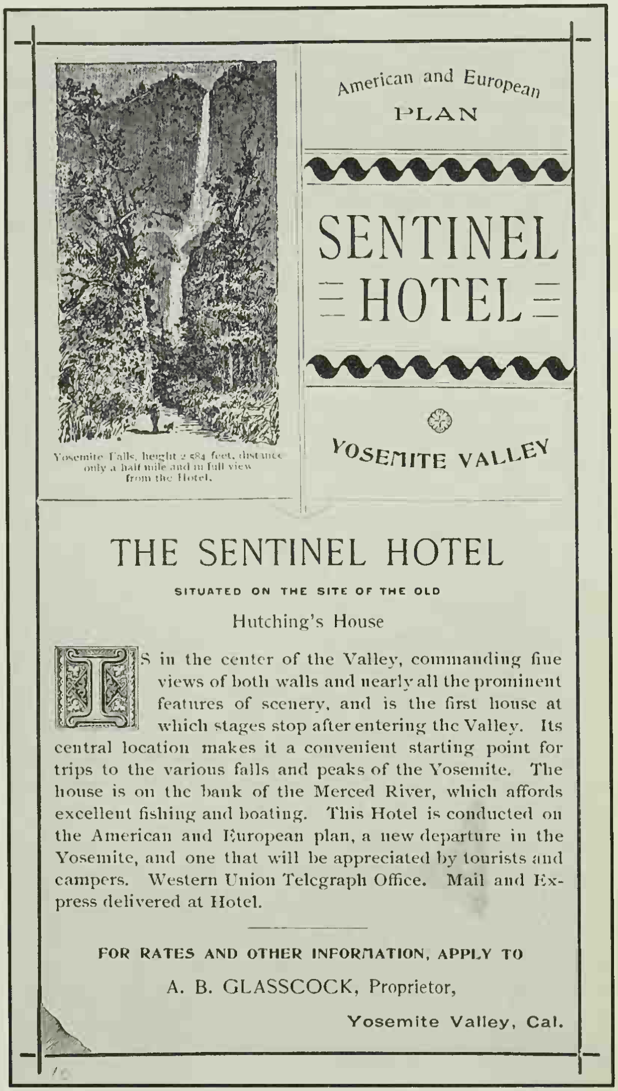
The continuing increase in the number of visitors, however, always lent weight to the arguments of those who favored further development. Especially in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Yosemite drew hundreds and then thousands of visitors each year, including hundreds of foreign sightseers. In one three-year stretch between 1883 and 1885, an average of 2361 American tourists came each year to the valley, in comparison to the total of 653 who had made the journey between 1855 and 1864 and the 2073 who had visited between 1865 and 1868. During the same period, a grand total of 1166 foreign nationals arrived in the valley, averaging 388 per year. The wide variety of nationalities among the foreign tourists demonstrated Yosemite's world-wide drawing power. Although the peripatetic residents of Victorian Britain predominated, most other European nations were also represented in each year's influx from abroad. One party traveling from San Francisco to Yosemite in 1884 reflected this diversity in microcosm: two Americans, four Britons, three Irishmen, a doctor serving in the Indian army, a German, a Spaniard, and a Dutch sea captain.[12]

Surging tourist numbers, especially in the 1880s, put new pressure on both the state commissioners and the private concessioners to accommodate all the newcomers. Drawing on more generous state appropriations, the commissioners launched an extensive program of renovations between 1885 and 1889. Decaying roads and trails were rebuilt, worn bridges were replaced, pipelines to carry fresh water were laid, new trails and footpaths were cleared, and repairs were made to the basin of Mirror Lake to relieve the accumulation of debris. The commissioners even erected a grand new hotel, the Stoneman House, in 1888, and then dismantled Leidig's and Black's hotels. Those aging and "unsightly" establishments, the commissioners decided, were no longer fit to serve the public.[13]

Private operators serving tourist travel to the valley took the same course of action, striving to emulate and then surpass earlier improvements at the Hutchings House and the Cosmopolitan Saloon. New stage routes linking stations along the Central Pacific line through the San Joaquin Valley to Yosemite competed aggressively with each other for business. Firms such as the Great Sierra Stage Company and the Yosemite Stage and Turnpike Company built up large operations encompassing not only horses, stages, and drivers but also smiths, stables, barns, and way stations located at strategic points along the trails. All of them boasted of their success in reducing the length and discomfort of the stage journey through the excellence of their drivers and their equipment.

Despite the expense of hauling in everything from bar stools to bath towels, other concessioners expanded their facilities. Under the management of the Washburn brothers, for example, the old Clark's Station on the south fork of the Merced evolved by the 1880s into the large Wawona Hotel operation, connected to the valley by the Yosemite Stage and Turnpike Company. Wawona included not only lodgings and barns but vegetable gardens, pasture, slaughterhouses, a dairy, an icehouse, granaries, and repair shops for the stage equipment. James M.. Hutchings's successors, George Coulter and A.J. Murphy, continued Hutchings's construction work, adding a two-story hotel to the various cottages built by Hutchings. Their successor, John K. Barnard, completed the main building, later named the Sentinel Hotel, and pursued further improvements to Hutchings's original structures.[14] Private business interests thus accelerated the development of the valley and of the surrounding region in order to benefit from the growth of tourism.

The commissioners and the private operators had to respond to more than the sheer press of numbers, however, as they confronted the implications of expanding tourist travel to Yosemite. While many early visitors had been satisfied with a saddle blanket for shelter and biscuits and beans for a bill of fare, many of their successors sought



Yosemite Falls, height 2 584 feet, distance only a half mile and in full view from the Hotel.

American and European
PLAN

SENTINEL
HOTEL

YOSEMITE VALLEY

THE SENTINEL HOTEL

SITUATED ON THE SITE OF THE OLD

Hutching's House

IS in the center of the Valley, commanding fine views of both walls and nearly all the prominent features of scenery, and is the first house at which stages stop after entering the Valley. Its central location makes it a convenient starting point for trips to the various falls and peaks of the Yosemite. The house is on the bank of the Merced River, which affords excellent fishing and boating. This Hotel is conducted on the American and European plan, a new departure in the Yosemite, and one that will be appreciated by tourists and campers. Western Union Telegraph Office. Mail and Express delivered at Hotel.

FOR RATES AND OTHER INFORMATION, APPLY TO

A. B. GLASSCOCK, Proprietor,

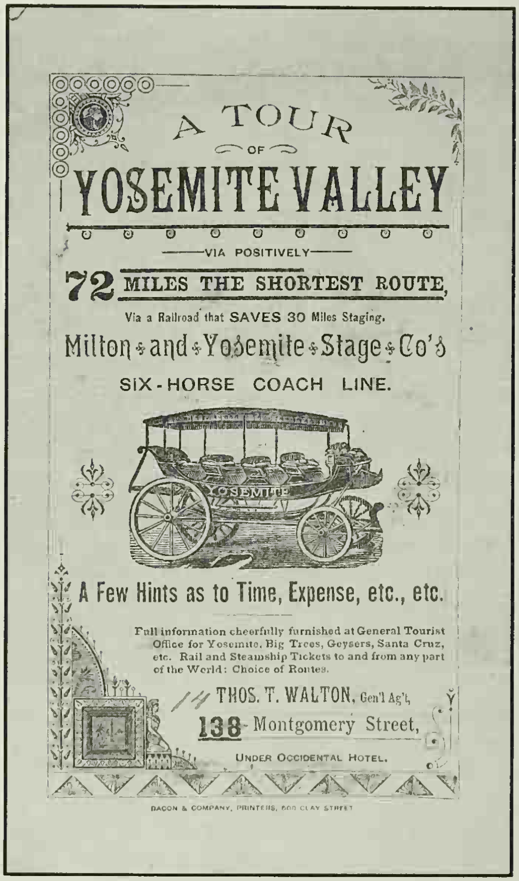
Yosemite Valley, Cal.

The Sentinel Hotel situated on the site of the old Hutchings House ca. 1895. A trade card for one of the most familiar of Yosemite's hostelries, going back even before J. M. Hutchings, this advertisement, with its references to American and European plan accommodations, mail deliveries, and Western Union telegraph connections, demonstrates the growing interest of tourists in a more civilized vacation. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

more comfort and refinement in their travel circumstances. Even many aspiring outdoorsmen preferred to "rough it" more gently in the structured setting of a developed campground. Despite a mounting popular enthusiasm for outdoor recreation, most tourists indulged a taste for nature only through short expeditions beyond a relatively civilized base of Pullman sleeping cars and resort hotels.

Fewer tourists seemed willing, therefore, to accept the advice of one 1873 guide book that they should expect "some inconveniences" on a Yosemite trip: "You cannot carry the Grand Hotel with you into the mountains." Construction of the well-appointed but ill-fated Stoneman House and the expansion of the Wawona Hotel represented not only an effort to house more tourists but to offer them as luxurious an experience as possible during their stay. Even Yosemite's first formal campground, operated by Aaron Harris between 1878 and 1887, provided such amenities as corrals and fodder for livestock, preselected campsites, and supplies of fresh meat and produce for the campers.[15] Such establishments as Harris's campground and the Wawona complex with their many facilities and amenities for the tourist, allowed visitors to partake of the outdoor life without being bothered by all its discomforts.

Renovation, reconstruction, and improvements notwithstanding, however, Yosemite in the 1870s and 1880s remained a resort in a "rustic" setting. Although the human inhabitants had begun to domesticate the valley to many civilized purposes, their efforts were still confined largely to portions of the valley floor. Travel through the region remained difficult and that difficulty, in turn, deprived the concessioners of access to reliable freight service. Without such service, they had considerable trouble importing the supplies and equipment needed to enhance their operations. One lodger at Barnard's Hotel during the summer of 1878 reported that "all arrangements here are of the simplest—quite comfortable but nothing fine . . . . It must be confessed that the rooms are rough-and-ready; and the partitions apparently consist of sheets of brown paper, so that every word spoken in one room is heard in all the others!" The trip itself was still an agony to be endured, not a pleasure to be anticipated. Most tourists remembered


A TOUR
OF
YOSEMITE VALLEY
VIA POSITIVELY
72 MILES THE SHORTEST ROUTE,
Via a Railroad that SAVES 30 Miles Staging.
Milton and Yosemite Stage Co's
SIX-HORSE COACH LINE.

A Few Hints as to Time, Expense, etc., etc.

Full information cheerfully furnished at General Tourist Office for Yosemite, Big Trees, Geysers, Santa Cruz, etc. Rail and Steamship Tickets to and from any part of the World: Choice of Routes.

14 THOS. T. WALTON, Gen'l Ag't,
138 Montgomery Street,
UNDER OCCIDENTAL HOTEL.

BACON & COMPANY, PRINTERS, 508 CLAY STREET

The Milton and Yosemite Stage Company was one of many private concessionaires established during the 1870s and 1880s to profit from the upsurge of tourists into the valley. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

their journey as an unremitting physical assault on their persons, relieved only by a series of welcome but too-brief layovers. As one traveler in 1878 rememberd it, "We were thankful to rest our weary battered bones, ere starting again to complete our twelve hours of violent shaking and jolting over loose stones and roads not yet repaired after their winter's wear." Another, in 1884, described the frightening combination of a dangerous road and stagecoach at full gallop: "On we dashed—our rattling driver, with a wild look in his eye, a wide-brimmed hat and a pointed beard, reckless of the discomforts of his male passengers and evidently enjoying the nervous excitement of the females . . . . The road was absolutely awful; and at times the four wheels were off the ground and in the air together . . ."[16]

Whatever difficulties confronted them, Yosemite's visitors continued to succumb to its magic allure on first sight. As pilgrims to a religious shrine in another age might have been moved to ecstasy by the majesty of the divine presence, so were many tourists inspired to acclaim the "unique glory" of the valley in similar terms. Writing of one moonlit evening on the banks of the Merced River below the Yosemite Falls, one visitor in 1884 reported that "I felt absolutely thrilled with delight at the beauty, grandeur, and solemn silence that surrounded us. The stillness was almost awful, broken only by the distant continuous whisper of the great waterfall, or the shrill cry, now and then, of some bird." Writing of her journey into the valley during a summer storm in the following year, another tourist captured the emotional force of the scenery heightened by the convulsion of the elements: "When our feeling of awe seemed most intense and we thought nothing would make the scene grander, there came a startling clap of thunder & flash of lightening [sic] and a heavy shower of rain came rattling down upon us, and the storm made grandeur sublimity." An astounding natural glory so dominated the valley that even one sardonic British critic, deriding the impact of the tourists on the landscape, conceded that their worst efforts could not undermine the essence of the valley's wonder.

> They have made roads and bridle-paths to it, built hotels and drinking saloons in it, brought the cosmopolite cockney to it, excursioned to it, picknicked in it, scraped names upon its rocks, levied tolls by its waterfalls, sung "Hail! Columbia" beneath the shadows of its precipices, swallowed "smashes" and "slings" under its pine trees; outraged, desecrated and profaned it but it still stands an unmatched monument hewn by ice and fire from the earth itself.[17]

Not all observers of the valley's development, however, were so sanguine about the ability of its natural environment to withstand the inroads made by the tourist business and the busy tourists. Worried that the desecration of the valley lay close at hand, various critics in the late 1880s pointed to the State Board of Commissioners, Yosemite's official managers, as the source of the valley's worst problems. Decades of controversy culminated in 1906 in the recession of the Yosemite grant by California to the federal government and the dissolution of the board. During its lifetime, the board of commissioners' efforts to manage the valley had involved it in many acrimonious disputes, beginning with its efforts to oust Hutchings and Lamon in the 1860s. In its dual role as guardian of the valley and regulator of all business enterprises within the grant, the board possessed sufficient power to guarantee the success or failure of any business subject to its authority. The abuse of that power, whether fancied or actual, consequently became the subject of complaints against the board, sometimes carried as far as the state legislature. Opposition to the board's alleged support of "monopoly power" proved especially telling, as in 1874, when the legislature, at the urging of the Yosemite Turnpike Road Company, broke the board's exclusive grant to the Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company of the right to enter the valley from the north. The legacy of bitterness created between the board and some of the private operators may even have contributed to dissolution of the original board under provisions of the new state constitution of 1879, which limited the terms of state officeholders.[18]

In time, new opposition to the reconstituted board of commissioners arose, for only the personnel of the board had changed after dissolution in 1880. The board's power had not been lessened, and some of its actions still provoked charges of favoritism, venality, and ineptitude. At last, in 1888, concessioner Charles Robinson's conflict with the board erupted into a nasty dispute that embroiled the state legislature. Robinson, an artist who had operated a small studio in the valley, became so outraged at his dispossession by the commissioners that he filed formal charges against them. He accused them of diverting public resources to the control of their allies, of abusing the landscape of the valley for commercial uses such as agriculture and stock raising, and of using their regulatory powers to build up uncontrolled monopolies for their friends. Apparently with the support of William Randolph Hearst's San Francisco *Examiner* in 1888 and 1889, Robinson obtained hearings on his long list of grievances before each house of the legislature. Although the reports of the investigative committees essentially upheld the commissioners on many points, various reforms in management of the valley were suggested, including a significant restructuring of the board. Moreover, the controversy over Robinson's charges arose just at a time when pressure for federal protection of Yosemite's wonders was peaking.[19]

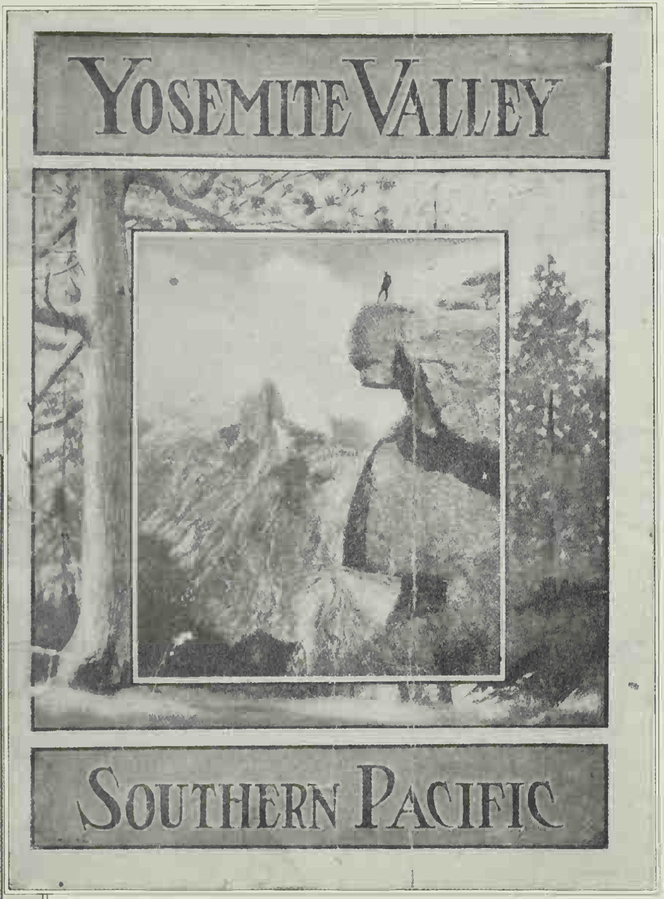
John Muir, long-time devotee of the valley's beauty, had become as deeply disenchanted with the valley's management by 1889 as had his acquaintance Charles Robinson. After a visit to the valley that summer with Robert Underwood Johnson, the conservation-minded associate editor of *The Century Magazine*, Muir accepted Johnson's urgings to campaign for a new natural reserve encircling the valley. Their aim was to preserve Yosemite's Sierra watershed from destruction through unrestrained exploitation by lumbermen and stock growers. With great literary force, Muir and Johnson hammered away at the need to protect the greater Yosemite region from what Johnson denounced as California's "amateur management" of the valley, which led to

> the spectacle of the most phenomenal of the national pleasure grounds ignorantly hewed and hacked, sordidly plowed and fenced, and otherwise treated on principles of forestry which would disgrace a picnic ground.

Johnson's editorials in *The Century* demanded more able and professional oversight of the valley, thus further impeaching the caliber of the current state board's management.[20]

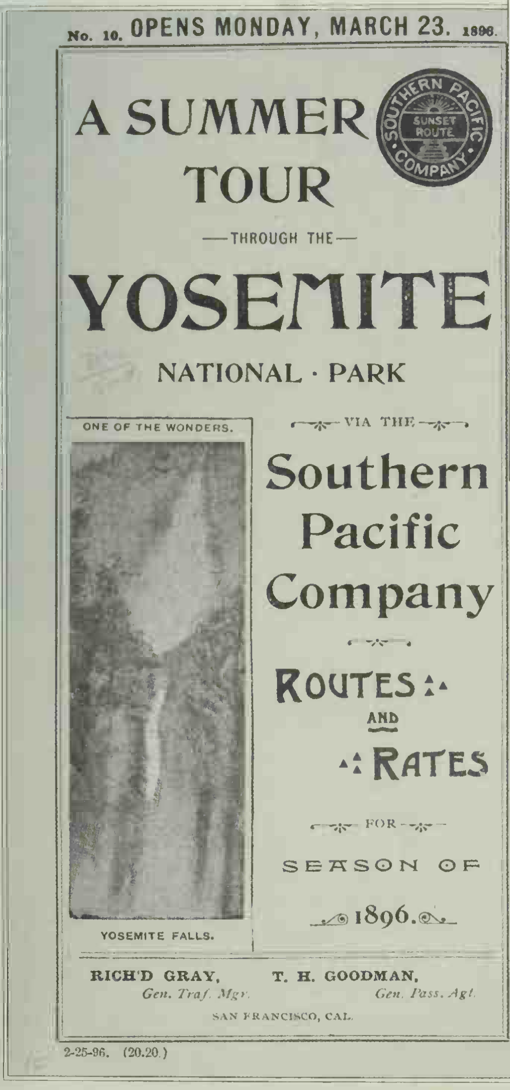
In their campaign for federal protection, Muir and Johnson advanced their aims successfully by the judicious use of publicity directed toward receptive and influential audiences. Johnson's magazine, a pre-eminent force in cultivating literary realism among American authors and good government in American politics, gave Muir an entrée into the homes of thousands of middle- and upper-class families. Many of them, in turn, shared Muir's apprehension about the fate of unprotected wild lands and sympathized with the burgeoning movement to safeguard natural resources, including scenic beauty, from destruction. Some probably had read Muir's earlier writings or seen the Yosemite photographs of Carleton Watkins; a few had probably visited the valley in person. Other eastern publications lent their weight to the cause, mobilizing more support for the legislation pending in Congress. This support, along with that of California's Southern Pacific Railroad, translated into a successful legislative campaign in the fall of 1890, spearheaded by Muir's eloquent pieces in *The Century*.[21]

Although the establishment of Yosemite National Park surrounding the valley inspired joy in many quarters, criticism of the state board's management of the valley did not abate. The mounting pressure on the valley's open land and water resources by the growing tourist population only intensified the agitation fomented by Muir and his allies to prod California into receding the valley to the federal government. Muir rallied old comrades such as Robert Johnson and drew in powerful new friends such as E.H. Harriman and other Southern Pacific Railroad leaders and President Theodore Roosevelt. The recession movement also gained support from many reform-minded middle- and upper-class Americans who by the early 1900s had begun to coalesce into the broad movement identified as "progressivism." Among them, Muir could count many members of his own Sierra Club, founded in 1892, who applauded both political reform and preservation of unspoiled nature. After 15 years of debate and discussion, the recession was accomplished in 1906, incorporating the valley into the national park, under the authority of the Department of the Interior and the protection of the United States Army.[22]



YOSEMITE VALLEY

SOUTHERN PACIFIC



No. 10. OPENS MONDAY, MARCH 23. 1896.

A SUMMER
TOUR
—THROUGH THE—
YOSEMITE
NATIONAL · PARK

ONE OF THE WONDERS.

YOSEMITE FALLS.

VIA THE
Southern
Pacific
Company

ROUTES
AND
RATES

FOR
SEASON OF
1896.

RICH'D GRAY, *Gen. Traf. Mgr.*
T. H. GOODMAN, *Gen. Pass. Agt.*
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

2-25-96. (20.20.)

Almost as soon as the transcontinental railroad was completed in 1869, travelers were encouraged to visit Yosemite on their trips to California. Even eastern railroads and steamship lines advertised the valley. The Southern Pacific Railroad used Yosemite on brochures and timetables to advertise its special relationship with California. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

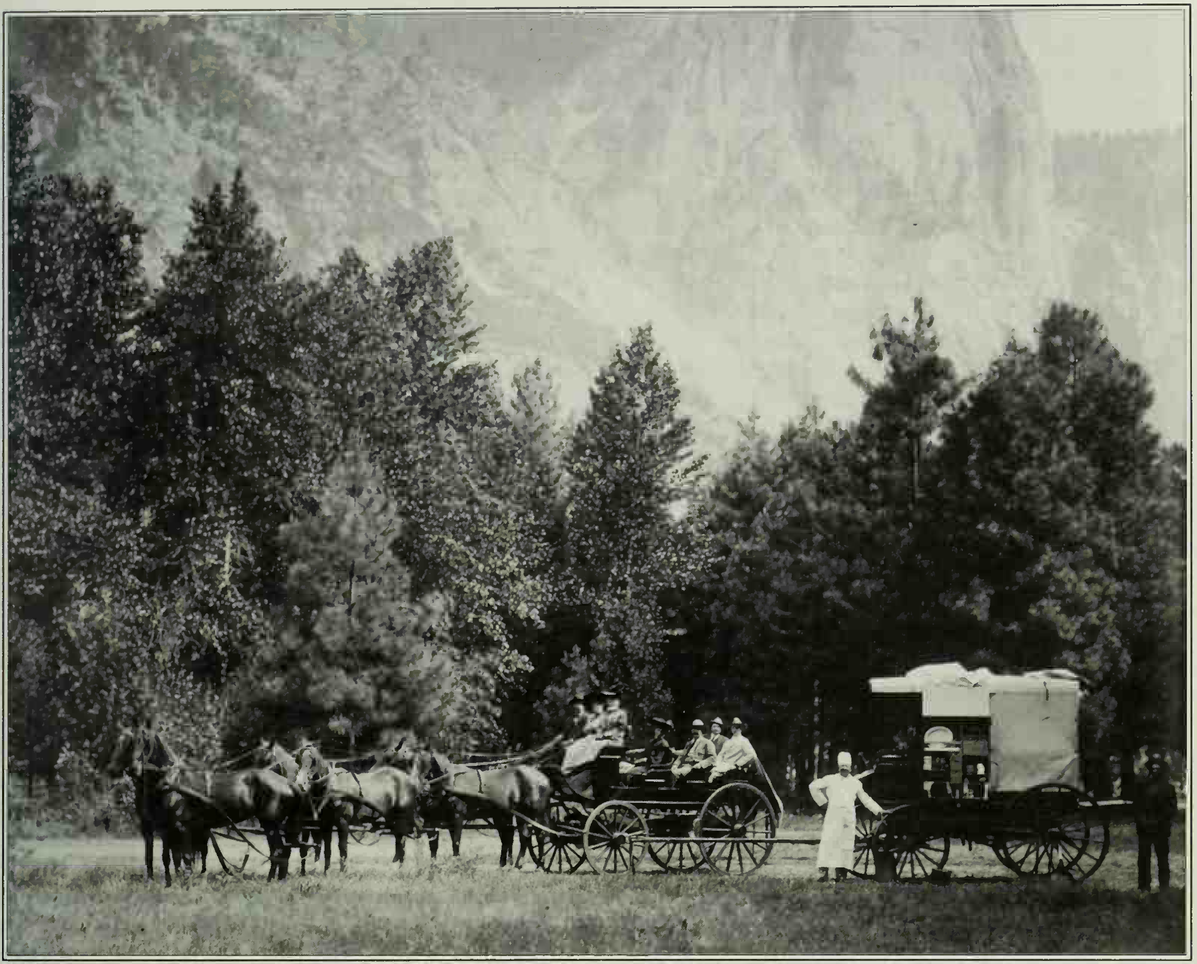
Both before and after recession of the valley to the federal government, the Army had engaged in considerable surveying and construction of roads and trails throughout the national park to improve its accessibility not only for travelers but for cavalry patrols as well, protecting the back country from trespassing poachers and stock growers. Although the cavalry troops assigned to the park detail only patrolled in the summer months and were ill-equipped by either training or statute to serve as civil guards, their continuous patrolling generated much information about previously-unexplored sections of the region. Following the valley's recession, the Department of the Interior also contracted for engineering work within the valley, establishing new trails and bridges and renovating or replacing dilapidated structures. As in the case of the state board, the federal managers of the park now struggled to keep up with deterioration that followed each tourist season.[23]

The park's administration had to give such work a top priority, for new developments in transportation to the valley made possible the middle-class invasion in great numbers. As one historian of tourism has observed, "Each decade saw more families with leisure time and money to spend in it; the West as well as the East was becoming urbanized, and even its modest towns spawned their vacation spots." This new growth in tourism encouraged a "mass market" whose importance came to outweigh "the patronage of the elite."[24]

The continuing approach of railroads toward the valley made this massive influx possible by shrinking distances significantly, especially after the completion of the Yosemite Valley Rairoad. Built between 1905 and 1907, that road ran 78 miles from Merced through the Merced River canyon to El Portal just outside the park. Although the railroad never received permission to extend its route into the valley, its rail link from Merced to the terminus at El Portal left tourists with only a four-hour stage ride from El Portal to the valley instead of one lasting two days. Within a few years, the railroad had secured contracts with the Southern Pacific to carry Pullman sleepers originating in Los Angeles and San Francisco through to El Portal, leaving their passengers undisturbed and relieved of the necessity to change cars. The Yosemite Valley Railroad provided other luxuries such as a diner car and an open-observation car; in 1913, the company's new motorized transportation from El Portal reduced the last leg of the tourist trip to an hour and a half. By 1916, the railroad was carrying over 14,000 passengers per year.[25]

Adoption in 1913 of gasoline-powered transport in place of horse-drawn wagons to convey tourists from El Portal into the park also marked the beginning of the automobile's enduring relationship with Yosemite National Park. The same year, Interior Secretary Franklin K. Lane lifted the 1907 ban imposed by the Army that exiled early motorists from the park. While the age of mass ownership and use of the automobile was still some years in the future, the auto exerted considerable influence on many phases of park affairs from its first appearance. It put new demands on the park's road network, required new regulations to manage the movement of traffic around the park, and created a necessity for all kinds of new services and facilities, from garages and gasoline stations to parking lots. A few years after the end of World War I, automobiles would make possible an enormous increase in the number of annual visitors.[26]

Continued road improvements and the mechanization of travel to the valley thus brought the possibility of visiting the park within reach of an ever larger number of Americans. The growing number of visitors who took advantage of this opportunity promised concessioners in the national park a wider market for their services, especially as more and more middle-class Americans acquired the disposable income and leisure time required for pleasure travel. Many visitors took advantage of an American variation on an English innovation pioneered by Thomas Cook, the personally-conducted railroad tour. When the Boston firm of Raymond and Whitcomb launched their first tour to the Pacific Coast in 1881, it offered travelers what a later observer has described as "self-conscious gentility and reassurance of safety from discomfort." Conducting as many as fifty or sixty tourists about the great circuit of western attractions, including Yosemite, the tour operators introduced Americans of secure but not exalted means to the genteel life of the grand resorts, providing the paradoxical experience of "exclusiveness on a large scale." Despite the rapid pace of their tours, these travelers reveled in the companionship of their parties,



Not everyone who traveled to Yosemite complained of its primitive facilities. Captain William Banning, of the prominent Los Angeles transportation family, hosted a coaching vacation for friends and relatives in the Yosemite-Big Tree region, ca. 1902. With them went a Belgian cook and a supply wagon carrying food, kitchen equipment, and camping accoutrements. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

as well as the scenic wonders around them. "Everyone seems at home and the car is full of pleasant conversation," observed one tourist bound to Yosemite from Boston in 1882, while ten years later another client of Raymond and Whitcomb wrote enthusiastically that "the sociability of this company is a joy and a delight."[27]

Those amiable parties of tourists, hustled through their Yosemite visit by tour operators, thus enlarged the concessioners' business, especially for the Sentinel Hotel. As the only hotel in the valley after the destruction of the Stoneman House in 1888, the Sentinel monopolized business, while others outside the valley, such as the Wawona or, after 1907, Yosemite Valley Railroad's Del Portal, absorbed the demand for comfortable accommodations on the way to the park. The Del Portal, with its "wide halls" and its "large, airy rooms" warmed with steam heat and illuminated with electric light, allowed each guest to indulge in "all the luxury of hotel living," representative of "a most careful provision for comfort and enjoyment." Such comfortable establishments guaranteed, in the words of one pamphlet, that "the visitor to Yosemite does not have to 'rough it,' or undergo any discomfort or hardship."[28]

Tourists who *did* seek at least a modicum of "roughing it," however, found little accommodation to their interest. After fire wiped out Harris's campground in 1887, organized arrangements or facilities for camping were uncommon. The possibilities of profiting from that pastime, though, attracted a new entrepreneur to the valley at the end of the nineteenth century. David A. Curry, a schoolteacher who had come from Indiana to settle in northern California, and a man with a yen for a more secure occupation involving life out-of-doors, established a primitive family-run campground on the south side of the valley in the summer season of 1899. Offering nothing more in the beginning than "a tent, a good table, and a clean napkin at every meal," Camp Curry set out to furnish "service aimed at making every guest feel at home." Although the Currys' location in the valley meant importing everything from eggs and butter to mirrors and blankets, they slowly made a go of their enterprise, assisted by favorable word-of-mouth publicity that spread first among educators throughout California. Stanford students staffed the camp during the summers, while teachers and administrators came to enjoy an inexpensive and congenial stay in Yosemite.[29]

Like the valley's hotels, however, Camp Curry continued to offer more services in hopes of attracting more customers. While the camp retained its familiar wood and canvas tent cabins, it added a permanent building in 1901 to house a kitchen and dining room. In the next year came sewer lines, restrooms, a bath house, and even space for tennis courts and a croquet lawn. Curry, a natural showman, revived the firefall down Glacier Point as an evening entertainment and presented an array of campfire programs for his guests on the natural and human history of the region. Curry's success in capitalizing on an important new dimension of the tourist market is measured by the rapid growth in Camp Curry's share of the valley's tourism. Whereas Camp Curry attracted only 290 guests during its inaugural season compared to 2600 at the Sentinel Hotel, its attendance rose to 800 in 1902 and 1300 in 1904. By 1912, Camp Curry, with 3516 guests, outstripped not only its competitors, Camp Ahwanee (1162) and Camp Lost Arrow (954) but also the Sentinel Hotel (2615). Only three years later in 1915, during the season of the Pacific expositions in San Francisco and San Diego, Camp Curry drew 11,715 guests, while only 8323 stayed at the Sentinel Hotel, 2611 at Camp Lost Arrow, and 1426 at Camp Ahwanee.[30]

Camp Curry's success, as well as the popularity of other campgrounds in the valley, demonstrated the increasing appeal of outdoor recreation among American tourists, particularly of middle-class circumstances. Its great variety of facilities and David Curry's constant improvement of them, however, also demonstrated that most tourists in the 1890s and the early 1900s did not aspire to lose themselves in the wilderness. Camp Curry's development mirrored the on-going development throughout the valley, intended to offer tourists more comforts and "civilized" conveniences. By 1908, for example, Yosemite Village comprised a very busy community of 46 structures including offices and shops, barns and stables, and homes for concessioners and representatives of the federal government. Electrification had been made possible by construction in 1901 of the Happy Isles power plant, while daily mail service during the summer and a spreading network of telephones eroded the valley's quiet insularity. El Portal, the small community that sprouted around the Yosemite Valley Railroad's terminus and its Hotel Del Portal, grew up in the same manner, force-fed by the money earned from legions of tourists who shuttled through each summer.[31]

Whether they spent only two days at the Sentinel Hotel with a Raymond and Whitcomb excursion party or two months in a tent cabin at Camp Curry, the valley's visitors in general appreciated the services available to them and their patronage encouraged further development. When the valley returned to the federal government in 1906, Yosemite's concessioners included not only lodgings and transportation, curio dealers, grocery stores, and photographic studios, but also a butcher shop, bakery, laundry, bowling alley, billiards room, and barber shop. Those who visited Yosemite early in this century thus had to give up far fewer comforts of their daily existence than any of their predecessors. They could obtain fresh bread, clean clothing, close shaves, and even a regular newspaper, *The Yosemite Tourist*, published by D.J. Foley, who also operated a print shop and a photographic studio. As one commentator wrote in 1911, "One lacks for no comfort" in visiting Yosemite, "a spot of infinite loveliness set as a resting place amid the stress and turmoil of the mighty world."[32]

The many concessioners that settled in the park by the beginning of World War I had created a man-made environment replicating many features of urban life. In number and variety, they presented a complicated challenge to the public officials who had managed the valley since its cession by the federal government in 1864. As travel to the valley grew and as tourists expected more and better facilities decade by decade, first the California State Board of Commissioners and later the United States Army and the Department of the Interior struggled to balance commercial development against preservation of the natural environment. After World War I, Yosemite's new guardian, the National Park Service, would find it a problem whose solution would be frustratingly elusive. CHS

See notes beginning on page 221.

Peter Blodgett is working toward completion of the doctorate in history at Yale University. He has authored several articles and chapters in anthologies on such subjects as California bibliography and national park history. Currently, he is assistant curator for western historical manuscripts at the Huntington Library.

Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops:

Nineteenth-Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite

by Kate Nearpass Ogden

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Yosemite Valley rapidly became the Niagara Falls of the West Coast. As one of the most popular scenic attractions in the country, it was thus frequently rendered in paintings and photographs. Scores of artists visited Yosemite between its discovery in 1851 and the creation of the national park in 1890, and they continued to paint and photograph the valley in later years. The landscapes created in the first forty years of Yosemite's history played an important communications role on several notable occasions: when the valley was first publicized in the 1850s, when its status as a state-managed park was promoted in 1864, and when the land surrounding the valley was set aside as a national park in 1890.

Artists went to the valley because it offered some of the grandest, most sublime scenery in the country. Yosemite and other newly discovered sites in the West gave them fresh subject matter and an opportunity to make a splash with something new. A prime example is the New York artist Albert Bierstadt, whose fame was based on his numerous large paintings of the Rocky Mountains, Yosemite Valley, and other western landscapes (fig. 1).

Yosemite appealed to artists for ideological reasons as well. As an American "Eden" or an immense "natural cathedral," the valley carried a spiritual significance that was recognized by many visitors of the period. Accounts of the 1860s and 1870s are full of religious rhetoric, in which the Yosemite trip was referred to as a "pilgrimage" and tourists posed as transcendentalist worshipers of God-through-nature.[1] Yosemite also served the cause of nationalism, since it was bigger and better than any area like it in Europe. Artists painting the valley felt they were promoting knowledge of and pride in their country, as well as helping to develop American landscape art. For California artists and their patrons, Yosemite further served as a focus of state pride.[2]

Geological investigation was one of several important influences on the art and artists of Yosemite. A number of Yosemite painters and photographers were brought west by the expeditionary parties exploring America's territories and national boundaries, although most visited the valley on their own time. Some artists worked directly with the geologists studying Yosemite Valley itself.[3] On a general level, geology was of interest to *all* the artists who painted and photographed the geological monuments and curiosities that serve as focal points in the Yosemite landscape.

Although religion, nationalism, and geology were important, tourism was probably the most pervasive influence on Yosemite image-making.[4]

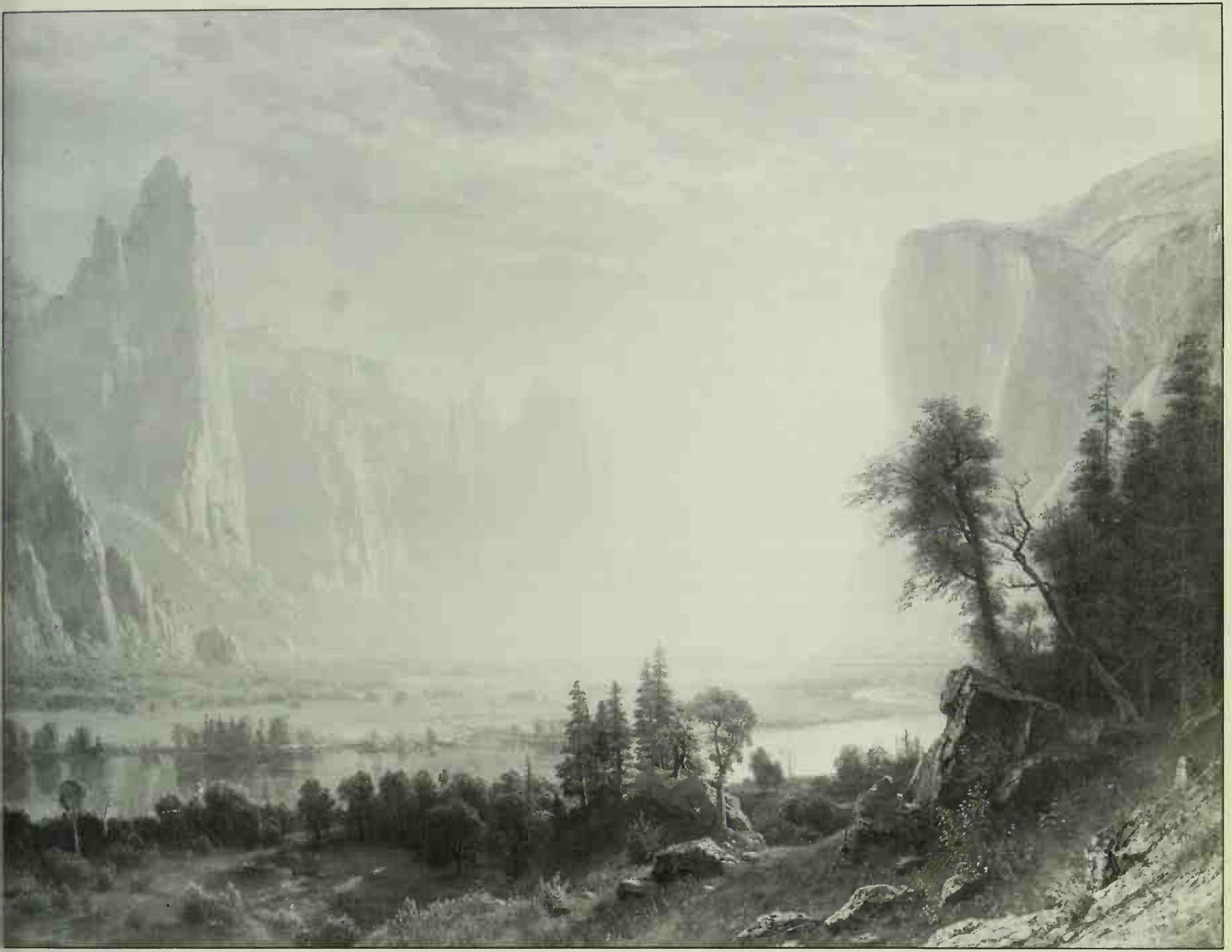


Figure 1: Albert Bierstadt, *Valley of the Yosemite*, 1868. *Courtesy Yale University Art Gallery, photograph by Joseph Szaszfai.*

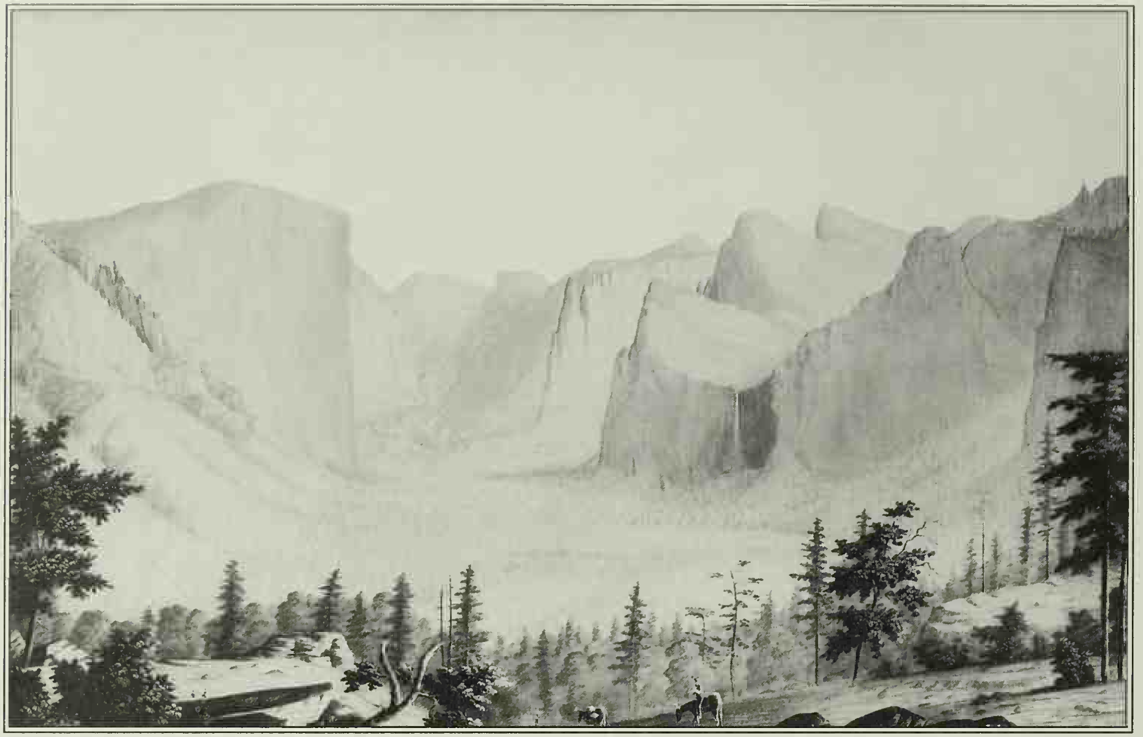


Figure 2: Thomas A. Ayres, *Valley of the Yosemite, California*, 1855, drawing in charcoal, white chalk, and pencil. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, Photograph by Ted Orland.*

Tourists served as both subject matter and market for artists in the valley. Photographers and painters alike profited from the tourist trade, and their images were influenced by it in turn.

Artist Explorers

The early years of Yosemite history, in which the valley was first explored and publicized, might be considered the expeditionary phase of Yosemite image-making, and the earliest artists were "artist-explorers" in the tradition of George Catlin, Carl Bodmer, and A.J. Miller. The first draftsman to visit Yosemite was Thomas A. Ayres, who arrived in 1855, four years after the valley's discovery by the Mariposa Battalion (fig. 2). Ayres was brought to the valley by the budding entrepreneur James Mason Hutchings, who would soon become a publisher and self-appointed publicity agent for Yosemite and would later run a hotel in the valley. Realizing that visual proofs of this amazing landscape would be of widespread interest (and perhaps profitable as well), Hutchings decided to reproduce Ayres's drawings in the first issue of his new journal, *Hutchings' California Magazine*.[5]

According to a Yosemite visitor in 1859, "Ayres' sketches are truthful, but do not approach to giving an idea of this wonderful Valley."[6] It was thus logical for Hutchings to think next of using photographs in his magazine, since photography was credited with even greater verisimilitude than drawing or painting. In 1859, Hutchings traveled to the valley again with Charles L. Weed, Yosemite's first photographer, and subsequently reproduced Weed's images in several issues of his magazine.

The trials of nineteenth-century landscape photographers, who carried their heavy equipment, chemicals, and fragile glass plates into the wilderness, certainly qualify Weed for designation as an "explorer-artist." Also, Weed's trip was made a decade or so earlier than the four great scientific surveys led by King, Powell, Hayden, and Wheeler. The use of photography as a tool of western exploration was thus still in its adolescence when introduced in Yosemite in 1859.

One of the painters who visited Yosemite around this time, James Madison Alden, was a survey draftsman by profession, although he apparently visited Yosemite on his own. Alden, who had previously worked for the Pacific Coast Survey, made a number of watercolors depicting Yosemite in 1859 while employed by the Northwestern Boundary Survey.[7] Other painters who visited Yosemite in the early years were new residents of San Francisco and Sacramento. One of these was Frederick Butman, the first California painter to concentrate exclusively on landscape. Butman is said to have painted the first oils of Yosemite in 1857, and a few of his Yosemite landscapes still exist. Another early arrival was the Frenchman Antoine Claveau, whose now-lost Yosemite panorama (probably a series of paintings) was, like Butman's work, exhibited in San Francisco in 1857.[8]

Other early Yosemite artists include James Lamson, whose extant diary documents his journey from Maine to California; George Tirrell, whose 25,300 square foot California painting (now lost) was believed in 1860 to be the longest panorama ever painted; and William S. Jewett of New York, better known than the others and hailed as California's first successful portraitist. Among the earliest European-born artists to paint Yosemite were Eugene Camerer from Germany and the Englishman George Burgess, a forty-niner who later helped establish the San Francisco Art Association in 1871.[9] A few Yosemite drawings and paintings by most of these artists still exist, although Camerer's images of the valley are best remembered through the lithographs based on them.

The trail of the early artists of Yosemite winds through a variety of sources, including newspapers, travel books, diaries, letters, and art work. Two extant drawings, for example, indicate that George Tirrell visited Yosemite in September 1858, and one of Hutchings's articles mentions Tirrell's presence there the following year as well.[10] James Lamson's diary tells us that he and Eugene Camerer also visited Yosemite in 1859; a watercolor by Lamson and a comment by Hutchings provide additional evidence of their visit that year.[11] An article in the *Overland Monthly*, 1884, written by another early Yosemite explorer gives a plausible reason for the current obscurity of Antoine Claveau's paintings. After explaining that Milton and Houston Mann had commissioned the artist to paint a Yosemite panorama, the writer, James H. Lawrence, added that Claveau "was a fraud, and humbugged them —dawdling away his time for the best part of a year, and giving them, instead of a panorama, a series of wretched daubs."[12] Although much has been discovered about these early Yosemite painters, many gaps in the record still remain.

Drawings, paintings, and photographs provided visual proof of the valley's wonders at a time when many California stories were regarded as tall tales. News of the valley's amazing landscape had somehow failed to spread after Yosemite was seen in 1833 by Joseph R. Walker's party and in 1849 by the miners William Penn Abrams and U.N. Reamer.[13] After the Mariposa Battalion entered Yosemite in 1851, however, visitors published newspaper accounts of the valley; others sketched and painted what they saw. Hutchings's use of drawings and photographs in his magazine did a great deal to anchor Yosemite firmly in the public imagination. Lithographs published in the 1850s after Ayres's and Camerer's drawings also helped to call attention to the valley.

The first images of Yosemite to be seen in the East were Ayres's drawings, which were exhibited at the Art Union in New York in 1857.[14] Next came Weed's 1859 photographs, which were acquired in 1860 by the New York stereo publisher Edward Anthony & Company (later E. & H.T. Anthony); these were distributed by Anthony as far as England.[15] Photographs taken by Carleton Watkins in 1861 were exhibited at Goupil's Gallery, New York, in December of 1862.[16] Ayres's, Weed's, and Watkins's images served as publicity to an ever-widening audience and confirmed the claims made about Yosemite in the eastern press by Horace Greeley, the Reverend Thomas Starr King, and others.

Yosemite images were considered so compulsory among publishing companies that *Ballou's* magazine of Boston reproduced an invented, fictitious view of the region on two separate occasions. The first appeared in the May 21, 1859 issue, during the initial explosion of interest in Yosemite. The second followed in the June 1870 issue, during the California craze ignited by the opening of the transcontinental railroad. Fictitious Yosemite landscapes were also published as lithographs by Currier and Ives in the mid-1860s, one of them drawn by the artist Frances F. Palmer. The distribution of these invented landscapes indicates the pervasiveness of public interest in Yosemite and the West.

Artists of the 1860s

Benjamin Parke Avery, a writer and editor for the San Francisco *Bulletin* and the *Overland Monthly* and an early commentator on the California art scene, considered 1862 a watershed date in the history of California art. "With the year 1862," he wrote, "began a period of more activity and promise for Art on the Pacific . . ."[17] The same is true of Yosemite; during the 1860s, artists began to visit the valley in ever greater numbers. They came from New York and Boston as well as San Francisco, then the fastest-growing art center on the West

Coast. A few artists came from foreign countries, particularly Great Britain.

One of the most important and best known artistic expeditions of the early 1860s was made by New York artist Albert Bierstadt and his painter companions, Virgil Williams and Enoch Wood Perry. Their August 1863 visit is important for several reasons: its relatively early date, the prominence of the artists involved, the number of pictorial documents still extant, and the presence of Fitz Hugh Ludlow, an able writer who documented the trip. Ludlow's account of their excursion first appeared as a series of articles in *The Atlantic Monthly*. Profiting by the California craze of 1869, Ludlow later republished his account in book form as *The Heart of the Continent* (1870).

Bierstadt's 1863 Yosemite visit did much to inspire local artists in their commitment to painting as a career, their interest in landscape, and their concentration on Yosemite Valley as a subject. Five years after Bierstadt's visit, Benjamin P. Avery wrote that the New York painter had greatly stimulated resident artists. According to Avery, the effects of Bierstadt's visit were generally positive, "though they were first visible in a violent outbreak of Yosemite views, good, bad and indifferent." Avery noted that the valley was already a mecca for California artists, but he recognized, even then, the "danger of having a little too much of even such a good thing as Yosemite."[18]

Establishing Yosemite Valley as a Wilderness Preserve

Bierstadt's Yosemite paintings played a subtle, but important, role in the designation of Yosemite Valley as a park. Returning to New York in December 1863, he began painting Yosemite scenes based on his oil sketches. The first to be shown to the public was a small oil sketch exhibited and auctioned at the Metropolitan Fair in April 1864, a benefit held by the New York Sanitary Commission to raise money for wounded Civil War veterans. At that time, *Night at Valley View* (Yosemite Museum) and *Cho-looke: The Yosemite Fall* (Timken Gallery, San Diego) were also available for viewing in the artist's studio, where they were seen by the artist's ever-widening circle of admirers.[19] Yosemite had been a familiar name for several years, but Bierstadt's paintings provided eastern viewers with their first technicolor visions of its sublime landscape.

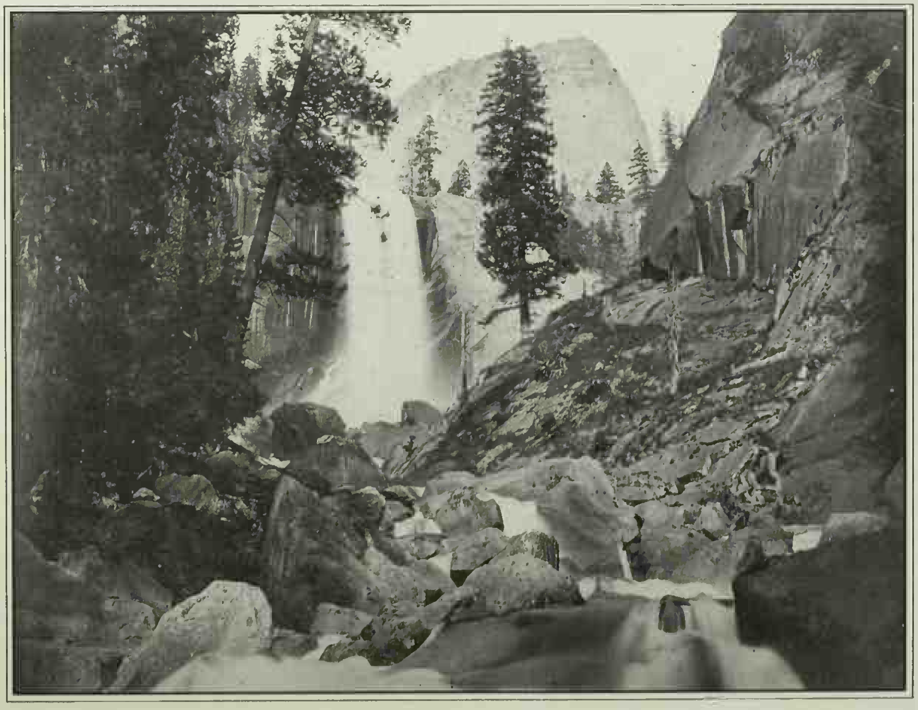


Figure 3: Carleton Watkins, *Vernal Fall*, 1861, mammoth albumen photograph. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, photograph by Robert Woolard.*

Carleton Watkins's photographs (fig. 3) were used even more directly to convince Congress to set aside the valley as a park. Israel Ward Raymond, a prominent San Francisco businessman, is credited with suggesting that the Yosemite park proposal would be stronger if photographs were included. It was certainly Raymond who mailed them to Senator John Conness in Washington, D.C., on behalf of the park promoters.[20] Legend has it that Watkins's photographs were also forwarded to the White House, where President Lincoln studied them prior to signing the 1864 bill setting aside Yosemite Valley for preservation in California's custody.

Bierstadt's, Weed's, and Watkins's images continued to serve as advertisements for Yosemite and California long after the valley was designated a park. Like Thomas Cole's paintings of the Catskill Mountains of New York, which had promoted awareness of that region earlier in the century, these Yosemite images piqued the curiosity of easterners. The same was true of Thomas Hill's paintings later in the decade. Hill painted two of his largest Yosemite canvases while working in Boston between 1867 and 1872. The first so impressed the local art world that the prominent Boston publisher Louis Prang commissioned a smaller version of it, which he reproduced as a chromolithograph. *Ballou's Monthly Magazine* thus had good reason to claim in June 1870 that Hill and Bierstadt were the artists who had introduced their town to Yosemite.

Many artists who visited Yosemite in the 1860s were originally from the East Coast. Some were only traveling through (like Bierstadt and Perry), while others had or would settle permanently in California. Virgil Williams, for example, moved to San Francisco eight years after his Yosemite excursion with Bierstadt and became one of the state's leading art teachers. At least one Yosemite visitor of the late 1860s, watercolorist John Henry Hill, was brought west by his scientific affiliation as a staff artist with Clarence King's survey of the fortieth parallel. Hill arrived in California in 1868 and probably visited Yosemite on his own that year as well.[21]

A significant few who visited during the 1860s were from Great Britain. One of these was the photographer Eadweard Muybridge, who took his first Yosemite photographs in 1867. Others included the painters Thomas Hill and William Keith (figs. 9 and 10). Hill, born in England, came to the United States at the age of fourteen and moved to California as an adult in 1861. Hill's earliest existing Yosemite paintings are dated 1863 and 1864, suggesting that his first visit occurred around that time.[22] The Scottish-born William Keith painted Yosemite in 1866—probably for the first time—and exhibited his paintings in San Francisco that fall.[23]

The predominant painterly style of the 1860s has sometimes been called "romantic realism." It is generally characterized by picturesque compositions, tightly detailed handling of subject, emphasis on "local" colors (blue sky, green foliage, gray rocks), relatively bright color schemes, and foreground figures that provide a focal point and a sense of scale. The mood is often one of midday sunlight and everyday realism, although exceptions include Bierstadt's glowing sunsets and Fortunato Arriola's moonlit landscapes. Many of these early Yosemite canvases were painted in a minutely detailed manner that reminds us of contemporaneous scientific interests and, at the same time, evokes the spiritual beliefs of the period. Nature was considered "part and parcel" of God, and the divine presence was evoked most clearly by nature in its most sublime manifestations. Such places obviously included Yosemite Valley.

The sources of romantic realism were the so-called Hudson River School of New York and its European predecessors, including picturesque French and British styles. The academy of Düsseldorf, Germany, which taught a tightly detailed realism, most often combined with sentimental subjects, was also an influence. Bierstadt's *Valley of the Yosemite* (fig. 1) evokes the spiritual qualities as well as the quasi-scientific realism of the period. Equally detailed, if less dramatic, are the landscapes painted by Bierstadt's companions of 1863, including Perry's *Sentinel Rock, Yosemite*. The early paintings of Thomas Hill and William Keith also fit this mold.

The Golden Age of Yosemite Photography

The great competition among Yosemite photographers of this period is well known, having been discussed at length by Weston Naef and others.[24] It began in 1861 with Carleton Watkins, who arrived in Yosemite with mammoth plate glass negatives (so named for their remarkable size, approximately 18"x22") apparently determined to outdo Weed's earlier 11"x15" photographs. Weed responded by returning with mammoth plate negatives in 1863

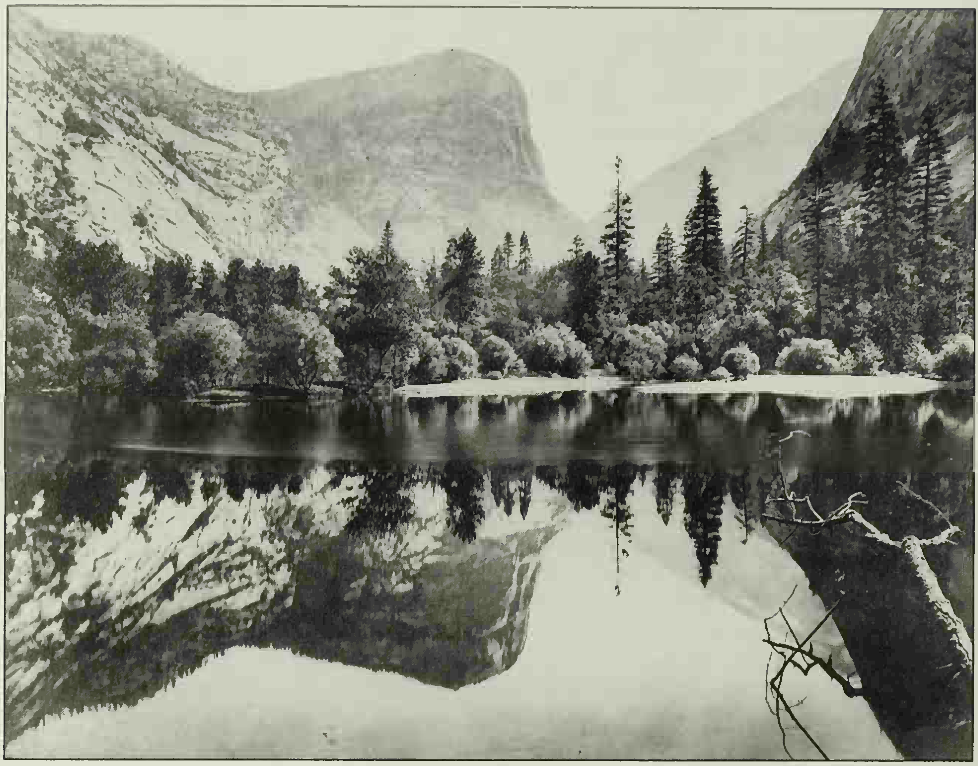


Figure 4: Charles L. Weed, *Mirror Lake*, 1863-4, mammoth albumen photograph. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, photograph by Ted Orland.*

---

or 1864 (figs. 3 and 4). After his initial visit in 1861, Watkins returned to Yosemite in 1865 and 1866; other visits during the 1860s are less easily verified.[25] Eadweard Muybridge photographed Yosemite for the first time in 1867 and returned with mammoth plates in 1872. Muybridge apparently had every intention of outshining his predecessors in turn, for he openly invited the public to compare his work with that of the competition.

The 1860s and early 1870s thus encompassed a golden era of Yosemite photography, during which photographs of exceptional quality were taken by the valley's first photographers. The elegance of Watkins's compositions and his sensitivity to light and texture resulted in photographs that evoke a landscape of Edenic beauty (fig. 3). Muybridge's Yosemite landscapes, like Weed's and Watkins's, improved a great deal during his second visit, both in technical and compositional respects. Some of Muybridge's images are as picturesque as Watkins's; others are more dramatic, and capture the valley at its most sublime.

Another photographer from the early years is the intriguing W. Harris, whose first name remains a mystery. In 1867, the same year Muybridge took his first Yosemite photographs, Harris supplied photographs for *The Yosemite Book*, an elegant publication by the California state geologist, Josiah D. Whitney. Harris photographed distant sites in the High Sierra for Whitney, locations Watkins had not reached the previous year. Four of Harris's original prints were included at the end of *The Yosemite Book*, following twenty-four by Watkins.[26]

Olmsted and the Artists

An important but poorly documented trip to Yosemite was made by Thomas Hill, Virgil Williams, and Carleton Watkins in August 1865. Hill and Williams, who had become acquainted in Boston, may have traveled to the valley together on a sketching tour. It seems less likely that Watkins traveled with them, but their eventual meeting is confirmed by a photograph he took of them at their Yosemite campsite (fig. 5). While working in the valley, all three were solicited by the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted for their views on scenic enhancements to the park, as well as on conditions affecting it adversely.

Olmsted, who had come to California in 1863 to manage the troubled Mariposa Mining Company was probably one of the proponents of the bill setting aside Yosemite Valley as a public park. After the bill passed in 1864, Olmsted was appointed to the board of commissioners, and on August 9, 1865, he presented a preliminary park management plan to his fellow commissioners. In it he proposed that the board solicit assistance from "landscape artists" and "students of natural science," whom he considered the best advisors on aesthetic and ecological matters, respectively.[27] Olmsted wrote the same day to Hill, Williams, and Watkins, asking their advice on scenic issues.[28] As landscape artists who had worked in the valley before, all three were logical choices; in addition, they were already on the spot.

Olmsted's decision to consult "aesthetic specialists" is significant, as it indicates the importance he placed on scenic values in park management. Nothing is known of the artists' response, however, and Olmsted himself returned to New York that fall. After his departure, the park commission apparently lost its impetus to involve artists in policy-making decisions, although the idea resurfaced occasionally in later years.

The Transcontinental Railway Era

The number of artists visiting Yosemite increased dramatically after 1869, an obvious watershed year when the transcontinental railroad was completed and overland travel improved markedly. For the first time, established eastern painters could make the trip with relative comfort and ease. Among the best known artist-visitors of this period were Albert Bierstadt (on his second California trip), Thomas Moran, Samuel Colman, Benjamin Champney, George and James D. Smillie, and William Bradford. Others, some of them California residents by then, included Charles D. Robinson, Ransom Gillet Holdredge, Gilbert Munger, Herman Herzog, John Ross Key, Raymond Dabb Yelland, Frank Shapleigh, George Holbrook Baker, Henry Cheever Pratt, William Marple, Ferdinand Richardt, H.O. Young, Lemuel Wiles, Hiram Bloomer, and Peter Toft.

Thomas Hill and William Keith also continued to paint Yosemite during the 1870s. Hill was becoming nationally known by then, and Keith was well on his way to prominence in California. Later arrivals included George Inness, Louis Eilshemius, William Stanley Haseltine, Charles H. Harmon, Nicholas Row, Andrew Melrose, James Everett Stuart, and W.W. Armstrong.[29]

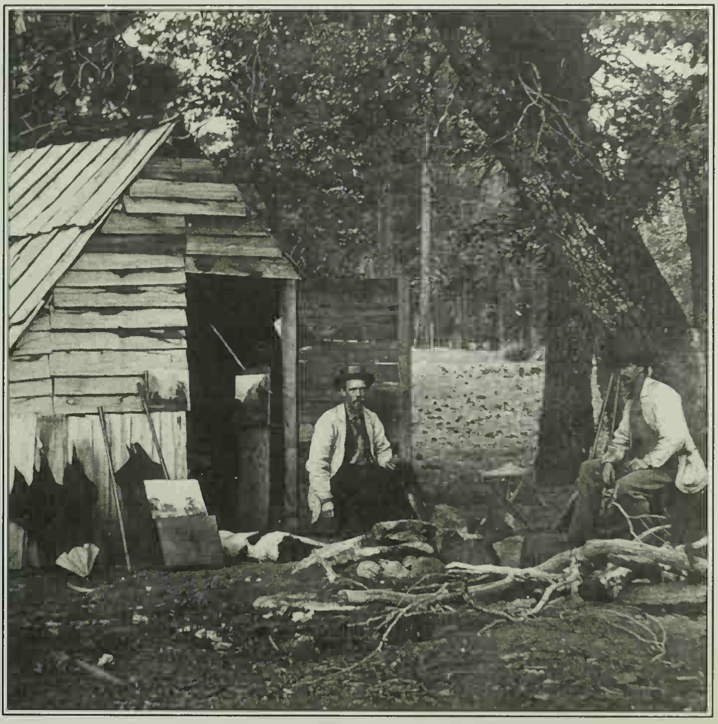


Figure 5: Carleton Watkins, *Virgil Williams and Thomas Hill in Camp, Yosemite,* 1865, half of albumen stereoview. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, photograph by Robert Woolard.*

After 1869, more and more foreign artists also began to visit Yosemite. Among them were two British watercolorists: Washington F. Friend, about whom relatively little is known, and Lady Constance Frederica Gordon-Cumming, whose 1878 display of paintings on the veranda of her hotel was probably the first exhibition held in the valley by a non-resident artist.[30] Several foreign artists who painted Yosemite decided to make California their permanent home. These included the British-born painters Edwin Deakin and Juan Buckingham Wandesforde, the Mexican Fortunato Arriola, the Germans William Hahn and Frederick F. Schafer, and Henry Cleenewerck, who was born in Belgium to French parents.

Transportation to Yosemite improved further when coach roads were completed to the valley in 1874 and 1875. Better roads meant easier transportation for photographers, as well as painters, and their numbers likewise began to increase. Those who came to Yosemite in the 1870s included John J. Reilly, Martin M. Hazeltine, Charles L. Pond, Thomas C. Roche, George Fiske, Gustavus Fagersteen, S.C. Walker, and Albert Bierstadt's brother Charles. (Hazeltine, who had photographed Yosemite in 1867, continued to take stereoviews up and down the West Coast well into the 1890s.)[31]

Albert Bierstadt, whose earlier paintings of the valley were famous by then in the East as well as in California, returned to San Francisco from July 1871 until October 1873. Always looking for ways to expand his repertoire, he returned to the valley in February 1872 to sketch its appearance in winter. He also visited Yosemite on at least two other occasions during his 1871-1873 trip, once in May 1872, when he worked with the photographer Eadweard Muybridge (fig. 6), and again for six weeks in June and July 1873.

Thomas Moran, another nationally known painter, visited Yosemite for the first time in August 1872 with his artist wife Mary Nimmo Moran. While at Yosemite, Moran executed a number of pencil drawings and watercolors of the valley. One of the most famous is *South Dome, Yosemite* (fig. 7), an image that was engraved as the frontispiece of John Muir's elegant gift book, *Picturesque California* (1888). The vantage point from which the artist sketched was named Moran Point in his honor, the second Yosemite locale named for an artist. (The first was Mount Watkins, named for the photographer in 1865.)

Moran created only a few oil paintings of Yosemite after his 1872 trip, perhaps because Bierstadt had already established the valley as his own artistic turf. Moran's interest in Yosemite and California reawakened years later, however, after a visit he made to the valley in May 1904. Most of his seven extant Yosemite oils were painted after this later trip. At least one additional painting was inspired by his last trip to the valley in 1922.[32]

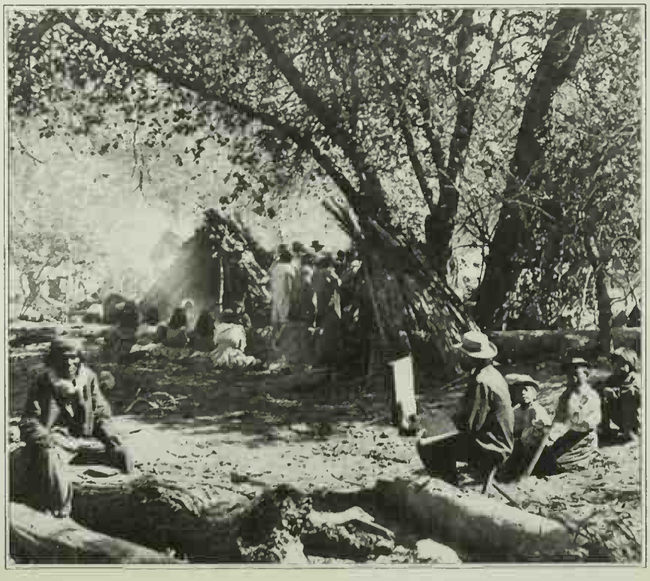


Figure 6: Eadweard Muybridge, *Albert Bierstadt at Work in Yosemite Valley*, 1872, half of albumen stereo photograph. *Courtesy Eldon and Susan Grupp, photograph by Ted Orland.*

Numerous artists painted and photographed the valley after 1869, more than can be discussed here, but many of them deserve further research. Little is known about the Yosemite visits of Samuel Colman and William Bradford, although both are relatively well known painters and a few Yosemite scenes by each still exist. Colman, who is known for western as well as Hudson River landscapes, traveled to California in 1870 and visited Yosemite either that year or the next.[33] He probably returned to the valley during later excursions as well. Several Yosemite watercolors resulted from these trips, including a painting of Yosemite's Illilouette Canyon that was engraved for the *The Ladies' Repository* in June 1871. William Bradford, the "iceberg painter," was in California by 1875. He traveled to Yosemite in 1878 and probably made other excursions there during the late 1870s and early 1880s.[34] Several of Bradford's paintings of the valley in winter appear curiously unfinished, as if he had despaired of realizing his vision of Yosemite.

Gilbert Munger, James D. Smillie, and Herman Herzog may be less well known than Colman and Bradford, but they were more prolific in their pictorial treatment of Yosemite. All three artists visited the valley during the early or middle 1870s, and each painted a number of excellent Yosemite landscapes. Gilbert Munger, who worked in the West with Clarence King's fortieth parallel survey, spent "two seasons" at Yosemite, possibly the summers of 1872 and 1873 (fig. 8).[35] James D. Smillie came to California in 1871 with his younger brother George, also an artist, and the two spent most of July and August in Yosemite. Smillie's purpose in making the trip was to obtain material for William Cullen Bryant's gift book *Picturesque America*. Smillie's diaries provide the most detailed account of a Yosemite trip by any of the artists who went there.[36] The German-born painter Herman Herzog traveled to California and Yosemite in 1874.[37] Herzog continued to concoct Yosemite landscapes long after his return to the East Coast; his *Sentinel Rock, Yosemite* won a medal at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876.

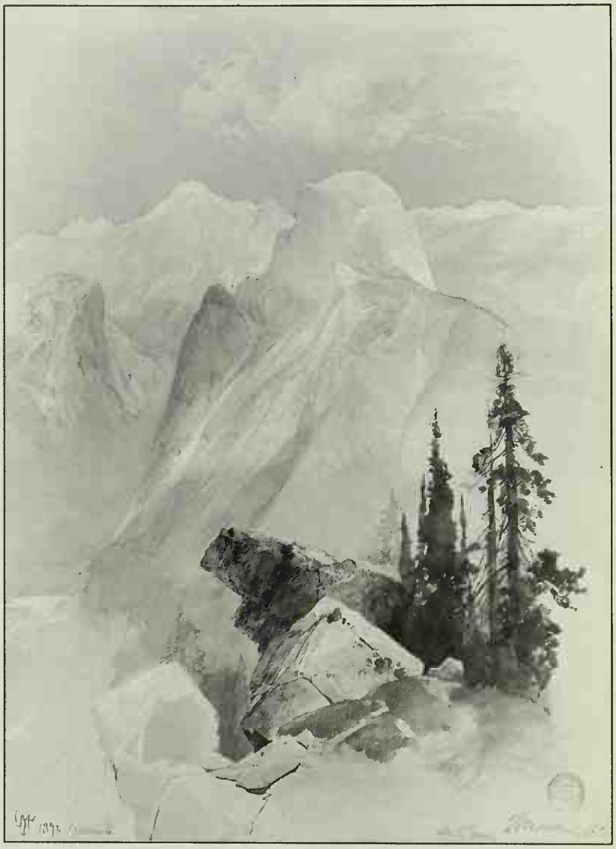


Figure 7: Thomas Moran, *South Dome, Yosemite*, 1873, watercolor and pencil on gray paper. *Courtesy Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, New York.*

Monumental Paintings for California's "Big Men"

The California market supported a great deal of artistic growth during the 1870s. Impressive fortunes were made by barons of commerce like William C. Ralston, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Collis Huntington. Some of these profits found their way into the pockets of California artists, whose paintings were purchased to decorate the homes of the wealthy. Thomas Hill, for example, sold his first two 6x10-foot Yosemite panoramas to railroad magnate Charles Crocker of San Francisco and Judge E.B. Crocker of Sacramento. A third was purchased by E.J. "Lucky" Baldwin, a wealthy rancher from southern California, and a fourth by former governor Leland Stanford. Other large Yosemite paintings by Hill were acquired during the 1870s by San Francisco banker William C. Ralston for his home, as well as for his Palace Hotel; several were also purchased by James Lick for the Lick House hotel.[38]

Hill's monumental Yosemite canvases represent an important link between commerce and art. Most were purchased by the financial giants of the time for their homes (or for their hotels). In depicting the "crowning glory" of the California landscape on a monumental scale, these canvases symbolized their owners' positions and power. There is an element of local or state pride at work here as well; paintings of California subjects would have appealed to men whose fortunes were founded on California industry and transportation. The fact that so many were purchased within a few years' time further suggests a degree of competition among the owners.

There is another correlation between the monumentality of Hill's Yosemite paintings (or the mammoth photographs taken by Watkins and Muybridge) and the size and grandeur of the landscape they depict. It has often been noted that the vastness of the American West inspired paintings of epic proportions; Bierstadt's *Rocky Mountains* (1863) was influential in this respect, and Thomas Moran followed suit with his Yellowstone and Grand Canyon paintings.

The largest painting of Yosemite ever attempted was the circular panorama conceived by Charles D. Robinson in 1883 and begun in 1892. Robinson's panorama was an impressive 50x380 *feet* in size, and its creation required the help of several assistants (Von Perbandt, Bloomer, Peixotto, Valencia, and Pages). Robinson took his panorama to the Paris Exposition of 1900, but did not succeed in having it exhibited. In order to finance his trip

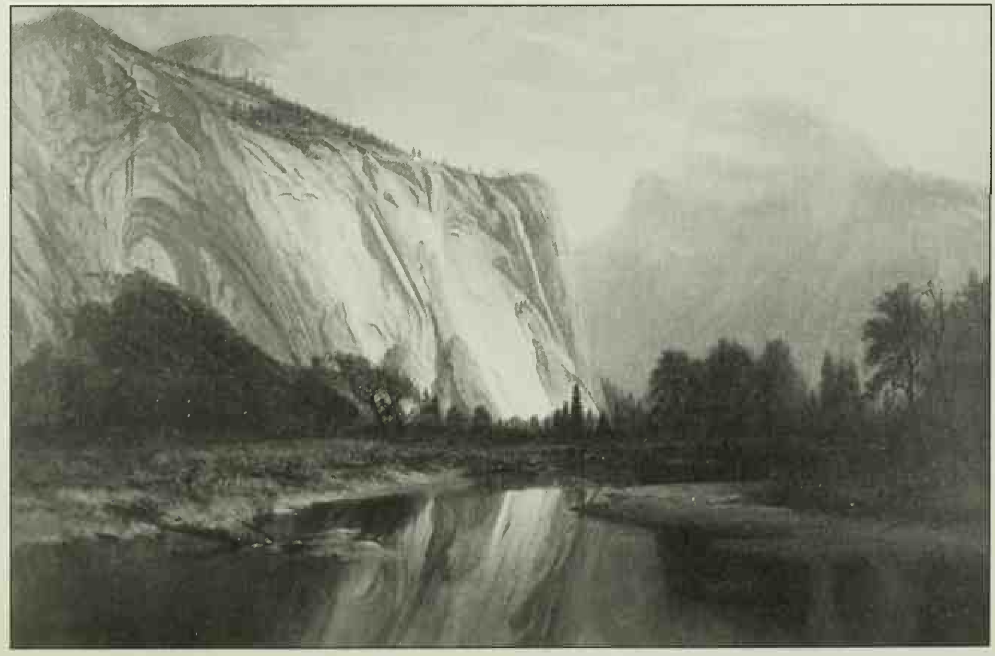


Figure 8: Gilbert Munger, *Royal Arches and Half Dome, Yosemite*, n.d., oil on canvas. *Courtesy Montgomery Gallery, San Francisco.*

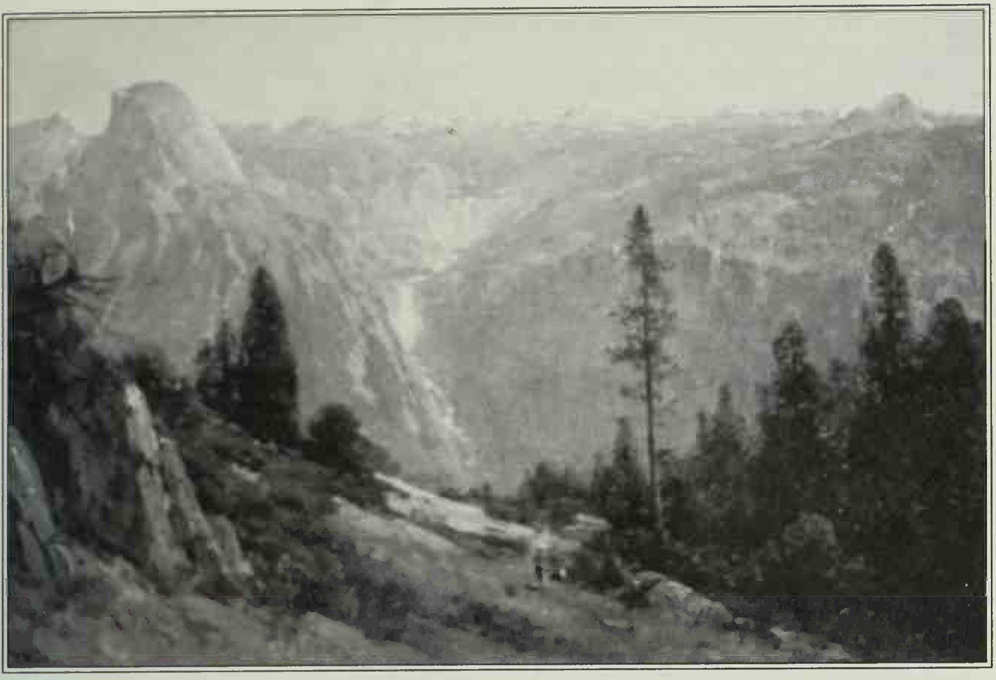


Figure 9: Thomas Hill, *View from Glacier Point, Yosemite* ca. 1875 oil on canvas. *Courtesy Oscar and Trudy Lemer, photograph by Kate Nearpass Ogden.*

home, he was forced to cut it into smaller pieces, which he sold. The location of the pieces is unknown today,but the panorama can still be seen in the illustrations accompanying an article Robinson himself published in the *Overland Monthly*.[39] In the absence of Robinson's panorama, the largest surviving Yosemite painting is Bierstadt's 9x15-foot canvas *The Domes of the Yosemite* on display at the St. Johnsbury Athenaeum in Vermont.

Thomas Hill, William Keith, and Later Trends

Thomas Hill and William Keith are representative of changes in Yosemite art, and American art in general, that occurred in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. By the 1870s, more and more California artists were traveling to Europe for artistic training.[40] Rather than continuing the Hudson River- and Dusseldorf-inspired realism of the 1860s, they looked instead to the artists of Munich and Paris for stylistic guidance. From these artists they learned to work in a looser, less detailed manner. The painters of Munich and Barbizon (near Paris) painted with a dark, predominantly brown palette which was also adopted to varying degrees by California artists, most notably by William Keith.

Hill and Keith began evolving their signature styles as they continued to paint Yosemite during the 1870s. Hill studied in Paris in 1866 with the German painter Paul Friedrich Meyerheim, and painted in the French countryside with the Barbizon painters. Hill's *View from Glacier Point, Yosemite* (fig. 9) exemplifies the loose, impressionistic brushwork that was a hallmark of his mature style. In later years this loose handling would allow him to produce painting after painting in a facile, formulaic manner. Keith's *Sentinel Rock, Yosemite* (fig. 10) likewise indicates the direction of the artist's mature style, although it is less intimate in scope than many of his late paintings. Keith probably saw the work of the Barbizon painters during his trip abroad in 1869-71, and he later studied in Munich for three years in the early 1880s. *Sentinel Rock* brings to mind the dark brown tones and loose, painterly handling of both schools.

During his trip to San Francisco in the spring of 1891, the important American painter George Inness further reinforced William Keith's Barbizon tendencies. The two artists painted together in Keith's studio and traveled to Yosemite for a week. According to Keith's biographer Brother Cornelius, Inness, unlike Keith, declared Yosemite impossible to paint and attempted very few landscapes of the valley.[41] Only two are extant; one is unlocated and the other so closely resembles George Fiske's photograph of Yosemite from Inspiration Point that it seems Inness based his painting on the photograph.

The only photographs that seem readily comparable to these late-nineteenth century Barbizon-style paintings are those by Anne Brigman and Alvin Langdon Coburn. In the first two decades of the twentieth century, Brigman and Coburn both took moody, soft-focus, "pictorialist" photographs at Yosemite. Coburn's images are pure landscape, while Brigman's depict female nudes in an outdoor setting thought to be Yosemite.[42] Their images might be considered the photographic equivalent of Keith's dark, intimate landscapes or Hill's impressionistic ones.

Changing Views of the Valley: Development and Tourism

Ever since Charles Weed photographed the Upper Hotel (later Hutchings' Hotel) in 1859, Yosemite photographers have documented the buildings, bridges, roads, and other changes made in the valley. Painters, who could more easily edit man-made structures out of their compositions, generally concentrated on the landscape itself. There are a few notable exceptions, however, and these are historically interesting: Raymond Dabb Yelland's painting of the Miwok Indians' wooden huts, William Hahn's landscape including the Indians' acorn cache constructions, Herman Herzog's image of the Cosmopolitan Saloon, and Hiram Bloomer's painting of an early Anglo-American building at El Portal.[43]

Commercial development and tourism have been among the most pervasive influences on Yosemite Valley and its artists. Tourists themselves first began to appear in Yosemite landscapes as early as 1859, when the articles in *Hutchings' California Magazine* were illustrated with engravings of tourist activities. Tourists appeared in landscape paintings the same year. One of the first such paintings was a now-lost Yosemite scene by Frederick Butman that included travelers boarding a ferry on the Merced River. Butman's tourists received a decidedly negative response from the *Alta California's* art critic, who complained that human figures in modern clothing detracted from the beauty and religious connotations of the landscape. "Modern cut garments," he wrote, "seem ridiculous in contrast with such wonderful works of the Almighty . . . It is some such feeling as might be excited on seeing Praxiteles' or Canova's beautiful creations enveloped in crinoline."[44]

Indians, on the other hand, were usually acceptable in paintings, since they carried connotations of the "noble savage" and maintained the wilderness quality of the landscape. The use of the Indian foreground detail was an artistic rather than ethnographic decision for many years. Indians in the foreground added a touch of color, a human focal point, and a sense of scale. The first photographers to depict the Yosemite Indians probably did so for financial rather than ethnographic reasons. Stereoviews of such subjects, like the one seen in figure 6, were highly marketable among eastern armchair travelers and in the local tourist market.[45]

Two of the earliest extant landscape paintings with tourists were painted by William S. Jewett, California's first successful portrait painter. Jewett's *Yosemite Falls* (1859) contains two men, apparently travelers, wearing the linen "duster" or "dust-coat" so important for travel in the west. His *Bridalveil Falls* (1861) includes a group of tourists clambering about on the rocks below Bridalveil.[46] The female tourists in *Bridalveil* serve as a reminder that women had accompanied exploring parties to Yosemite since 1856, only a year after the first "tourist trip" made by Hutchings and Thomas Ayres.

Yosemite tourist painting had really arrived by 1874, when William Hahn finished his series of three canvases: *The Trip to Glacier Point, Yosemite Valley from Glacier Point,* and *The Return Trip from Glacier Point.* The first and third, which depict riders on a steep, wooded trail, are barely recognizable as Yosemite landscapes.[47] The largest of the three, *Yosemite Valley from Glacier Point* (back cover), depicts the same group of visitors surveying the view after reaching their destination atop the mountain. Hahn's *Glacier Point* painting is important because it says as much about tourism as about the landscape itself; figures and scenery are given equal weight. It also documents the horse trail to Glacier Point that was opened to the public in 1872. There is a certain contradiction to the foreground still life of discarded trash and empty bottles in Hahn's painting. Tourists in the nineteenth century were obviously no more conscientious about picking up trash than their twentieth-century descendants.

In the 1870s, the emphasis in Yosemite photography began to shift away from unpopulated landscapes to images of tourists posing in front of scenic attractions (fig. 11). Although these tourist portraits are a far cry from the sublime landscapes taken by Watkins and Muybridge, many of them are fascinating in their own right. This change from virgin wilderness to scenic backdrop is significant for several reasons. First, it parallels the corresponding change in the valley itself, from an Edenic wilderness, populated only by native Indians, to a

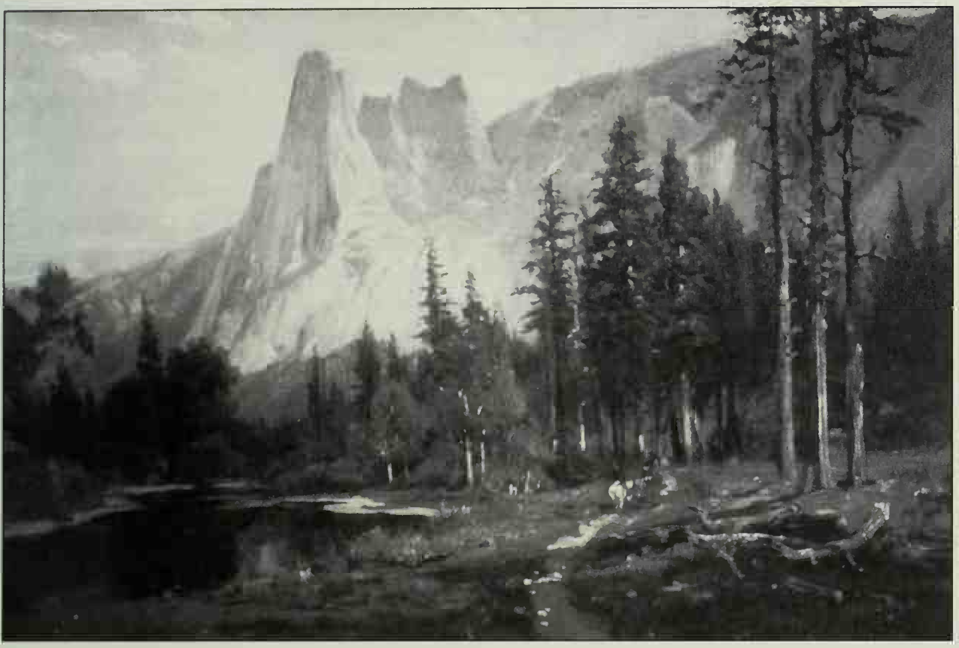


Figure 10: William Keith, *Sentinel Rock, Yosemite*, ca. 1880, oil on canvas, private collection. *Photograph by Nan and Roy Farrington Jones.*

peculiarly American resource of scenic beauty, a national tourist site accessible to everyone. The change also illustrates quite literally the growth of tourism in the valley. From a total of forty-some visitors in 1855, tourists in the late 1880s averaged over four thousand a year. Third, it shows that Yosemite was already becoming somewhat hackneyed as a subject for art. What was important to the tourists of 1880 was proof of their own visits, rather than (or in addition to) documentation of the valley's glories. Tourist portraits provided evidence that visitors had "done" Yosemite, to use the contemporary idiom.[48]

In 1870, John J. Reilly was the first photographer to open a studio in Yosemite Valley. Reilly's studio, a special tent with a sign announcing it as "J.J. Reilly's Stereoscopic View Manufactory," was situated so tourists could pose with either Yosemite Falls or the Royal Arches as a backdrop. Reilly photographed some of Yosemite's best known visitors during his first summer in the valley, including P.T. Barnum, the geologist Joseph LeConte, and Therese Yelverton, Viscountess of Avonmore.[49] Reilly operated his studio from 1870 until about 1877 with various partners and assistants, including Martin M. Hazeltine, Dan Folsom, E.D. Ormsby, S.C. Walker, and Gustavus Fagersteen, who took over the studio when Reilly left. Fagersteen and his competitors continued to take "Photographs with the Yosemite in the Background," as one of them advertised in a sign over his studio door.[50] Yosemite Falls was a logical choice as backdrop; not only was it the most famous of the valley's waterfalls and its "namesake," but it was located conveniently close to several hotels and what passed for a village.

Other photographers of this period included Charles L. Pond, Charles Bierstadt, Martin Mason Hazeltine, and Thomas C. Roche, all of whom came to the valley in the late 1860s or early 1870s to supplement their commercial photographic stock with Yosemite views. Stereo photographs were especially popular, and were collected for entertainment and educational purposes across the country. Pond and Bierstadt, who had establishments at Niagara, published their own stereoviews. Roche was working for the publisher E. & H.T. Anthony of New York when he visited the valley in 1870 and 1871. Hazeltine's Yosemite work was published by John P. Soule of Boston and by the Kilburn Brothers of Littleton, New Hampshire.[51]

The famous western photographers William Henry Jackson and John K. Hillers also deserve mention. Like Pond and Roche, Jackson made a special trip to Yosemite to supplement his commercial stock with views of the valley. Jackson's visit occurred in 1888 or 1889, while he was operating his own photographic studio in Denver. Jackson's Denver firm was later absorbed by the Detroit Photographic Company, which sent Jackson or another photographer to Yosemite again in the early twentieth century to update their stock once more.[52] John K. Hillers, who had accompanied John Wesley Powell's expeditionary surveys in the West and Southwest in the 1870s, photographed Yosemite a few years after Jackson. Working on assignment for the U.S. Geological Survey, Hillers traveled to Yosemite in 1892 and took a series of photographs intended for display at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[53] Jackson's and Hillers's Yosemite views are large, picturesque, and in the grand style established by Watkins and Muybridge (fig. 12).

Photos and Paintings as Souvenirs

Tourists were not merely the subject of Yosemite artists; they were also a prime market. Photographs, in particular, were a logical mass-market item, since they were easily produced in large quantities, and souvenir photography constituted a booming business in San Francisco and the valley. Weed's 1859 photographs, for example, were exhibited and sold in the San Francisco gallery of his employer, Robert Vance. His 1864 series was handled by the opticians Lawrence and Houseworth (later Thomas Houseworth & Co.), who had sponsored his trip that year. Houseworth likewise intended to sponsor Eadweard Muybridge's 1872 trip to Yosemite, but the photographer's negotiations with Bradley & Rulofson resulted in their publishing and promoting his work instead.[54] Carleton Watkins sold

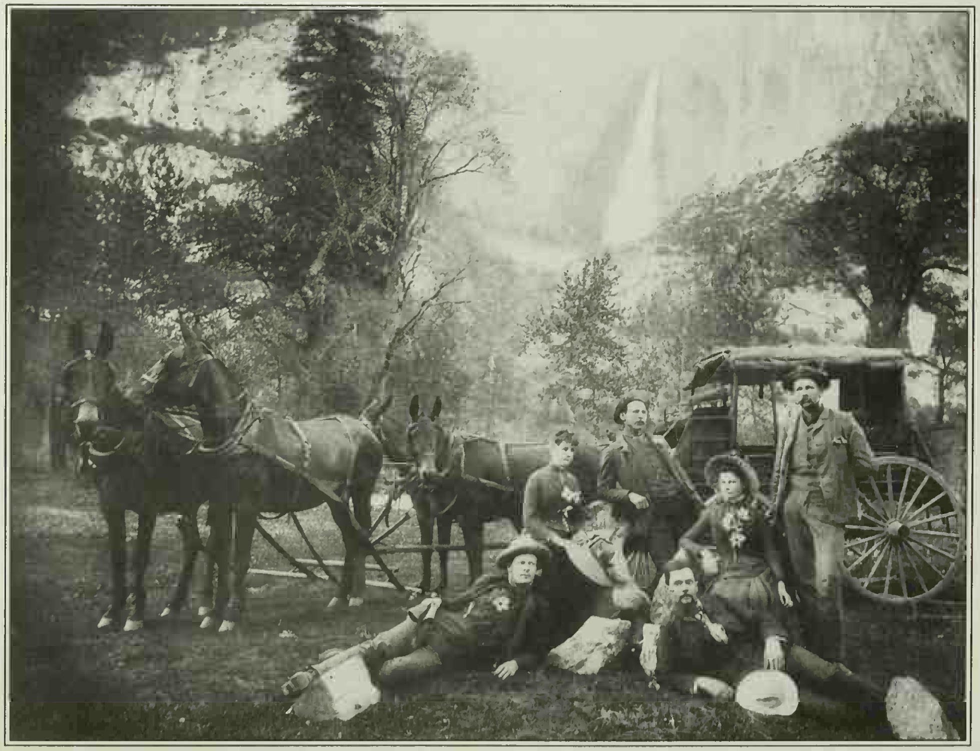


Figure 11: Gustavus Fagersteen, *Tourist Portrait,* ca. 1880, albumen cabinet card photograph. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, photograph by Ted Orland.*

his own photographs at his San Francisco studio, which he named "Watkins' Yosemite Gallery" around 1871. The publisher Isaiah W. Taber was another force in San Francisco's photography market. Taber acquired and began publishing many of Watkins's negatives around 1875-6, in the wake of the 1874 national economic recession; this forced Watkins to re-shoot his Yosemite photographs as well as many other subjects.[55]

Competition in the valley itself was less fierce. In 1879, a young visitor named Sarah Locke noted in her diary that there were two photographic galleries in the valley that spring.[56] One was probably that of Gustavus Fagersteen, who took over Reilly's studio in 1877; the other may have been George Fiske's establishment. Ten years later, Fiske and Fagersteen were still the primary competitors in Yosemite's studio trade (fig. 13). As Hutchings commented in his 1886 book, *In the Heart of the Sierras*, both photographers sold work at their studios, and Fiske's work was also for sale at the Big Tree Room in Barnard's Hotel. Isaiah Taber's stock, which included many of Watkins's early photographs, was sold at John J. Cook's Hotel, giving Fiske and Fagersteen additional competition.[57]

In addition to taking tourist portraits, photographers like George Fiske and Gustavus Fagersteen continued to produce landscape images as well. Rather than searching for new approaches, however, they photographed Yosemite's familiar monuments from what had by then become standard points of view. Such photographs show what we might consider today a "post-card aesthetic"; they invariably depict the most characteristic side or feature of a monument, and they include as many picturesque conventions as possible. Tourism thus increasingly affected the style, as well as the content, of Yosemite photographs.

A more exclusive use of photographs as souvenirs occurred when the photographer Adam Clark Vroman visited Yosemite in 1900 or 1901 with H.E. Hoopes and several of Hoopes's friends. Best known for his photographic documentation of the American Indian, Vroman took pictures of his traveling companions, as well as the standard Yosemite tourist attractions, and compiled the prints afterward in a souvenir album for Hoopes.[58] Pictorially, Vroman's images are comparable to the souvenir prints made by other photographers late in the century. In market terms, however, the album is unique, and was created for a very limited clientele —for Hoopes himself, and perhaps other members of the party.

Ordinary tourists were not the only ones buying photographs of Yosemite. The scientists William H. Brewer and Josiah D. Whitney bought Yosemite prints from Watkins, and Whitney also used Watkins's images in several of his publications about the valley.[59] Albert Bierstadt, William Keith, William S. Jewett, and Hiram Bloomer were among the painters who subscribed to Eadweard Muybridge's 1867 photographic series. Bierstadt and several other California painters also placed orders for Muybridge's 1872 series.[60] Thomas Hill and James D. Smillie are known to have acquired Yosemite photographs for use in composing their paintings. The latter visited the San Francisco studios of both Watkins and Muybridge during his 1871 visit to California and purchased additional prints after arriving in the valley. Smillie even proposed a trade to Watkins: paintings in exchange for photographs.[61]

For tourists with enough money, paintings could also be purchased as mementos of the trip. Oddly enough, the photographer J.J. Reilly seems to have been the first to recognize that paintings might be marketable in the valley as souvenirs. The studio/gallery he established in 1870 was stocked with his own Yosemite paintings and photographs, although none of the former seem to have survived.[62] When Thomas Hill established a studio in the valley in 1883, and in 1886 set up shop in nearby Wawona, he too sold Yosemite paintings to travelers. Although Hill continued to paint and exhibit elsewhere after he settled in Wawona, as time went on he spent more and more time in the valley. By the mid-1890s, the tourist trade may well have been his primary source of income.[63]

By the early 1880s, Charles D. Robinson also had a studio on the valley floor, where his paintings competed with Hill's in the local market.[64] Both artists took orders from visitors, who specified the Yosemite subject(s) of their choice. Hill's business notebook from the mid-1880s gives us an idea of the orders he received. Page after page lists the names and addresses of clients, followed by the artist's standard subject types: "Yosemite Fall," "Morning, Yosemite Valley," "Bridalveil Meadow," and so forth.[65] Most of Hill's clients during this period were from New York and San Francisco, although others came from Great Britain, Germany, New Zealand, Australia, and India. Hill's prices ranged from $50 to $400 per painting, with one "general view" priced at $2,500. Considering the effects of quantity upon quality, it is no wonder his later paintings became more facile and formulaic.

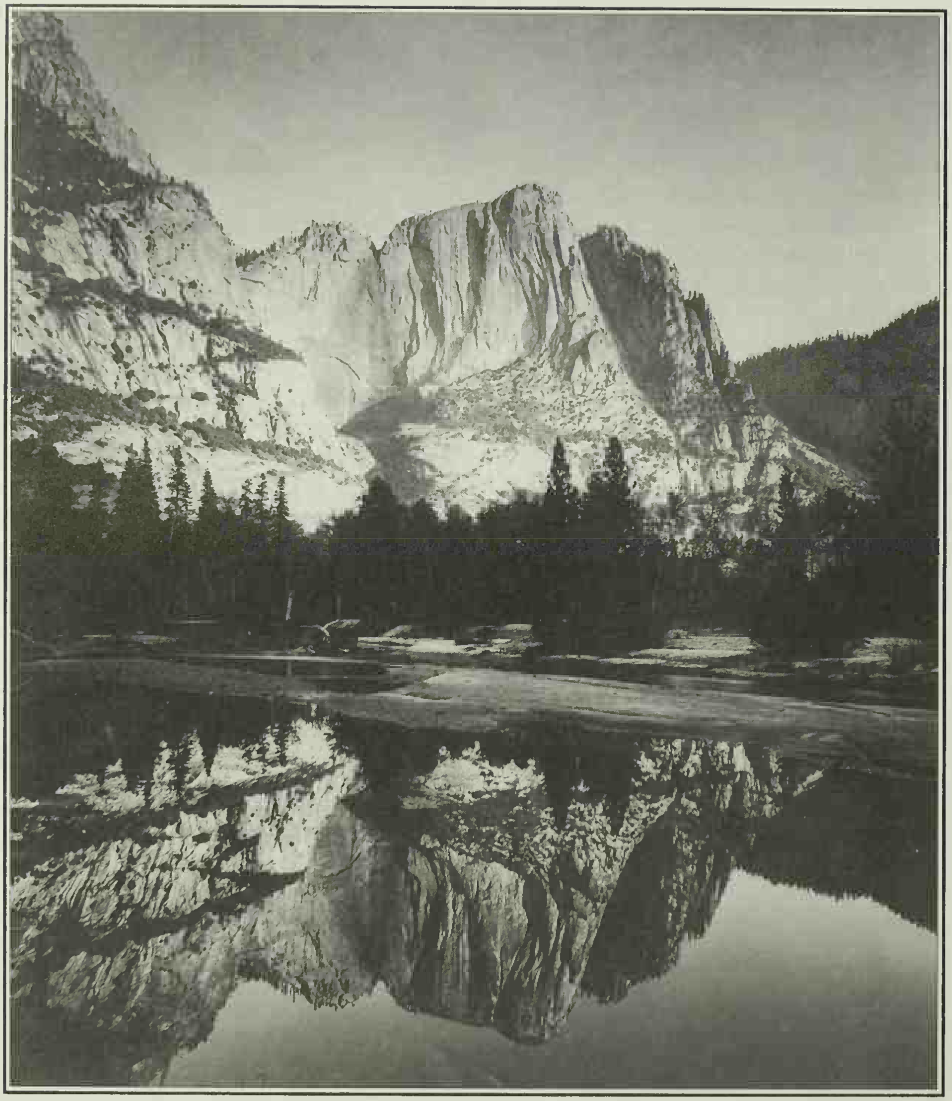


Figure 12: John K. Hillers, *Yosemite Falls in Dry Season,* 1892, albumen photograph. *Courtesy Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, photograph by Robert Woolard.*

By his own account, Robinson sold about eighty-four canvases to British clients during the course of his career, although not all were Yosemite landscapes. In a manuscript of 1927, Robinson wrote that "Sir Morell Mackenzie had four [paintings] of mine . . . Lord Henry Paulet had a large 'Yosemite at Sunset' of mine and Lord Capell had one also . . . I remember that I did some canvases for C. Orr Ewing, I think, living on the southern borders of Scotland next to Yorkshire in England, but I have forgotten."[66]

Other artists working in the valley on a more temporary basis also sold paintings occasionally as souvenirs, most frequently to visitors from Great Britain. In 1872 or 1873, for example, Gilbert Munger was reputedly paid $10,000 to paint local scenery for Lord Skelmersdale and two other English gentlemen.[67] William Bradford, visiting Yosemite in 1880, was similarly commissioned by the Earl of Grosvenor, who ordered paintings of two standard subjects, Bridalveil Meadows and Sentinel Rock.[68]

Chromolithography, then a relatively recent development in color printmaking, made reproductions of paintings affordable to a wide audience. By the late 1860s, tourists who could not afford originals by Bierstadt and Hill could instead buy "chromos" based on their work. Bierstadt's 9x15-foot painting, *The Domes of the Yosemite* (1867), was reproduced as a suitably large chromo, approximately 22x33 inches in size. Prang's chromo of Thomas Hill's *Yosemite Valley* (1868), probably the most popular item of its kind, was copied by more amateur painters than any other Yosemite image. In the early 1870s, Yosemite chromos were copyrighted by a number of artists who evidently hoped their prints would be as lucrative as those by Hill and Bierstadt. Among them were Benjamin Champney, John Ross Key, Robert Wilkie, and an otherwise unknown painter, Charles Clark, whose Yosemite chromo is very similar to Hill's.[69] The Key and Wilkie chromos were small in size, but formed part of Prang's series of California subjects, an indication of the ever-growing demand for inexpensive souvenir images.

Valley Residents

An important change that occurred in Yosemite art around 1880 was the decision of a few artists to make the valley and its environs their permanent residence. Some of the artists most closely associated with Yosemite, like George Fiske and Thomas Hill, are those who lived there. Fiske became the first photographer to live in the valley year-round the winter of 1879-80.[70] In the 1880s, Thomas Hill began dividing his time between the valley, where he painted during the summer, and nearby Wawona, where he spent the winter.

Several later artists also lived at Yosemite. Christian Jorgensen, who specialized in watercolor scenes of the valley, first came to Yosemite on a camping trip in 1898, and decided to make it his permanent summer home.[71] Harry Cassie Best,

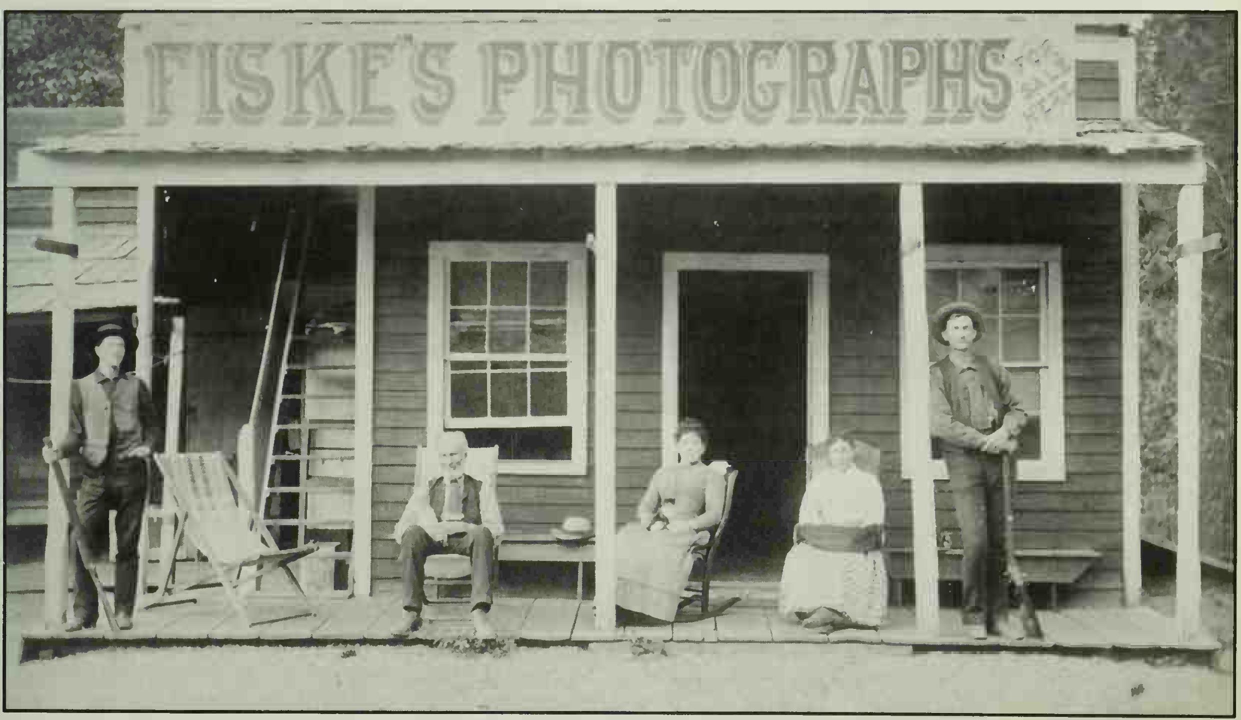


Figure 13: George Fiske's photograph store, Yosemite Valley, in the 1890s. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

who visited Yosemite in 1901 with the artist Thaddeus Welch, also decided to stay, and opened his first studio/gallery there in 1902.[72] Years later, Harry Best's daughter Virginia married and settled in the valley. She and her husband, the photographer Ansel Adams, continued to operate her father's studio and gallery. The name of their establishment was later changed from Best's Studio to the Ansel Adams Gallery, as it is known today.

The publicity value of art is obvious. Drawings, paintings, photographs, and prints of Yosemite initially served to bring the valley to public attention and contributed to the establishment in 1864 of a park under state management in the valley. By the middle of the 1860s, photographs of the valley had begun to serve a new function as advertisements to tourists. Weed's, Watkins's, and Muybridge's photographs were shown in the windows of San Francisco establishments like those of R.H. Vance and Thomas Houseworth, where they served as enticements. Once inside, tourists found maps, guidebooks, and other information on travel routes and hotels.

Establishing the National Park

Yosemite landscape images later played an important role in the crusade to establish a national park in the region. In 1889 and 1890, a number of articles appeared in the press complaining about state management of the valley and supporting a new national park for the surrounding area. Among the most persuasive articles were those by John Muir in the August and September 1890 issues of *Century Magazine*. Muir's articles were heavily illustrated with engravings based on drawings, photographs, and paintings. Most were drawn by J.A. Frazer after photographs taken by George Fiske, although a few were by other artists, including Thomas Moran and Charles D. Robinson.

The rhetorical bias of the illustrations was positive for the most part and concentrated on presenting the valley's features to best advantage. A few photographs, however, illustrated the ravages recently inflicted on the valley by local residents. Probably taken by Fiske specifically for Muir's articles, these images depicted a section of valley floor that had been plowed over for hay, hundreds of tree stumps left by the creation of "state pasturage," and the results of uncontrolled trimming of trees.

Letters published in the *Century Magazine* of January 1890 by Judge Lucius P. Deming of Connecticut, George G. Mackenzie of Wawona, and Robert Underwood Johnson, editor of the magazine, also focused attention on recent problems in the state park and the surrounding area. Although not illustrated, their letters were significant because they revived the idea of soliciting professional advice on aesthetic aspects of park management. In the realm of "positive" publicity, the gift book *Picturesque California*, edited by John Muir and published serially in the middle 1880s, helped revive consciousness of Yosemite's importance to California. All of these efforts were successful, at least ultimately. In October 1890, some 1500 square miles surrounding Yosemite Valley were placed under federal protection, and in 1906 the valley itself was added to Yosemite National Park.

The publicity value of paintings and photographs hardly ended there. The work of the next generation of Yosemite photographers—Arthur Pillsbury, Daniel Foley, and Julius Boysen—was often used in promotional literature and other publications about the park in the early twentieth century. Ralph Anderson, park photographer from 1932 to 1953, and Ansel Adams, the most famous Yosemite photographer of all, provided countless illustrations for later publications on Yosemite.[73] The twentieth century has witnessed an explosion of scenic photographs of the type used in Sierra Club publications. Such photographs became even more numerous and varied after the advent of improved color processes.

Yosemite in the twentieth century has never been the painters' mecca it was in its first fifty years, although it continues to attract artists interested in sublime landscape. The most celebrated painters of this century who have painted Yosemite landscapes are William Zorach and Georgia O'Keeffe, who visited the valley in 1920 and 1938, respectively, and Wayne Thiebaud, who has worked there more recently. The emphasis in their paintings is on formal elements like shape, color, and texture, rather than landscape details. In contrast to their work are the more traditional watercolors of Gunnar Widforss, whose name has been linked with that of Yosemite and other national parks since the 1920s. As modern painters have turned for inspiration more often to the inner landscape of emotions and ideas, and less often to observation of the natural world, Yosemite (and sublime scenery in general) have grown less compelling as subjects for high art.

Important contributions to our vision of Yosemite, however, have been made by a number of recent photographers working in black and white. The best known of these are Ansel Adams, who first photographed the valley in 1916 and lived there periodically between 1928 and 1961, and Edward Weston, who visited Yosemite in 1937 and 1938 on a Guggenheim fellowship. Paul Caponigro, Jerry Uelsmann, and Michael A. Smith have all photographed Yosemite in the last two decades. The work of these five photographers ranges widely in subject and style, from Adams's grand panoramas, Weston's textured studies of trees, and Caponigro's intimate landscape spaces, to Uelsmann's surrealistic double exposures and Smith's subtle formal arrangements. With the exception of Uelsmann, however, all of them share an interest in the evocative power of pure landscape (see frontispiece to "Introduction" of this issue).

Other intriguing developments have occurred in the work of contemporary photographers like Roger Minick, Bruce Davidson, Richard Misrach, Ted Orland, and David Mussina. The work of this last group tends to focus on the ironic, sometimes humorous confrontation between nature and today's tourists, with Yosemite's geological curiosities and sublime panoramas appearing as backdrops for more mundane human concerns. Landscapes by these contemporary photographers seem diametrically opposed to the pristine wilderness captured by Ansel Adams and his nineteenth century predecessors, although they have much in common with Fiske's and Fagersteen's tourist portraits. As perceptions of the valley have changed, from Yosemite as "God's great temple" to Yosemite as a national playground, photographers have reflected this change in their work. Given the cyclical nature of art, it is hardly surprising that the nineteenth-century development from sublime wilderness to scenic backdrop has already been recapitulated in our own century. It should be interesting to watch what happens in the next hundred years. CHS

See notes beginning on page 223.

Kate Nearpass Ogden is a doctoral candidate in art history at Columbia University in New York, where she currently holds a Luce Fellowship in American Art. Her dissertation, entitled "Yosemite Valley as Image and Symbol: Paintings and Photographs from 1855 to 1880," is a study of Yosemite landscapes in their historical and cultural context.

From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six:

Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930

by Anne F. Hyde

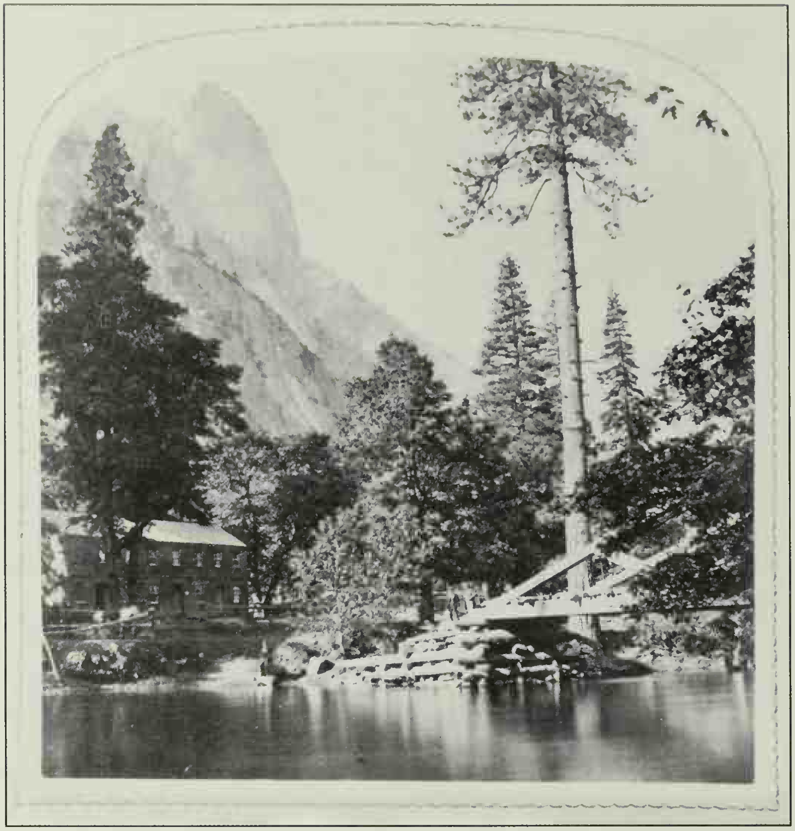
As part of a national park system, Yosemite National Park shares management, ideals, architecture, concessionaires, and campground reservation systems with parks all over the United States. In spite of these similarities, Yosemite has a history that makes it distinct from the other parks created in the American West in the same era, particularly in the ways in which the park was developed for tourist use. In the first place, Yosemite began its history as a park under the management of California, which had received the valley and surrounding cliffs in trust from the federal government in 1864. The earliest of the western parks, Yosemite was the first to become popular with tourists.[1] Because of its spectacular beauty and its location in California, a tourist mecca, Yosemite received more visitors and publicity than other scenic areas in the West. Particularly, the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 that connected California with the eastern part of the nation and opened the gate to floods of tourists made Yosemite relatively accessible to the traveling public. Yellowstone, Grand Canyon, and Glacier, in comparison, received few visitors in their early years because of their remote locations.

The relative ease of reaching Yosemite and its well-publicized scenery, however, were not its most important features for nineteenth-century tourists. As the only major park *not* to be reached directly by a railroad in its early years, Yosemite was unique in terms of its development for the traveling public. Many visitor facilities in Yellowstone, the Grand Canyon, and Glacier were initially built by railroads to improve public relations and to increase ridership on their lines. Although the government owned the land in these parks, the railroads held much power over access, facilities, and publicity.[2] This was not true in the case of Yosemite. In the absence of any railroad-owned facilities, the state of California and then the United States government controlled the development and use of Yosemite by turning over its operation to a wide variety of managers and concessionaires until the beginning of the National Park Service era in 1916.

Such a system had advantages and disadvantages and had a clear impact on Yosemite's development for public use. For the nineteenth-century tourist, the fact that no single, wealthy corporate entity dominated access to the park contributed to a number of difficulties. Haphazard management, insufficiently capitalized and supervised concessions, and competing interests made travel in Yosemite at best an uneven experience and at worst a nightmare. The relative lack of railroad-controlled facilities in the park, however, gave Yosemite and its managers more flexibility to deal with the enormous changes brought about by automobiles, new kinds of tourists, and the creation of the National Park Service in the early twentieth century.

In the late nineteenth century, Yosemite's scenery had strong appeal for wealthy tourists and many of them flocked to the new park as part

Yosemite Valley as photographed by the renowned Carleton E. Watkins. Watkins's large photographs of Yosemite's grandeur lured many early tourists to the valley and helped convince Congress in 1864 to make Yosemite the nation's first wilderness park and to entrust it to the custody of the state of California. *Courtesy California State Library.*



Hutchings' Hotel with a view of Sentinel Rock, Yosemite Valley, 1872. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

of their western tours. In the summer of 1870, the first year that transcontinental trains brought significant numbers of tourists to California, John Muir noted that "all sorts of human stuff is being poured into our valley this year."[3] A tourist who visited Yosemite that summer explained that the trip had become "*de rigueur*." She warned potential visitors that "woe betide the wandering easterner if he seeks the Pacific without bringing a trip to Yo Semite back with him!" By 1877, another tourist wrote that "the visit to the Yosemite Valley is, of course, inevitable."[4]

Visiting Yosemite had become "inevitable" because of the reputation of its scenery. A popular railroad guidebook promised that Yosemite "presents a scene of beauty and magnificence unsurpassed, except *possibly* in childhood's fairy dreams." Most visitors did react with enormous enthusiasm to the glacially sculpted rock walls and formations, waterfalls, and mountain landscapes present in the valley. One satisfied tourist wrote that "among all the natural wonders of this world, the great Yosemite Valley ranks first without dispute." He concluded that "the Yosemite must be seen, and once seen it can never be forgotten." Another observer described a typical reaction to the first view of the valley: "We looked, drew breath, and gave vent with such powers as God had given us to the wonder, delight, admiration, and awe which all persons, I believe, experience in first beholding this marvel of nature."[5]

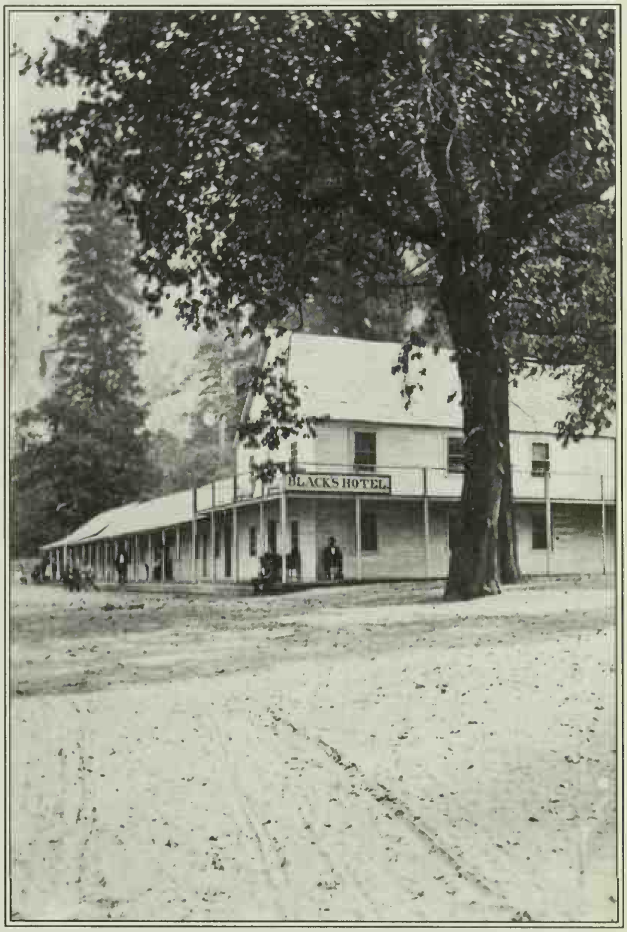
Even though nearly all visitors who wrote about the experience were thrilled by the beauty of Yosemite, many of them wondered if the trip had been worth it. Because of the chaotic management of the park, a trip to Yosemite offered few comforts, and according to many travelers, it presented many hardships. The accommodations along the way to Yosemite and in the valley itself varied enormously, but at best they were uncomfortable, and at worst they were unbearable, especially given the high standards of wealthy tourists. To add to these discomforts, the only way to get to Yosemite involved a stage coach trip to the edge of the valley, and for the first twenty-three years of tourist travel, a ride on mules or horses down into the valley itself.[6]

To make matters worse, the difficult trip and the poor accommodations cost a significant sum. In 1873, a writer in *Scribner's* magazine warned her readers that "the Yo-Semite excursion is an extremely costly one." She estimated that the traveler should expect to spend about $150 and at least ten days on the trip, and "to reckon it as less would be to mislead." This represented a considerable outlay of money and time for even the wealthiest and most leisured tourist. Eleven years later, little had changed. An 1884 visitor noted "a person going from San Francisco into the valley needs about a hundred and fifty dollars . . . the least one should think of doing the valley with and staying a week or ten days." She cautioned prospective travelers that without careful attention the trip could cost much more because many unscrupulous businesses threatened to "strand the visitor in the valley unless he pays a significant sum."[7]

For this substantial cost, the Yosemite tourist found few luxuries. Lodgings located on the roads into the park and in the valley itself hardly merited the appellation "hotel," according to many travelers. One visitor described the dubious accommodations in Merced as "a large commodious wooden building" whose proprietor "is so afraid of offending people that a set of riotous tourists are permitted to come in and take possession of the house, to sing and tear round all night, while their hunting dogs are kept in the bedrooms howling a mournful vesper for the benefit of persons who are to ride by stage sixty-eight miles the next day." The food served at such hostelries did little to improve visitors' impressions of them. "Our supper consisted of badly cooked potatoes, heavy rolls of fat bacon," remembered one woman, adding crabbily, "as I could not get accustomed to eat this kind of food, I did not fare too sumptuously."[8]

Travelers expecting more glamorous accommodations in the park were inevitably disappointed. Businessmen hopeful of making a profit from tourist interest in the valley built a series of shoddy hotels, including the Lower Hotel, the Upper Hotel, later known as Hutchings' House, the Sentinel Hotel, Black's Hotel, and the Cosmopolitan. These structures varied in location, size, outward grandeur, and name, but resembled each other in poor service and inadequate facilities.[9]

Tourists complained bitterly about the discomforts they faced. A minister visiting Yosemite in 1868 noted that "there are in it two hotels, as they



Black's Hotel, also known as "Lower Hotel," Yosemite Valley, 1880s, as photographed by Carleton E. Watkins. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

call themselves." He went on to describe his room, which "consisted of a quarter of a shed, screened off by split planks which . . . enabled us to hear everything that went on in the other rooms." He complained further that his room "had no window, but we could see the stars through the roof." The situation had not improved nearly two decades later when a tourist explained that "the hotels in Yosemite are of the bandbox order—cloth and paper." Pointing out the disadvantages of such construction, she commented, "My first morning's dreams were disturbed by the wail of some venerable spinster who had lost her washrag."[10]

Travelers were forced to endure such dismal accommodations because hotel operation in the valley was sometimes an unprofitable endeavor. Most material for the construction and operation of a hotel had to be carried in on stagecoach and on horseback, and the tourist season in the valley only lasted the few months of the year that offered pleasant weather and passable roads. Such conditions increased overhead and reduced profits, forcing many concessionaires out of business, or at least to scrimp on services and to charge high rates. Even when the state stepped in and appropriated $40,000 for a new hotel in the 1880s, the results were less than desirable. The new four-story Stoneman House proved to be a disaster from the beginning. Described by visitors as "strangely commonplace and repellent" and "of cheap construction and unsafe," the Stoneman was plagued by poor management and design until it burned to the ground in 1896.[11] In comparison to the limited lodgings offered to Yosemite visitors even after the turn of the century, Yellowstone, dominated by the Northern Pacific Railroad, the Grand Canyon, associated with the Sante Fe, and Glacier, influenced by the Great Northern, all offered their visitors more comfortable, and sometimes even luxurious, accommodations.[12]

Although only some visitors complained about the lodging facilities in Yosemite, the outcry over the condition of the roads into the valley was universal. Until the late 1870s, tourists who wanted to see the valley took stagecoaches for most of the journey and then mounted horses for the final descent into the valley itself. Most visitors in this era were wealthy easterners and Europeans unaccustomed to mountain trails, and in John Muir's words, they clung to their horses like "overgrown toads." Even though a popular guidebook claimed that "no lady who is not physically or mentally incapable of walking a mile, or sitting on a very gentle and sure-footed horse, need have the slightest apprehension," many tourists found the trip to be an ordeal. An 1870 traveler described the condition of her party upon arrival in the valley after the grueling ride as "inert masses of what were once tolerably strong-minded and particularly strong-bodied women."[13]

The stagecoach portion of the trip received equal condemnation. The fact that special "Yo Semite suits" for women could be purchased in San Francisco shops indicated the trip's hardships. Even though special clothing might protect them from the elements, tourists complained about uncomfortable coaches, rough roads, and choking dust. One disenchanted visitor recalled that "the weary, worn, and sore human freight are thrown violently from side to side until their necks are well-nigh dislocated." Another person found the dust to be the most bothersome aspect of the journey because "you are coated with dust, your eyes are smarting, your tongue is clogged, your hair is caked, your limbs are sore, your flesh is inflamed, you want to go home."[14]

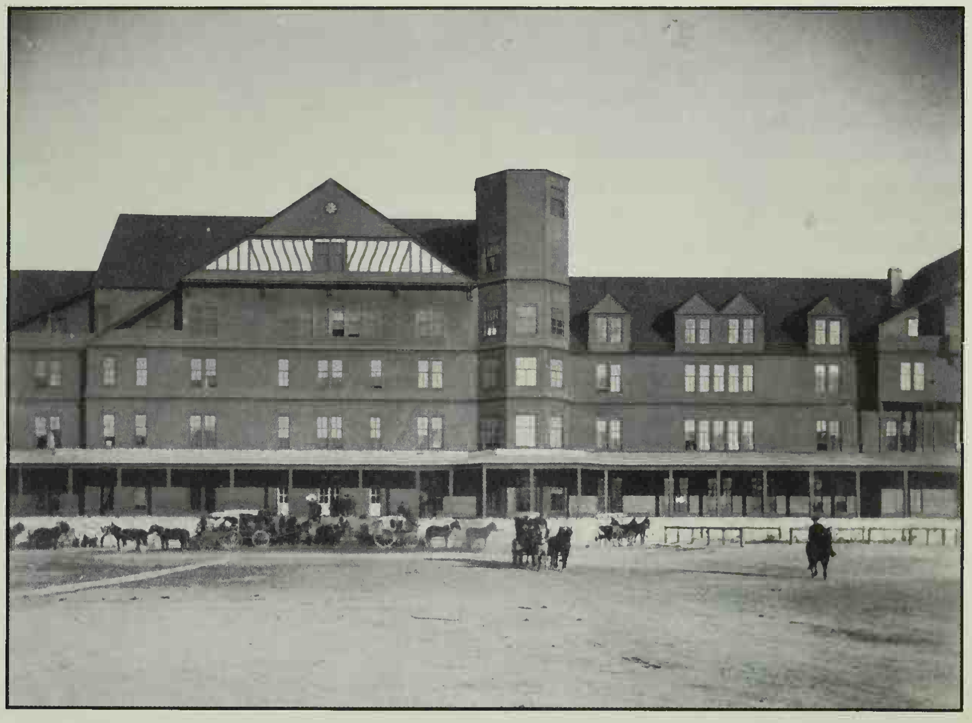
As a result of such discomforts, visitors often wondered if even the spectacular sights of Yosemite were worth the effort required to see them. As one English traveler put it in 1871, "Two-hundred and fifty miles of staging upon the Rocky Sierras, beneath an August sun and half the time enveloped in red dust, are enough to make one seriously ask, Does it pay to visit Yosemite?" Even years later tourists answered that question in the negative, declaring that "the journey in and out by public stage is so hateful that one feels to have paid too dearly for the wonderful and soul-awing scenery that greeted us at the end." An official of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad claimed that the trip to Yosemite "was the most inhuman experience in the world," and further that "if my business interests lay upon this coast, I would build a railroad to this truly marvelous valley."[15]

Poor management caused many of the difficulties faced by tourists who chose to visit Yosemite during the first fifty years of its existence as a park. Even after the federal government created the large Yosemite National Park surrounding the valley in 1890, the valley remained in the hands of the state of California and a myriad of concessionaires. A report of the Secretary of the Interior in 1892 noted the inferior administration of the park under state management. The report claimed that tourists paid exorbitant charges for poor accommodations and that transportation costs were "beyond all reason." As a result, the report concluded that Yosemite was "inaccessible except to persons of ample time and means."[16]

Largely, the problem was one of too many concessionaires, creating a situation in which some of them had difficulty turning a profit even while providing inadequate service at high rates. Conditions of operating a business in the park—the short season, the high cost of deterioration during the winter, the expense of hauling supplies long distances, and the capriciousness of government leases—did not encourage good businessmen to risk capital in a Yosemite concession. Thus, many of the operations were rather fly-by-night and lasted only a season or two while offering poor service to Yosemite's visitors. Tourists complained bitterly about "the little clap-traps organized to get money out of the traveling public" and "of being rushed in and out of the valley as if the object was to pick their pockets and let them go."[17]

However, despite the complaints of tourists about high costs, poor accommodations and travel conditions, and the laments of the federal government about shoddy administration, little changed in the valley until well into the twentieth century. Neither the state of California nor the concessionaires who operated facilities in the valley could, or would, provide the kind of improvements visitors seemed to want.

The Southern Pacific Railroad had recognized the profitable possibilities of the park, but its efforts to gain access to park operations beyond a stage service that carried passengers from



Hotel at Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone National Park, ca. 1890, as photographed by F. Jay Haines. In contrast to the modest accommodations available at Yosemite through the early 1900s, grand hotels were built by railroads in some of the western national parks. Reflecting its greater accessibility and superior facilities, many times more tourists visited Yellowstone, as compared to Yosemite, until well into the automobile era of the twentieth century. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

its Central Valley railroad lines into the park had been unsuccessful, largely because of the Sierra's imposing topography. Unlike the other important national parks, which allowed the railroads much influence over operations within the parks near their lines, Yosemite had to rely instead on a conglomeration of individual concessionaires loosely supervised by the state agency governing the valley. Without the active sponsorship of a major railroad, Yosemite remained remote and it continued to suffer from laggard management and poorly conceived development. The Yosemite Valley Railroad, an independently-owned spur from the main Southern Pacific line, did reach El Portal, twelve miles from the valley, in 1907, but by this time railroads were about to become outmoded by the new automobile tourism that characterized the twentieth century.

The difficulties created by Yosemite's disorganized pattern of development and its lack of a railroad patron, however, did open up some new opportunities with the changes in park management and tourist travel in the early twentieth century. The automobile, camping, and the new middle-class traveler created significant shifts in travel patterns and in what Americans demanded from their national parks. In addition, the creation of the National Park Service in 1916 and Stephen Mather's implementation of its new and powerful role in the operation of the parks ushered in changes that other parks and their railroad patrons fought vigorously. Yosemite, however, because of its unique early development, was in a better position to accept these changes.

Few observers predicted the tremendous impact the automobile would have on tourist travel in the United States or the rapidity with which it would occur. In fact, "motoring" in the first decade of the twentieth century was limited largely to eccentrics. Car travel was slow, inconvenient, dangerous, and expensive. Before 1910, automobile makers produced only custom-made cars that cost thousands of dollars. This, in addition to the high cost of operation and the unreliable quality of roads in the United States, made traveling by car a sport hazarded by only a few wealthy enthusiasts.[18] When the first cars appeared in the national parks at the turn of the century, park officials, including those who governed Yosemite, banned them, considering automobiles noisy and disruptive menaces.[19]

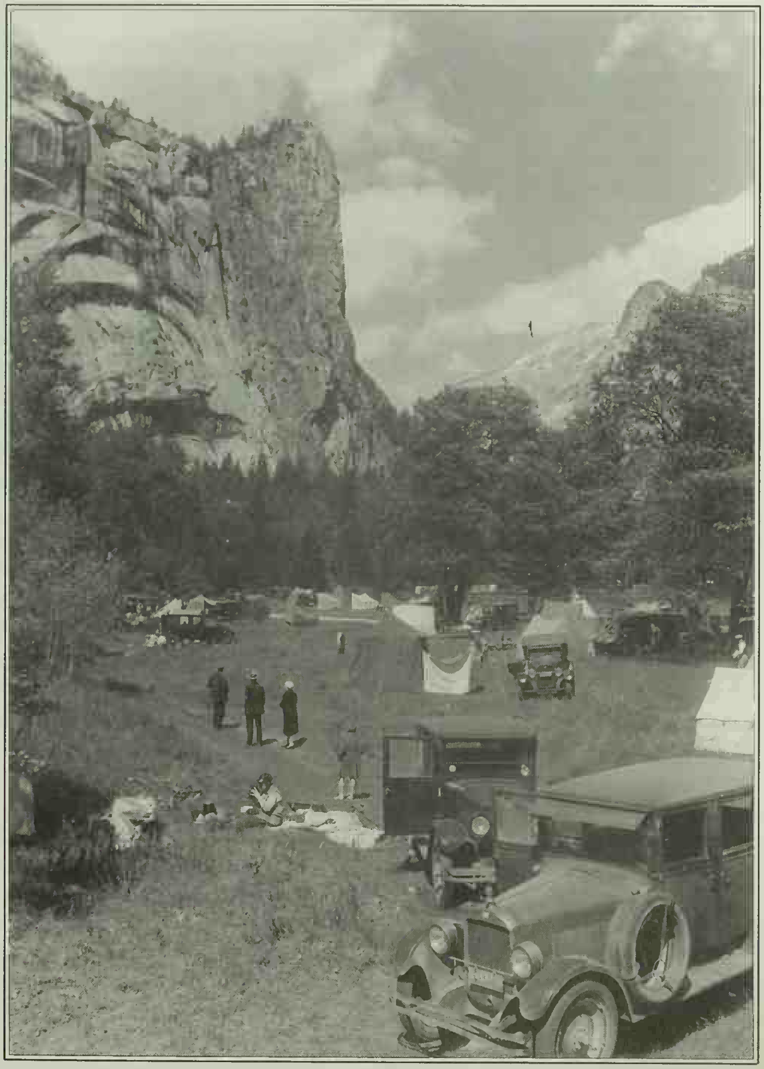
Such actions proved to be premature, as Americans started buying automobiles in startling numbers. In 1910, less than half a million people owned cars in the United States, but by 1920, the number had increased to nearly eight million, and this was only the beginning. By 1927, there was one car for every 5.3 persons in the United States. Even though ownership of these cars was limited to the middle and upper classes of American society, this represented a revolution in transportation.[20]

It also revolutionized tourism, taking tourists out of trains and placing them in control of individual vehicles. Driving a car gave American travelers a sense of freedom and personal choice that riding in a train could not provide. The automobile liberated the traveler from the restrictions of railroad schedules and tracks. The artist James Montgomery Flagg expressed a common feeling when he wrote "there is a freedom about motoring across the continent that is lacking in the train ride" as opposed to what he described as "the galling monotony of the stifling Pullmans."[21]

In the early days of motoring, particularly in the American West, driving offered not only freedom and intimacy, but also adventure, largely because of the poor quality of the roads. Tales of desert crossings and horrendous mountain tracks discouraged many potential transcontinental drivers. The interruption of train service during World War I and the "See America First" movement, however, encouraged traveling by car and the building of good roads. By 1921 one enthusiast assured motorists that "if you have hesitated because of supposed dangers, don't hesitate any longer." He noted further that "it is not necessary to carry a gun . . . the mountain roads are not difficult nor dangerous. Only a little care is required."[22]

The growing popularity and safety of automobile travel brought vast numbers of travelers into the West and into the national parks. Motoring made vacations possible for a much wider spectrum of the American population, although the family vacation would remain out of reach for the large majority of working-class people for another several decades. As early as 1916 one observer in Yosemite noted the ever-increasing stream of tourists traveling toward these mountains and commended "the far-sighted wisdom that is constructing automobile highways into the very heart of the amazing grandeur."[23]

This "ever-increasing stream," however, included new kinds of tourists who wanted to see the West and its national parks in new ways. Unlike the wealthy nineteenth-century tourists who traveled sedately across the continent in plush Pullman cars and demanded luxurious accommodations while observing the wonders of the American continent, twentieth-century tourists often had limited budgets and time. These travelers wanted to drive themselves and were content to "rough it" in the great American wilderness. In an article entitled "Autocamping—the Fastest Growing Sport," a writer in *Outlook* noted that the automobile "has brought about a renaissance of the outdoors, and it has firmly planted a brand-new outdoor sport."[24] Americans, now happily ensconced in their automobiles, wanted to savor the freedom of the road by camping out in the wilds through which they traveled.



Auto camping in Stoneman Meadow, Yosemite Valley, May 29, 1927. The clutter and congestion that would one day be brought to the valley by masses of auto campers is already evident in this early photograph. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

Camping had several attractions for twentieth-century tourists. When the sport moved from the domain of aristocratic hunters, camping first became an upper-class activity attached to the expensive sport of motoring. Wealthy urbanites sought an escape from the pressures and luxuries of city life, hoping that direct contact with the wilderness would rejuvenate and ready them to participate in the hectic twentieth-century world. They feared that comfort and luxury had damaged the American spirit and that losing touch with the wilderness could spell doom for American ingenuity and toughness. From all facets of American culture came a call to renew contact with the wilderness, to "rough it" outdoors, in order to reclaim the vigor that many Americans believed was central to their national character.

Increasing numbers of people heeded this call and rushed into the wilderness hoping to experience its restorative effects. John Muir wrote in 1901 that "the tendency nowadays to wander in the wilderness is delightful to see." He noted happily that "thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountains is going home." A promoter for the national parks promised that "in these work-filled American days . . . the deep forests of the Sierra call. The roar of Niagara can drown the buzz of the ticker. Old Faithful's gleaming column of spray shuts off the balance sheet."[25]

Not only did camping have the desired effect of encouraging Americans to throw off the shackles of modern civilization and to experience their primitive roots, but it also heightened the sense of freedom created by automobile travel. The car freed travelers from the limitations of railroad tracks and schedules and camping liberated them from the rules and regulations of hotels. Campers could avoid dressing for dinner and waiting for the bellhop. A car and a camping outfit gave the tourist the freedom to travel anywhere and anytime. Enthusiasts explained that camping allowed one "to throw off the impediments of civilization, the telephone, the silly conventions" and, as one woman wrote, "to put in their place the joy of being at least a healthy, if not an intelligent, animal."[26]

In addition to the spiritual renewal and the freedom offered by camping, it offered another attraction after World War I. As the price of automobiles came down, and as more Americans could afford to travel, camping became an inexpensive way to vacation. The car and the campground opened up the possibility of vacation travel to a much wider spectrum of middle-class Americans. The change in camping enthusiasts did not escape the notice of wealthier devotees who had pioneered the sport. They complained about the "ninety-thousand replicas of Maw" who now filled western roads and campgrounds. One rather peeved observer commented on this trend that "vacationing having ceased to be aristocratic and exclusive, it becomes more and more difficult to find an exclusive place in which to practice it." He added, "The trouble with our national parks is that there is no place in them for the man of means."[27]

In part, this snobbish observer was right. The automobile had democratized access to the national parks. No longer the domain of wealthy and leisured travelers, the national parks now captured the attention of a variety of American travelers who wanted to use the park in new ways. As more visitors began to travel to the parks and as they complained about the price and quality of the services that were available to them, it quickly became clear to the Department of the Interior that something would have to be done about the haphazard management of the parks. As early as 1911, the president of the American Civic Association, J. Horace McFarland, complained that "nowhere in official Washington can an inquirer find an office of national parks or a single desk devoted solely to their management."[28]

Several kinds of problems plagued park officials in the teens and 1920s, not the least being an inadequate and underfunded infrastructure for managing the parks in the face of the new volume of traffic brought by the automobile. In many of the parks, car traffic was treated with a certain amount of hostility, at least eventually, by the railroads that had once controlled access without much competition. Although some companies had initially welcomed the surge in tourism brought by the automobile, railroad management could hardly be expected to be enthusiastic for long about tourists who increasingly arrived in their own cars, who wanted to avoid railroad-built hotels, and who had little excess cash to spend. Even in Yosemite, where the railroads had little control over development, some local concessionaires regarded automobile traffic with some suspicion. Stage line operators and hotel owners saw no advantage in welcoming motorists who carried their own camping gear.

The combination of resistance from railroads and other park concessionaires and the commonly held view before World War I that cars were dangerous toys for eccentrics made officials ban automobile traffic in many of the parks. Even after automobiles were finally allowed in Yosemite, when motorists reached the valley floor they were at first required to chain their vehicles to logs and turn in their keys at a park office.[29]

More significant than automobiles, however, were the numbers of visitors they carried. New attitudes about the outdoors and the wilderness that had created the camping boom also increased interest in the national parks, and by 1910 unprecedented numbers of Americans were coming to visit. In addition, the outbreak of World War I in 1914 prevented Americans from traveling to Europe and encouraged people to see the wonders of their own country. The traveling public who wanted increased access to the parks, preservationists who wanted to call attention to the beauties of American scenery, railroads and other concessionaires who wanted to encourage use of their facilities, and government officials who wanted to please their constituents, all combined to demand new attention to the national parks. President William Howard Taft summed up these ideas in a message to Congress, stating that "every consideration of patriotism and the love of nature and of beauty and of art requires us to expend money enough to bring all of these natural wonders within easy reach of the people."[30] Most significantly, this movement resulted in the creation of the National Park Service in 1916.

The campaign after 1910 to create the Park Service, led by J. Horace McFarland, Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, and numerous others, brought the national parks enormous publicity and increased funding from the federal government. Finally the parks would have the money and management necessary to serve the needs of American travelers. Most important, with the appointment of Stephen Mather as director of the new Park Service, the parks had a tireless and innovative promoter. Mather, a Californian and a long-time enthusiast of Yosemite and the Sierra, would have particular impact on Yosemite.[31]

Mather's job as head of the newly formed Park Service involved several complex aspects. He had to build a bureau to manage thirteen parks and eighteen national monuments. Within the parks themselves, Mather had to see that roads, hotels, and campgrounds were built to make these places accessible for all income levels. Mather knew that building public support for the park service idea was crucial to achieving these goals. He had to create public interest in the parks and to convince Congress that such interest warranted increased funding for the park system.[32]

Beginning in 1915, Mather began a public relations blitz that put the national parks on the pages of newspapers, national magazines, and promotional materials. Other park promoters, including the major railroads, *The Saturday Evening Post*, and *National Geographic* became important backers of Mather's publicity campaign. These efforts increased the number of visitors to the parks. Later, Mather noted proudly that in 1915, 344,799 people had come to the national parks and by 1919 the number had more than doubled to 756,027.[33]

Much of Mather's success in making national parks an important part of the American landscape rested on his recognition that automobiles represented the future of American tourism. He commented in 1919 that "it was inevitable that the automobile would revolutionize the park tour, just as it changed travel conditions everywhere and turned into memories cherished methods of seeing and doing things."[34] In 1915, when Mather took on the job of Assistant to the Secretary of the Interior in charge of the parks, he recognized the growing importance of the motoring public and the impact cars would soon have on the national parks. Decent roads would solve the problem of accessibility to the national parks. As more Americans could afford to buy cars and to take vacations, Mather reasoned, more of them would want to see the national parks. Increased numbers of visitors would give him the broad base of public support that he believed crucial to the park system's survival. He recognized the potential financial and political clout of the automobile industry, automobile clubs, and the motoring public, which already had nearly a million vehicles on the road in 1915. Demand for roads and facilities from from this rapidly expanding interest group would encourage congressional funding and would help to protect against exploitation of the parks' natural resources.[35]

Mather was one of the few people involved in the park system who foresaw the significance of the automobile so early and who welcomed motorists eagerly. His strongest opposition came from concessionaires, particularly railroads, who feared losing business to automobile traffic. Even in Yosemite, where railroads had less power, Mather met with resistance. In 1915 he tried to convince a Yosemite concessionaire to build a large hotel to attract the drivers of the one thousand cars he predicted would enter the valley that year. The concessionaire laughed at this grandiose prediction, but by 1916 more visitors entered Yosemite by automobile than by any other means, and by 1928, 136,689 cars poured into the park.[36]

Providing services for these new visitors challenged existing facilities in all the parks. In general, these had consisted of luxurious hotels built by railroads to attract their wealthy passengers. As Louis Hill of the Great Northern Railroad explained, "The railroads are greatly interested in the passenger traffic to the parks. Every passenger that goes to the national parks, wherever he may be, represents practically a net earning."[37]

In contrast to their later opposition, railroad companies and other concessionaires at first welcomed the novelty of automobile traffic, seeing these tourists as simply more bodies to put in their hotels and to carry over their stage lines. They welcomed the creation of the National Park Service and assisted Mather in his efforts to publicize the parks, believing that increased numbers of visitors, no matter how they arrived, could only mean profits for their companies. Unlike Mather, railroad officials did not immediately recognize the revolution signaled by motorists and their cars. During the 1915 international expositions in California, in fact, the Union Pacific and Santa Fe railroads spent more than half a million dollars on national park exhibits, hoping to convince travelers to California, many of whom had arrived in automobiles, to visit the parks.[38]

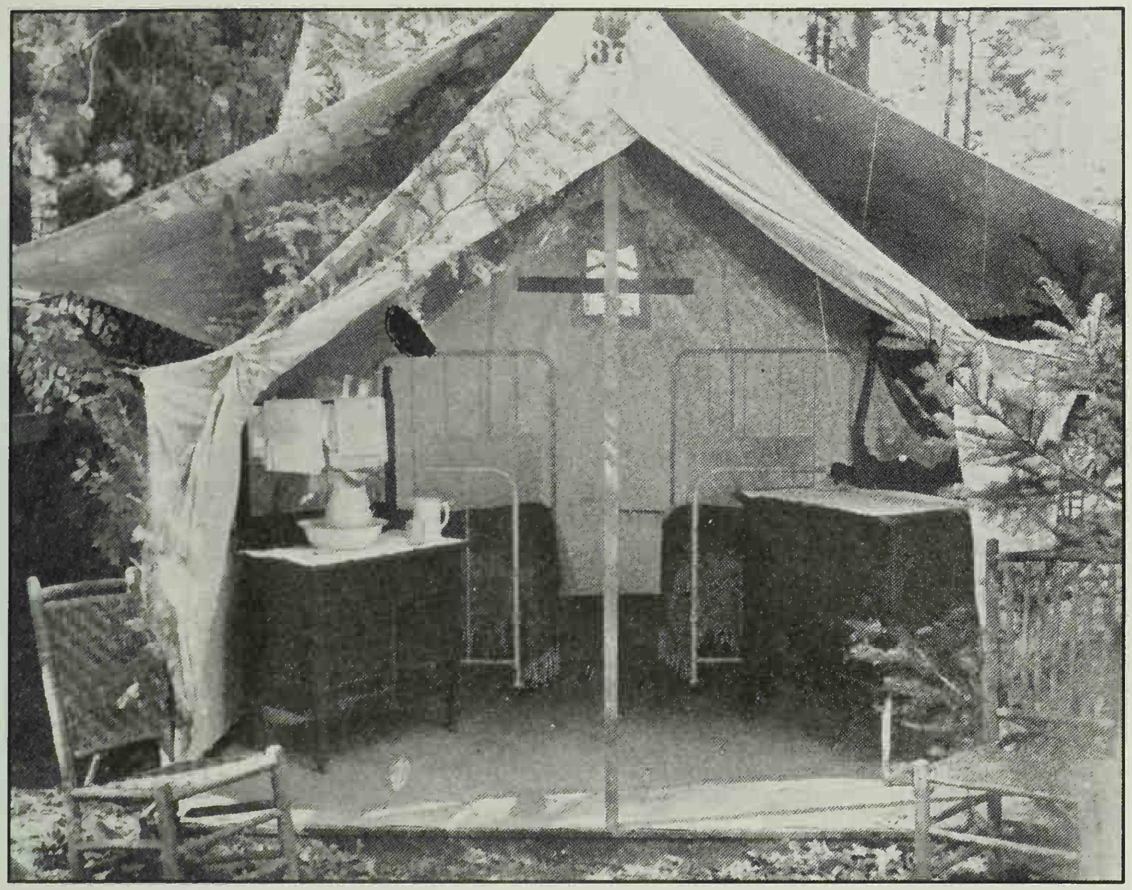
As it dawned on railroads by the 1920s, however, that automobiles competed directly with train travel and that automobiles carried a different breed of tourist, the enthusiasm of some companies began to wane. Railroad officials' dreams of wealthy travelers who boarded palace cars and lounged at expensive railroad hotels evaporated, as automobiles full of penny-pinching middle-class visitors arrived with camp kits tied to their running boards. The combination of new demands from tourists and the increasingly powerful role of the National Park Service aggravated tensions between the government and the railroads in parks where the companies had once dominated.[39]

This trend, however, did not occur in Yosemite. Its lack of major railroad facilities made the adjustment to automobiles and Park Service control easier. The conglomeration of concessionaires who offered facilities for visitors in Yosemite generally welcomed motorists. In addition, because no single concessionaire controlled services in the valley, Mather and the Park Service met with less organized resistance to change.

At first glance, Yosemite did not seem ideally suited for the automobile. The first car, a Stanley Steamer specially designed to withstand the rigors of mountain driving, arrived in the park in July of 1900. Claiming that automobiles frightened horses and disturbed tourists, park officials banned them from the park almost immediately after the Stanley Steamer's arrival. Such precautions were probably unnecessary, since few motorists had the machinery or daring to make the journey, and until 1915 the park had only twenty miles of unpaved government-built roads.[40] Despite bad driving conditions, park officials lifted the ban on automobile travel in 1913, as they did shortly thereafter in other parks, a change in policy that satisfied the demands of motorists and created a new source of income in the form of entrance fees. However, conditions for driving in Yosemite remained far from satisfactory for some time, and few drivers were willing to pay the $8 entrance fee or risk damaging their expensive machines.[41]

When Stephen Mather became the director of the national parks in 1915, however, accommodating automobiles and their drivers became a priority in Yosemite. Yosemite provided a perfect showcase for Mather's ideas about making the parks into attractive playgrounds for the American public. Central to Mather's plans was making the parks accessible to automobiles, and Yosemite seemed like a good place to start. What made Yosemite especially attractive to auto users was that it was the only major western park located within easy driving distance of two major urban centers—Los Angeles and San Francisco. In addition, in 1915 thousands of visitors were expected for the great world's expositions in San Francisco and San Diego. Many people would come by car, and many would want to see the famed Yosemite.

Mather immediately ordered the Tioga Road



Tent accommodations at Camp Curry in Yosemite Valley, ca. 1917. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

improved to make it possible for a few cross-country motorists to enter the park on the rough road from the east, and he upgraded the quality of roads within the park. To help accommodate the increased number of tourists this would bring into the park, Mather awarded D.J. Desmond a permit to become the first big concessionaire in Yosemite. He also encouraged David A. Curry, one of the largest operators in the valley, to improve and expand his camp facilities. Camp Curry with its tents, campfires, and rudimentary plumbing, had opened in 1899. It represented the kind of service demanded by many automobile tourists—informal, inexpensive, and nominally out-of-doors—and in 1915, Camp Curry housed over a thousand guests. Mather's efforts were a success. By 1920 two-thirds of all visitors came to the park by car. Yosemite had entered the age of the automobile.[42]

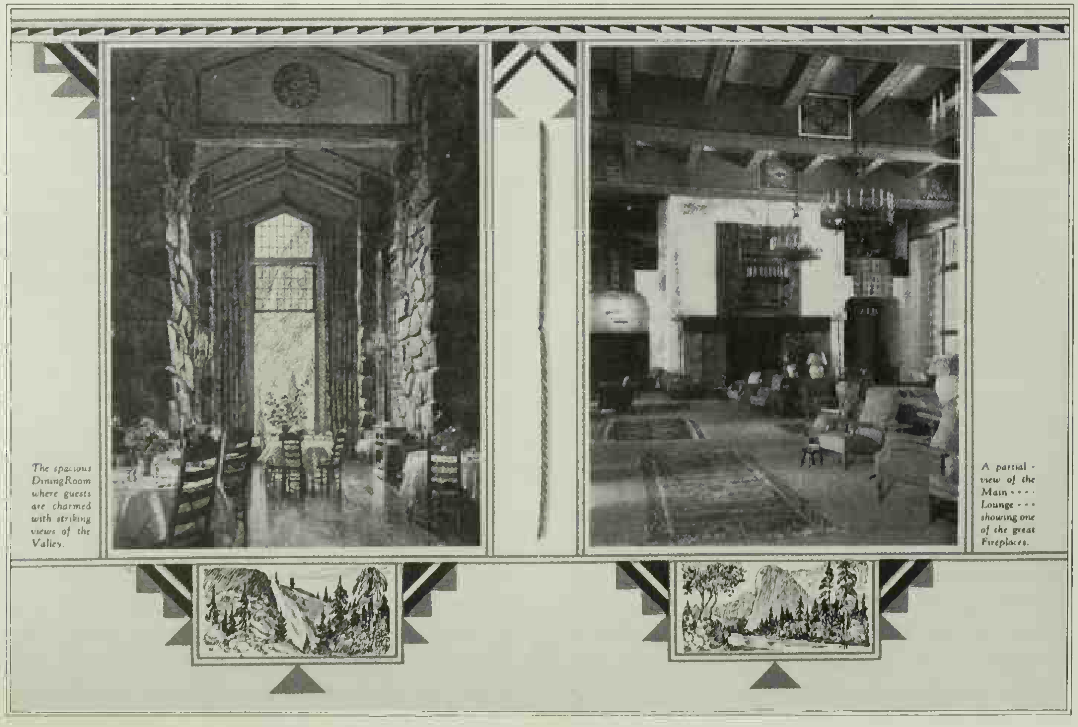
These developments pleased most people. Better roads did make Yosemite more accessible and the number of tourists each year increased steadily. In 1920, one visitor noted happily that "the Packard Twin Six took us down into the valley surely and splendidly." A park guidebook stated, "The long, hard trip over mountain roads . . . has given way to the comfortable automobile and train service and life in modern camps and hotels." The author concluded approvingly that "the policy of the National Park Service in making the Park 'liveable' is unquestionably the right one."[43]

Other observers had reservations about the changes that the automobile had brought. In 1913, Lord James Bryce had warned park officials who were planning to lift the early ban on automobile travel in the valley that "if Adam had known what harm the serpent was going to work, he would have tried to prevent him from finding lodgment in Eden; and if you were to realize what the result of the automobile will be in that incomparable valley, you will keep it out." Few people, however, had Bryce's foresight. For the most part, even staunch preservationists saw the car as a necessary evil that would bring increased public interest in Yosemite, protecting it from exploitation. A Sierra Club member commented that his first reaction to the sight of cars whizzing through Tuolumne Meadows was "to resent this intrusion into Nature's heart." On further reflection, however, he concluded that one can "but rejoice when increasing numbers of one's fellow-men find healthful pleasure in Nature's gifts."[44]

Some people felt that the natural beauty of Yosemite would not attract significant numbers of American tourists who wanted flashier entertainment. A participant in the first National Parks Conference complained that the park had "no attractions save an unkempt nature's wonderland." He recommended developing "golf, tennis, open-air concerts, skating, skiing, sleighing and similar attractions in the wonderful Yosemite," with the justification that "such civilized attractions would add much to the physical pleasure to thousands of the people of California alone, to say nothing of the people from other States, or even the world."[45]

Although Mather did not want to cover the valley floor with tennis courts and golf courses, he did believe that Yosemite must upgrade its tourist facilities to attract more visitors. When the new Park Service took over the operation of Yosemite in 1916, shoddy hotels, poor food, and high prices irked tourists, as they had decades earlier. The greatest difficulty facing Mather was the old one of the proliferation of small concessionaires, none of whom he thought provided high quality services at reasonable rates. He concluded that the solution would be to create a monopoly, making one concessionaire responsible for nearly all tourist services. He hoped such a system would make it easier for officials to regulate operations in the park, as well as improve the quality of service.[46]

Building such a monopoly, however, took some time. First, Mather had to find a concessionaire

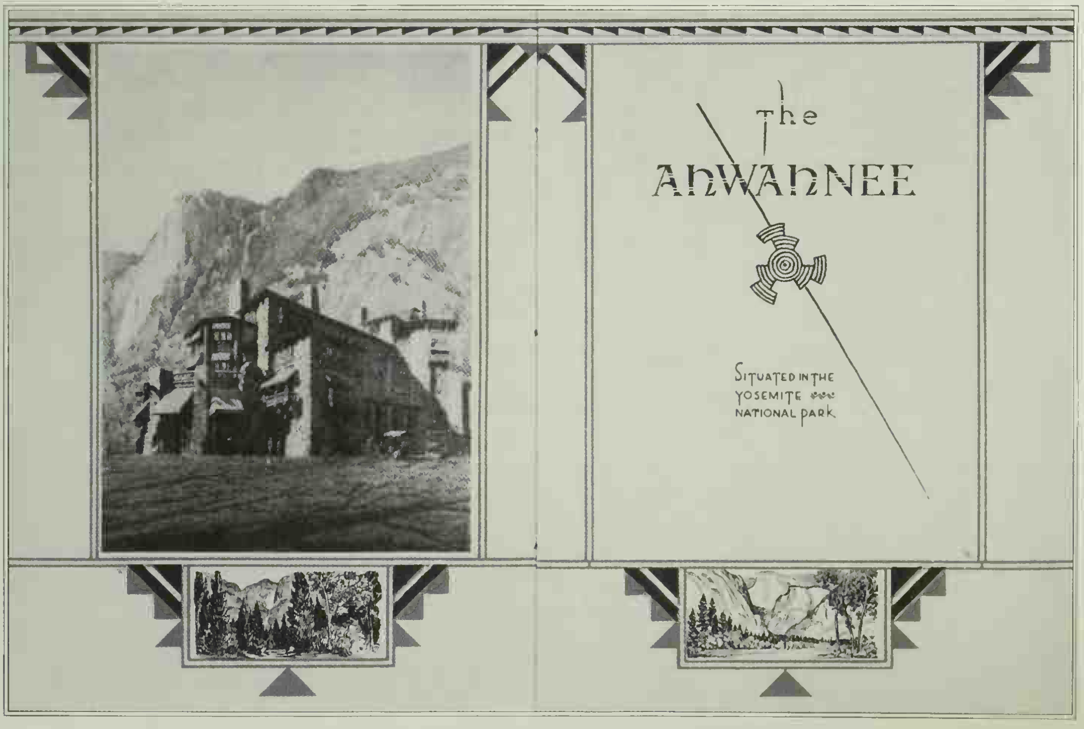

The spacious DiningRoom where guests are charmed with striking views of the Valley.
A partial view of the Main Lounge showing one of the great Fireplaces.

Ahwahnee Hotel dining room (left) and main lounge (right), from a Yosemite Park and Curry Company advertising brochure, ca. 1930. American Indian designs are in keeping with the architectural theme of the hotel. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

with enough capital to take over existing services and to create new ones. In 1920, Mather joined forces with the powerful editor of the *Los Angeles Times*, Harry Chandler, and raised a million dollars to create the Yosemite National Park Company. This operation faced continued competition from the Curry family, who ran the profitable and popular Camp Curry, the largest tourist facility in the park. In 1925, the two enterprises merged, creating the Yosemite Park and Curry Company, which was granted a monopoly on park services by the government. Finally, Yosemite had a concessionaire with the capital and experience to provide the services demanded by twentieth-century tourists.[47]

The merger occurred at an opportune moment. The state government had begun construction of an all-year road into Yosemite, designed to allow automobile travel into the park year-round. Park Service officials believed this paved road would greatly increase the numbers of visitors in the park, particularly in the winter months.[48] Mather saw the opening of the road as an opportunity to push for one of his pet projects—a luxurious hotel designed to house wealthy tourists year round. Some other national parks had splendid hotels built by the railroads. Although Mather had argued for a first-class hotel in Yosemite for years, he was unable to convince any concessionaire that the necessary capital outlay would be profitable. With the all-year road and the new Yosemite Park and Curry Company, such a grand hotel was now possible.

On first glance, building an exclusive hotel in Yosemite seems a bit of an anomaly, given Mather's efforts to make national parks accessible to a wider range of visitors. He had worked hard to bring middle-class motorists to parks that had been the domain of rich and leisured travelers. By building roads, campgrounds, and inexpensive lodgings, he had opened the lands to the middle class. At the same time, Mather believed that Americans had



The
AHWAHNEE

Situated in the
Yosemite
National Park

The title page of a Yosemite Park and Curry Company brochure advertising the Ahwahnee Hotel, ca. 1930. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

the right to visit the parks "in as great luxury as each can afford" and that "it is the duty of the government to provide . . . the degree of comfort, even of luxury, that he requires."[49] Yosemite did not yet have the facilities to house wealthy visitors in the luxurious accommodations to be found at other parks, and Mather believed that this deficiency would hurt the park because such visitors had the political clout and spending power that national parks needed for protection.

With the impetus of the opening of the all-year highway, and with Mather's strong urging, the Yosemite Park and Curry Company began planning a glamorous hotel in 1925. They hired architect Gilbert Stanley Underwood, who had designed several station buildings for the Union Pacific Railroad. The hotel, named Ahwahnee, which means "deep grassy valley" in the local Miwok dialect, opened in July 1927, soon after the new highway brought cars into the valley on its paved, gently-graded surface.[50]

The great hotel demonstrated that Yosemite had indeed entered the modern age. Although the Ahwahnee resembled many of the other great rustic hotels built in the national parks in the first decades of the twentieth century, it was a modern, three-winged, six-story hotel for affluent tourists. Instead of the wood and stone used in the great hotels in Yellowstone, Glacier, and Grand Canyon, the Ahwahnee's steel-frame-and-concrete construction was stained to look like redwood and stone. With its combination of Indian, early Californian, English Tudor, Art Deco, and German Gothic motifs, the interior also reflected the modern cosmopolitan tastes of the post-war tourist. As one early brochure explained, the hotel "shuns the artificial unity of a definite period style, but the Ahwahnee attains consistency with . . . fundamental qualities of strength, simplicity, and directness."[51]

The aesthetics and luxuries offered by the new lodging appealed to wealthy tourists who wanted the freedom of automobile travel but not the discomforts of camping. The Ahwahnee, with its specially designed automobile entrance, garages, private bathrooms, ballroom, dining room, rock and wildflower gardens, and spectacular views, satisfied these requirements.

With the completion of the Ahwahnee in 1927, Yosemite National Park had achieved many of the goals that Stephen Mather had set for it. Because of Mather's efforts, his early recognition of the significance of the automobile, and the park's proximity to auto-crazed urban masses, Yosemite had been made accessible to more of the American people. Like the other great national parks, Yosemite offered accommodations and activities for a wide range of visitors. An easy drive up the new all-year highway or a more exciting trip over Tioga Pass carried tourists safely and quickly into the valley. Those who chose to could don dinner jackets or gowns for dinner at the Ahwahnee, while more economically-minded tourists could gather around the campfire at Camp Curry.

Most visitors found the new roads, hotels, and campgrounds in Yosemite to be far more appealing than the primitive roads, lurching stagecoaches, and crude tent hotels they had patronized earlier. Some tourists, however, recognized the price they paid for these improvements. The valley had lost the exclusiveness and remoteness that had characterized it in the nineteenth century. In 1933 an observer noted, "Nothing in all America is less wild than the floor of Yosemite Valley." He commented further that the "gleaming granite walls of the canyon and the tremendous water leaps" were all that he had imagined, but that "the floor of Yosemite is an amusement park, as crowded a city as New York's Central Park."[52]

A combination of physical beauty, convenient location near urban concentrations of middle- and upper-class people, and distinctive history made Yosemite a popular tourist attraction by 1930. Lacking extensive facilities developed earlier by railroads, the park was especially open to the efforts of the National Park Service and Yosemite Park and Curry Company to make it accessible to more Americans and their automobiles in the twentieth century. Building roads and facilities to handle cars and campers did encourage swarms of people to visit Yosemite and increase support for park appropriations. At the same time, however, dynamics had been set into motion that would after World War II culminate in crowding and automobile blight in the valley. As James Bryce had warned, a serpent had been admitted into the Garden of Eden. CHS

See notes beginning on page 224.

Anne Hyde teaches history of the American West at Louisiana State University. Her book on far western tourism, An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and National Culture, 1820-1920, *was published by New York University Press in 1990.*

Joseph Grinnell and Yosemite:
Rediscovering the Legacy of a California Conservationist

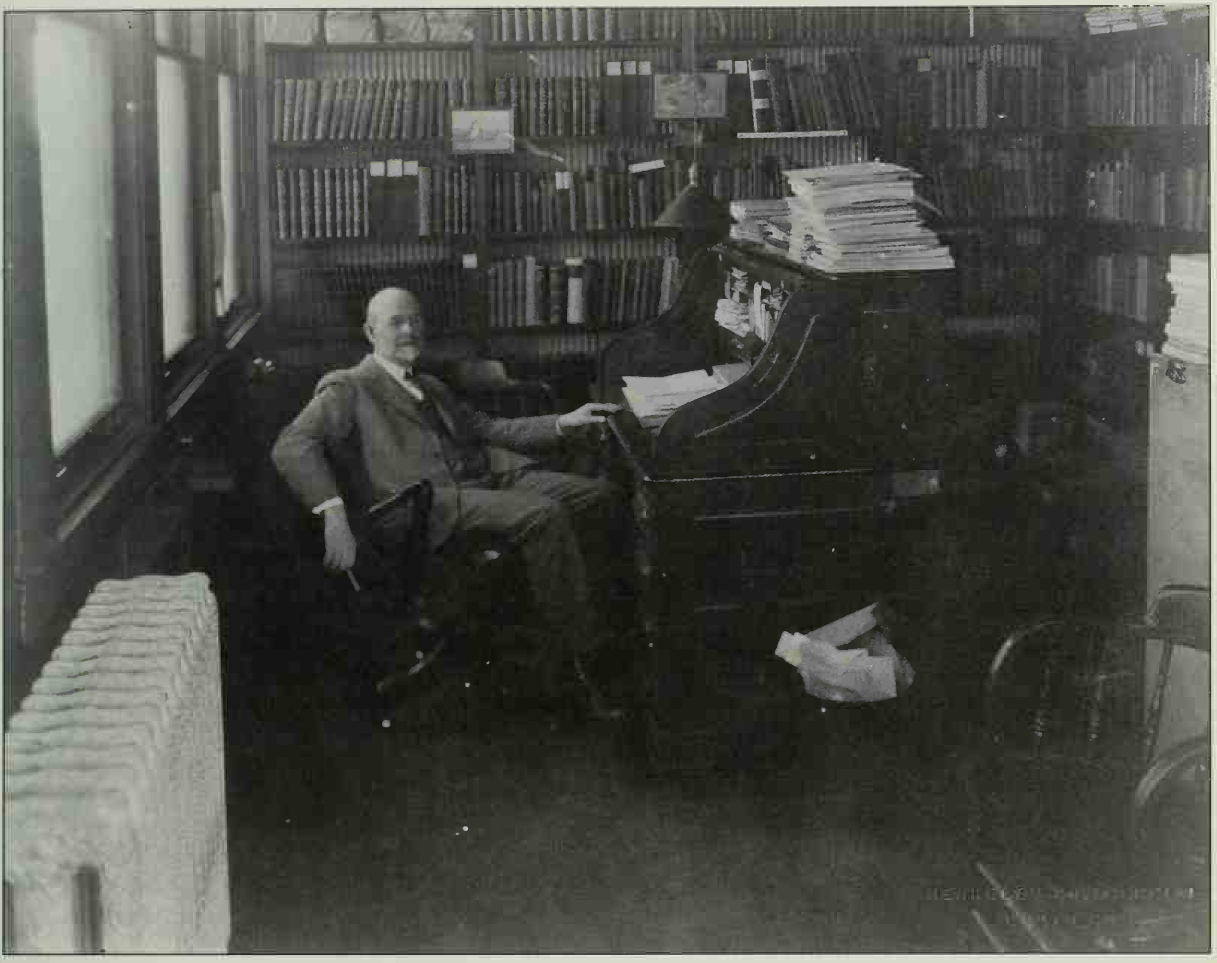
by Alfred Runte

Understandably, every movement looks back to its founders for words of inspiration. The environmental movement is no different; mention Yosemite National Park, for example, and automatically most environmentalists will think of John Muir. And yet, by the time of Muir's death in 1914, the battle for Yosemite had only just begun. In truth, his hopes for the integrity of the national park were largely unrealized in his lifetime. It remained for a new generation of activists to carry on the struggle, to ensure, especially, that Yosemite won permanent status as a wilderness preserve. With further specificity to the fate of park wildlife, no one was more committed to Muir's unfinished agenda than Joseph Grinnell, director of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California at Berkeley. As a research scientist, Grinnell worked to infuse wildlife protection with scholarly accreditation and, in the process, forged one of the most important, yet least known, careers in American conservation.

Grinnell was born on February 27, 1877, at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where his father, a physician, administered to Plains Indians living on the nearby reservation. A few years later the Grinnell family moved to California, settling east of Los Angeles in the suburb of Pasadena. It is hard to imagine now, but southern California in the 1880s still had large areas of open space, over which, for example, circled the great California condor. Here young Joseph was also free to pursue his boyhood interest in the study of birds. Nor was he content with observation alone. Rather, as an amateur ornithologist, he systematically collected and preserved a broad variety of field specimens. Just before his seventeenth birthday, a red shafted flicker became field number 72. Meanwhile, he completed high school in Pasadena, where, in 1897, he also received his A.B. degree from Throop Polytechnic Institute, later renamed the California Institute of Technology.[1]

Like many other young scientists, Grinnell mixed his years of formal training with personal fieldwork and adventure. In 1896, for example, he went to Alaska, collecting data and specimens in the area surrounding Sitka. His second trip to Alaska, from May 1898 to October 1899, combined attempts to find gold with zoological forays to Kotzebue Sound and the Bering Sea. As fate would have it, however, he was far more successful as a scientist than as a hopeful fortune hunter, a fact that was further underscored in 1901, when he received his M.A. degree from Stanford University.[2]

More seasons of fieldwork followed, three of which, the summers of 1905, 1906, and 1907, brought Grinnell back to southern California to conduct research in the San Bernardino Mountains. He further investigated the Salton Sea and the San Jacinto Mountains in 1908. He was forming,



Professor Joseph Grinnell in his office at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California in Berkeley. Grinnell served as director of the museum from 1908 until his death in 1939. In addition to serving as the conscience of the national parks in matters of wildlife preservation and interpretation, Grinnell trained numerous graduate students who in their work for the national parks applied his belief that the parks should be preserved in a state of suspended animation as "samples of the earth as it was before the advent of the white man." *Courtesy Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California, Berkeley.*

all the while, one of his lifelong beliefs, simply, that California had more than enough territory and biological diversity to occupy the career of even the most committed zoologist. Meanwhile, his own talent and discipline had not gone unnoticed. In 1908, at only thirty-one years of age—and with the completion of his Ph.D. at Stanford still five years in the future—he was appointed director of the University of California's new Museum of Vertebrate Zoology. For the rest of his life, Berkeley would be his intellectual base of operations.[3]

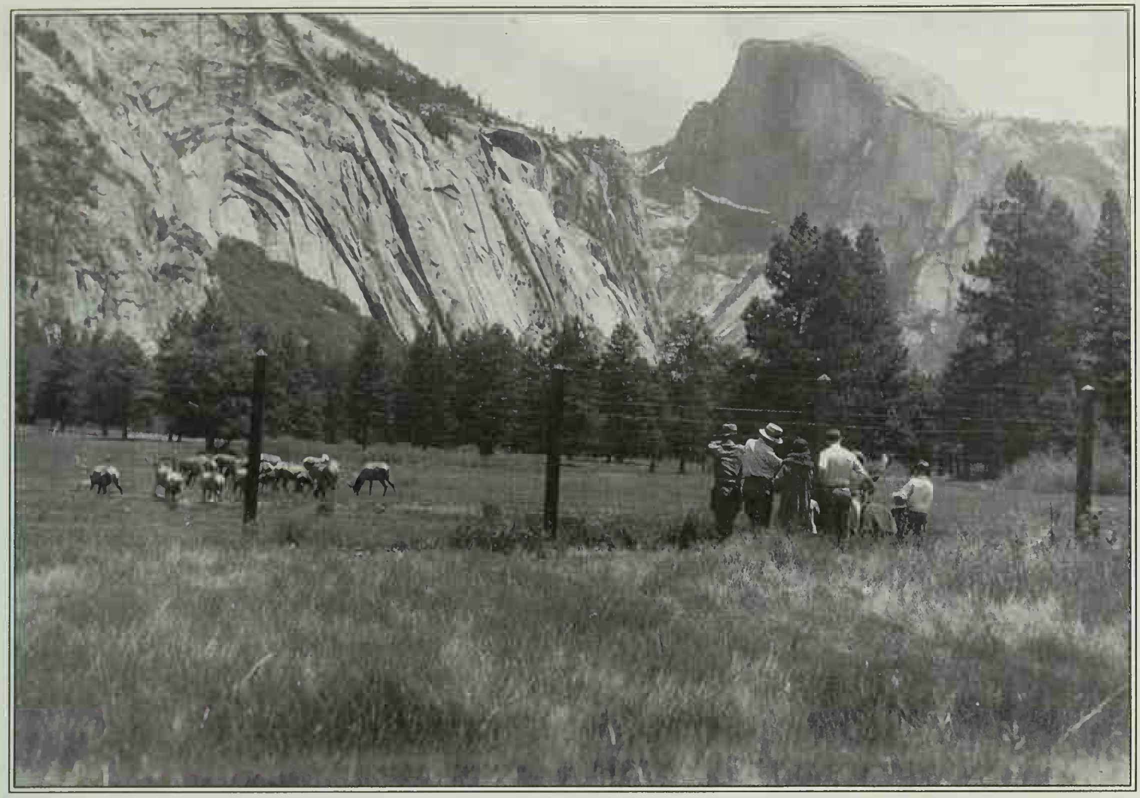
Predictably, his first few years at the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology were largely taken up with administrative duties and teaching. There remained, in addition, the task of finishing his Ph.D. With that milestone finally behind him, and with the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology more firmly established, he began to think seriously about several new projects, among them studying the natural history of Yosemite National Park. His choice was influenced by current events, as much as by the realization that Yosemite's flora and fauna had never been examined systematically. Along with a small cadre of other scientists, Grinnell was beginning to sense the value of national parks as wilderness laboratories. Consequently, on October 7, 1914, he asked Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane for permission to begin a study "under the auspices of the University of California Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, along a line through Yosemite from Merced Falls to Mono Lake." As noted in the prospectus accompanying his request, the objectives of the survey included the identification of all mammals, birds, and reptiles in the area to be explored; the determination of their distribution, habits, and ecological relationships; "in other words," Grinnell reemphasized, "their natural history."[4]

From that goal logically followed another: concern for the future of the national park itself, especially for its viability as a wildlife preserve. The original Yosemite Grant of 1864, established by Congress and awarded to California, had taken in only Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of giant sequoias. Clearly, the intent in 1864 was to protect spectacular scenery and natural wonders. Then, in 1890, Yosemite National Park was established in the area surrounding the state park in the valley. At more than fifteen hundred square miles, compared to sixty in the valley grant, the national park had great potential as a wildlife preserve. Its territory, at least, was large enough to incorporate that ideal.

Unfortunately, the national park suffered a setback in 1905, when Congress reduced its area by fully one third, primarily in response to objections raised against the park by mining, logging, and grazing interests. California, meanwhile, agreed to return Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove to the federal government, and Congress accepted the retrocession in June 1906. By then the city of San Francisco had pinned its hopes for fresh water on a dam and reservoir in the Hetch Hetchy Valley, this despite Hetch Hetchy's inclusion wholly within the confines of Yosemite National Park. The return of Yosemite Valley to the federal government aside, the loss of Hetch Hetchy to San Francisco's reservoir as a result of the passage of the Raker Act in 1913, coupled with the reduction of Yosemite National Park in 1905, was clear warning that Yosemite's status as a wildlife sanctuary had already been seriously jeopardized.[5]

Ultimately, Grinnell realized, whether in Yosemite or across the nation, further assaults on wildlife habitat would only be blocked by a concerned and knowledgeable public. Thus he repeatedly stressed to government officials, among them Secretary of the Interior Lane, the need for making natural history available to the public at large. "The Yosemite National Park is visited by thousands of people each year," Grinnell noted, for example, further justifying his proposed survey in terms of public education. Undoubtedly, curious Yosemite visitors "would find an account of its natural history of immediate service as a source of information concerning the animal life encountered." Likewise, a "natural history of so famous a region as that containing the Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite valleys would doubtless prove of wide acceptance among people not privileged to visit this National Park but who have a general interest in the out-of-doors."[6]

Here, it may be argued, lies the most important clue to Grinnell's thinking and effectiveness: he



Tourists viewing tule elk at the Elk Paddock, Yosemite Valley, ca. 1930. Until a change in Park Service policy promoted by Joseph Grinnell and others, Yosemite exploited its animals as tourist attractions. In contrast to Grinnell's ideal of the parks as living laboratories of wild nature, Yosemite differentiated between the scenic beauty and the animals that inhabited it. Paddocks or cages held the animals for the tourists' pleasure and one of the most popular entertainments was visiting the garbage dumps where the bears foraged for scraps. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

---

did *not* believe that scholarship was only for other scholars. Rather, he insisted throughout his life that conservation would be advanced only if scientists worked with the general public. Scientific issues were too important to be discussed only by specialists. The key, then, he further realized, was a series of educational programs designed specifically for lay audiences. Indeed, literally from the moment of its founding, the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology sponsored public lectures on a wide variety of natural history subjects. Extension courses were also added, again with the hope that the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology might reach influential Californians about wildlife issues and conservation. One such course, entitled "Birds of California," drew twenty-seven students in September 1916. Its instructor, Harold C. Bryant, reported to Joseph Grinnell as follows: "Included in the class were three well-known physicians of San Francisco, and their wives; two well-known business men, several teachers, and a number of other notables in San Francisco society." Grinnell could not have hoped for stronger proof of his program's acceptance and success. "I will be glad to incorporate the main facts into my report to the President for the current year," he replied to Bryant with thanks, then added a note of praise: "There is no one else in the University, or in the state, for that matter, to subserve the function you have chosen."[7]

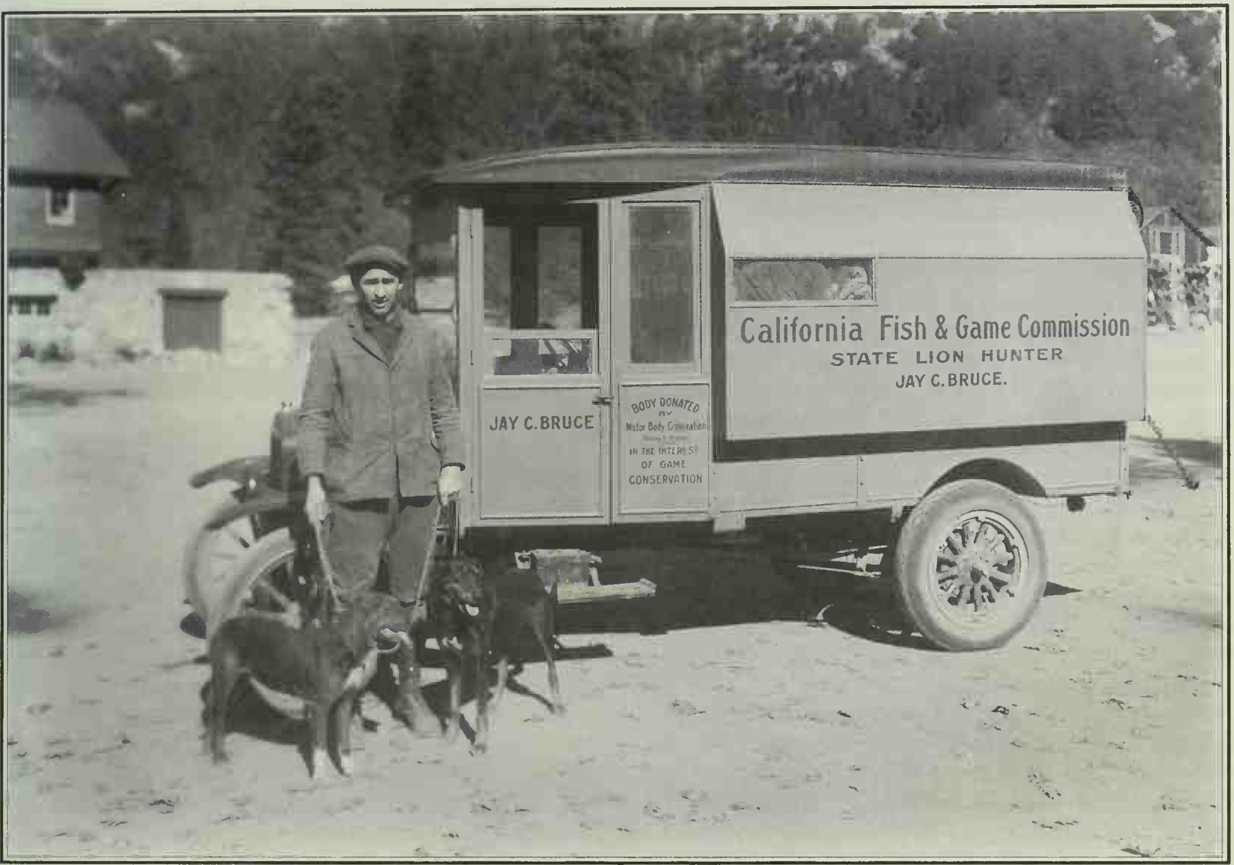
Similar programs, it followed, could easily be adapted to the national parks. Thus Grinnell continued to build on his research in Yosemite, specifically, on his original reassurances to the Interior Department that both lay and professional readers would find his conclusions useful. The first of his major articles, "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks," appeared on September 15, 1916, in *Science* magazine, coincidentally, only three weeks after the National Park Service was authorized. The gulf between science and bureaucracy was dramatically evident in Grinnell's article, which remains the best single expression of his lifelong commitment to wildlife conservation.[8]

With his associate Tracy I. Storer, Grinnell argued that the national parks were, in fact, universities of the wilderness. "As settlement of the country progresses," Grinnell and Storer remarked, "and the original aspect of nature is altered, the national parks will probably be the only areas remaining unspoiled for scientific study." It therefore seemed all the more imperative "that provision be made in every large national park for a trained resident naturalist who, as a member of the park staff, would look after the interests of the animal life of the region and aid in making it known to the public." But management, of course, took first priority; the naturalist's "main duty would be to familiarize himself through intensive study with the natural conditions . . . and to make practical recommendations for their maintenance." Once that task had been accomplished, however, the naturalist would devote the remainder of his time to public education, including "popularly styled illustrated leaflets and newspaper articles . . . and by lectures and demonstrations at central camps." The naturalist, in other words, would actively *promote* conservation, alerting "people to a livelier interest in wild life, and to a healthy and intelligent curiosity about things of nature."[9]

So often have these ideas been attributed to John Muir, Aldo Leopold, or some other "notable" of American conservation that Joseph Grinnell's contribution has been largely forgotten. It was simply not his style to insist on credit for his work. Wrote one of his later colleagues, E. Raymond Hall: "He liked to inspire the beginning of a movement, then sit back and watch it grow, fully content with, and even desirous of, anonymity for himself."[10] The point still remains that two significant movements, wildlife conservation and national park interpretation, owe as much to Grinnell as to anyone else. Until his and Storer's article appeared in *Science* magazine, the Department of the Interior had no established policy with regard to protecting wildlife in the national parks, let alone to educating the public to the need for such a program. Even when Stephen T. Mather, the director-designate of the National Park Service, wrote Joseph Grinnell to acknowledge having read the article, he said only: "It contains much material which will be valuable to us in our plans for the parks." Mather said nothing substantive about any of Grinnell's proposals.[11]

Grinnell, not Mather, was to be the conscience of the National Park Service. Its first rangers were former cavalry troopers, mule skinners, guides, and adventurers; they were not trained biologists with any special fondness for wildlife. To the contrary, rangers in Yosemite, as well as in other parks, hunted and trapped fur-bearing animals for personal profit. Initially, Joseph Grinnell himself used that contradiction to special advantage, purchasing skeletons, skins, and carcasses for the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology. Yet he initiated those purchases in the interest of science. Beyond taking limited numbers of park animals for occasional research needs, he was alarmed that certain species of fur-bearing animals, especially Yosemite's predators, were apparently in decline. Trapping for its own sake, he concluded, was not only wrong but untenable. "I believe it would be in the interests of . . . the Yosemite National Park as a wild life refuge," he wrote the superintendent on July 8, 1920, "if all trapping of wild animals were henceforth absolutely prohibited."[12]

In effect, he had already argued as much four years previously in his article for *Science*: "It almost goes without saying that the administration should strictly prohibit the hunting and trapping of any wild animals within the park limits. A justifiable exception may be made when specimens are required for scientific purposes by authorized representatives of public institutions." Otherwise, "as a rule," even "predaceous animals should be left unmolested and allowed to retain their primitive relation to the rest of the fauna." The objectives of national parks should not be sanitized and civilized; rather, national parks should serve as refuges of biological diversity, "samples of the earth as it was before the advent of the white man." And that meant protecting predators as well as so-called desirable animals. "Another point worth emphasizing," Grinnell and


California Fish & Game Commission
STATE LION HUNTER
JAY C. BRUCE.
JAY C. BRUCE
BODY DONATED
BY
Motor Body Corporation
IN THE INTEREST
OF GAME
CONSERVATION

Jay C. Bruce, a predator hunter for the California State Fish and Game Commission, 1927. Until the practice was abolished in 1931, Yosemite National Park permitted, and sometimes even encouraged, the hunting of predators within park limits, despite Grinnell's warning that, in the interest of healthy wildlife balance, predators had to be "allowed to retain the primitive relation to the rest of the fauna." *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

sizing," Grinnell and Storer observed in their article, "is that many of the predatory animals, like the marten, the fisher, the fox and the golden eagle, are themselves exceedingly interesting members of the fauna, and as their number is already kept within proper limits by the available food supply, nothing is to be gained by reducing it still further."[13]

The Park Service disagreed, and, in fact, pursued a vigorous program against predatory animals until 1931, fully fifteen years after Grinnell and Storer's path-breaking article in *Science*.[14] The Park Service had initially succumbed, in effect, to nineteenth-century visions of the national parks as *scenery*. Grinnell and Storer argued against this philosophy. "The birds and mammals, large and small, the butterflies and the numerous other insects, even the reptiles and amphibians," they noted, "are of no less consequence than the scenery, the solitude and the trails. To the natural charm of the landscape they add the witchery of movement."[15] Slowly the Park Service came around to that opinion, but again, not before many predatory animals had been systematically eradicated from the major western parks.

Thanks largely to Grinnell, an important breach in that policy occurred in November 1925, when Superintendent Washington B. Lewis finally banned all trapping in Yosemite National Park. "I have just learned of your official action," Grinnell wrote him enthusiastically. "This is mighty good news to me, for I believe that you have acted in the best interests of the Park, as regards its best use." Granted, the rangers most affected would object "for a time," but certainly their bitterness would eventually "die out." Meanwhile, Grinnell hoped the precedent would catch on in other national parks, "to the end that no native animals in them will be any longer considered as 'vermin' to be continually harrassed." Nor could he resist the temptation to close more philosophically. "The old phrase, 'let nature take its course,' applies rightly to National Parks, if to no other areas in our land."[16]

As always, the basis for his conviction was his research in Yosemite. Again with Tracy Storer, Grinnell completed his natural history of the park in 1924.[17] To be sure, in preparing the book, Grinnell evinced moments when he scrutinized his own opinions. He occasionally relented, for example, on the advisability of reducing the populations of certain predatory animals, among them wolves, mountain lions, coyotes, and rattlesnakes. But such lapses in his conviction are best seen for what they really were—not convincing evidence of self-doubt, but rather, in the interest of protecting his credibility, attempts to strike a balance while criticizing Park Service personnel. Whenever government persecution seemed to be getting out of hand, even the largest native predators won his admiration and defense. "I wish to repeat my belief," he thus wrote the acting superintendent of Yosemite in 1927, "that it is wrong to kill mountain lions within Yosemite, or within any other of our National Parks of large area. They *belong* there, as part of the perfectly normal, native fauna, to the presence of which the population of other native animals such as the deer is adjusted." Reasonable exceptions to the rule should be perfectly obvious, such as individual animals that might pose a real danger to the safety of park visitors.[18] Otherwise, Grinnell was constantly troubled by what appeared to be purposeful relaxations of national park philosophy, generally to appease someone's personal prejudice or to satisfy bureaucratic expedience. "It would seem to me," he confided to Superintendent Lewis, "that national parks should comprise pieces of the country in which natural conditions are to be left altogether undisturbed by man. The greatest value of parks from both a scientific and recreational standpoint will thereby be conserved."[19]

Given the Park Service's reluctance to abide by such directives, Grinnell's patience over the years seems nothing less than amazing. But again, that reflected his self-effacing personality. Observed his colleague E. Raymond Hall: "He refused to give public lectures; and even before his classes he at times suffered from stage fright. A few persons possessed of a certain dominating manner of speech and greeting, he truly dreaded."[20] Obviously, Grinnell was not the kind of person who gravitated toward the limelight. He was at his best behind the scenes, especially when dealing with government officials. In those instances, he was perfectly suited to accepting the bureaucratic truth that change is incremental. However legitimate, none of his reforms would be likely to win acceptance overnight. Dealing effectively with government officials required tolerance and patience, and patience especially was another of Grinnell's lasting virtues.

Grinnell further recognized the need to infiltrate bureaucracy, to effect change from within and not just from without. Interpretation, in that regard, was more than a means to educate the general public; it was also his method of seeding the Park Service with the incentives for its own reform. More knowledgeable visitors, it stood to reason, would insist on better park management. Similarly, some of the young people initially hired as naturalists should eventually rise within the organization, making changes, it also followed, where change really counted.

Indeed, contrary to the recollections of senior Park Service officials, the idea of interpretation was Joseph Grinnell's.[21] Beginning with his article in *Science*, and every year thereafter, he campaigned for such a program in every major park. On June 6, 1919, for example, he again wrote to Stephen Mather, suggesting that even though a small natural history museum had recently been opened in Yosemite Valley, the park's educational program was still incomplete. Specifically, he still had in mind "a natural history leader or guide" who would "be available for service at the several public camps of the Valley, particularly those with the largest registration, such as Camp Curry." The guide should have "the highest standing as a biologist," be of a "pleasing personality," and be "a facile and polished speaker." In short, "he should *not* be a casual pick-up, of unpolished language and manner." The leader or guide would "give twenty minute evening talks on local natural history —birds, mammals, reptiles, fishes, forests, flowers —perhaps two or even three such talks could be given at different centers in one evening." He suggested it be arranged for the guide "to take out 'bird classes' forenoons." "Simply to illustrate the type of man needed," Grinnell concluded, "I would name, as eminently qualified, Professor J.O. Synder, of Stanford University; Dr. Loye Holmes Miller, of the State Normal School, Los Angeles; Dr. Harold C. Bryant, of the University of Califor-

Naturalist/interpreters, many of them university students and instructors, were trained in the Yosemite Field School, shown here in session along the Merced River on July 3, 1940. At Grinnell's urging, the Park Service began hiring such naturalists as part of the staffs of Yosemite and other parks. By 1940, these scientist/rangers were educating thousands of visitors about park ecology during guided walks and evening campfire programs. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

and Mr. Tracy I. Storer, of the University of California, and also of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology."[22]

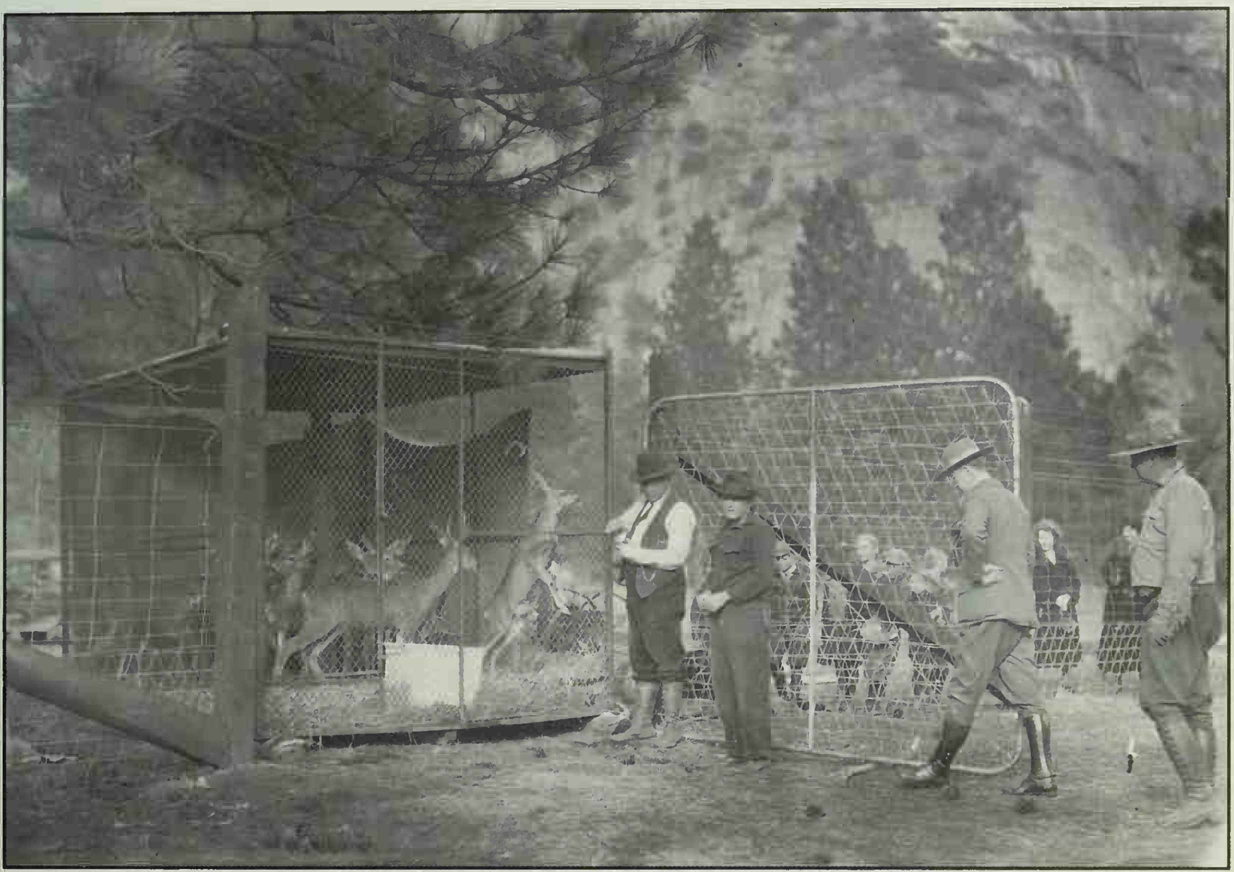
Rather than wait for the Park Service to make up its mind, Grinnell worked closely with his supporters to place one or more of those teachers at other locations. That summer, for example, Harold Bryant and Loye Holmes Miller gave lectures and led nature walks at Lake Tahoe, California, generally under arrangements with Fallen Leaf Lodge. Then, on July 19, Bryant wrote to Grinnell, informing his mentor that Mather had stopped by. "He stated the nature guide proposition had gone through," Bryant noted. "He wanted me to go to Yosemite immediately under civil service appointment." But of course Bryant was already committed and had to turn Mather down. "I certainly hope that the matter does not drop there," Grinnell replied, obviously disappointed, but fully sympathetic. "The main thing is to get a precedent set."[23]

Fortunately, Mather held his offer to both Bryant and Miller until the following year, when they and two other naturalists, Ansel F. Hall and Enid Michael, officially inaugurated park interpretation in Yosemite Valley.[24] "Am getting a fine start," Bryant reported to Professor Grinnell early in June 1920. "There is plenty of interest. Could keep several [more] guides busy. Have great difficulty in limiting the classes. Started with 20 this morning and ended with 27."[25] No words could have been sweeter music to Joseph Grinnell's ears.

Indeed, that Bryant would even submit such a report—revelling in the numbers of people his classes were attracting—again does much to reveal Grinnell's own personality. Although *he* may have suffered from stage fright, he was not by any means the insecure academic, insisting, for example, that the size of one's class is not evidence of good teaching, but, to the contrary, proof of pandering to a mass audience. In Grinnell's estimation, numbers *were* important. The more people his colleagues reached, the more secure the future of parks and conservation. So, too, clarity of expression was vitally important. "It was his habit," observed E. Raymond Hall, "to submit selected manuscripts of his own for criticism to his pupils, who often were impressed at his ready willingness to acknowledge imperfections. Then it was that he would make the point that any statement of which the meaning is not clear, even to one person, should be reworded, because there is a way of stating the thought so that everyone will understand it."[26]

The point of education, Grinnell thought, was to build bridges to the public, to make the university responsive to the community and its needs. "It is a splendid thing," he wrote in that vein to Harold C. Bryant, "that there is, in the State, a properly qualified person to make known to people at large a knowledge of our natural history. I particularly congratulate you upon your success in getting the nature-guide work in national parks upon an almost assured permanent basis."[27] True to form, Grinnell took no credit for himself. But even more significant, he reserved his highest praise for his students and colleagues who taught the general public. Education must have a purpose beyond the university campus. If conservation in particular were to have a stronger base, concerned scientists must do more than talk only among themselves.

A complete summary of Grinnell's philosophy of education would be impossible here. So, too, just listing his accomplishments would require an article in itself. Yet of all his contributions, none was more important than his ceaseless devotion to the national parks. Until his death in 1939, he was literally the biological conscience of the National Park Service. Every major reform in wildlife conservation owed something—if not everything—to his conviction and persistence. Among those reforms, the elimination of predator-control programs most certainly stands apart. Grinnell also figured prominently in efforts to rid the national parks of artificial displays of wildlife, such as cages, fenced enclosures, and various exotic species.[28] Meanwhile, the students and colleagues he inspired rose to the forefront of conservation, and, in many instances, were the first to conduct systematic surveys of the flora and fauna on the public lands.[29] As always, Grinnell was the catalyst, providing encouragement, assistance, and oftentimes research facilities for the advancement of both conservation and scientific knowledge of native wildlife.



In the national parks, the idea of "letting nature take its course" originates as much with Grinnell as anyone else. He figured prominently in efforts to eliminate artificial displays of wildlife, as depicted in this 1920s photograph of a deer in the "Yosemite zoo." *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

His own proving ground was Yosemite. The park, after all, met every criterion for his convictions as a scientist. It was large, biologically diverse, and obviously mismanaged. Any scholarly treatment of Yosemite was almost certain to make a difference, improving not only conditions in Yosemite but in comparable protected areas. Equally important, Yosemite had a large and enthusiastic following. It was the park of history, the first of its kind in California and the first in the United States.[30] Practically everyone in the nation had at least heard about Yosemite. If public education, like science, were to take hold in the national parks, Yosemite seemed the logical point of origin for both special programs.

Finally, there was the location of Berkeley itself. Like Los Angeles and San Francisco, the University of California was but a day's journey from Yosemite's gates. Grinnell could teach class one morning and be in Yosemite the very next. Nor did he fail to appreciate that the trip he could make so easily was also within reach of thousands of other people. Here again, it made sense to him to concentrate his attention on what mattered to society as a whole. Yosemite obviously mattered, and so Grinnell quite naturally thought first of Yosemite when he thought of national parks.

These and other advantages he used to perfection, securing, through the natural sciences, the legacy of John Muir and other famous activists. For his own part, Grinnell contributed more than 550 published works, dozens of which dealt specifically with the national parks.[31] Even today, his monumental *Animal Life in the Yosemite* is a significant research tool. More important, Grinnell wrote literally thousands of letters, notes, and memoranda to Park Service officials, stressing the need for education and wildlife reforms. If his ideas and accomplishments have long since been forgotten —or credited to others—that is what he wished. Time, in either case, would eventually set the record straight. What mattered most to him was results, especially instilling Park Service officialdom with greater sensitivity and attentiveness to the needs of the natural world.

In that regard, perhaps none of Grinnell's accomplishments as a scholar can ever equal his legacy as a teacher. He constantly motivated his best students to think of careers in conservation, especially as professionals in the National Park Service. Harold C. Bryant, who began his Park Service career in Yosemite, went on to become superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park.[32] Joseph S. Dixon, another of Grinnell's pupils, became field biologist in the new Wildlife Division of the National Park Service, established in 1933. And it was George M. Wright, perhaps Grinnell's most gifted and dedicated undergraduate, who sponsored, co-authored, and produced the first two volumes in the distinguished faunal series, *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States*, published in 1933 and 1935, respectively. With all of the conviction that imbued Grinnell's own letters and publications, Wright and his colleagues set forth, collectively and park by park, the steps needed for wildlife maintenance and long-range recovery.[33]

The faunal series itself bore the unmistakable imprint of Joseph Grinnell, emphasizing many of the ideas he and Tracy Storer had formally enunciated nearly two decades earlier in "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks." In 1963 Grinnell's ideas were promulgated yet a third time, when the Wildlife Management Advisory Board, appointed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, and chaired by Professor A. Starker Leopold, released its own sweeping report, *Wildlife Management in the National Parks*. "As a primary goal," the committee suggested, "we would recommend that the biotic associations within each park be maintained, or where necessary recreated, as nearly as possible in the condition that prevailed when the area was first visited by the white man." In short, Leopold and his colleagues concluded, "A national park should represent a vignette of primitive America."[34]

The ideal was Joseph Grinnell's. "Herein lies the feature of supreme value in national parks," he and Tracy Storer had written in 1916: "they furnish samples of the earth as it was before the advent of the white man." George M. Wright, in 1933, changed the wording, but not the concept: "The American people intrusted the National Park Service with the preservation of characteristic portions of our country as it was seen by Boone and La

Salle, by Coronado, and by Lewis and Clark." And so the idea had come full circle in 1963. "A reasonable illusion of primitive America could be recreated using the utmost in skill, judgment, and ecologic sensitivity," Professor Leopold and his colleagues wrote.[35] Only those who had forgotten Joseph Grinnell could have failed to see the tie, for Leopold himself had received his Ph.D. in zoology from the University of California at Berkeley.[36]

Granted, from Grinnell to Leopold, it was naive to suppose that protection of the national parks might best be accomplished by holding each of them in a state of suspended animation, "samples of the earth as it was before the advent of the white man." If there is any constant in nature that constant is change. Although romanticism was much to be preferred over blind manipulation of nature, Grinnell personally could not stand by and allow ignorance of wildlife resources to prevail. "We must have the *facts*," he remarked as early as 1915, "in all their bearing, before generalization."[37] Until scientists had completed their research, he would not approve of the manipulation of either plant or wildlife resources. Throughout his life, that was his standard. That his students further embraced it, and carried it into the national parks, does much to explain the origins of modern principles of environmental conservation. As for his own part in the movement, he left the telling of that story to someone else. Now that historians have rediscovered Joseph Grinnell, they are finding his legacy most significant indeed.[38] CHS

See notes beginning on page 225.

Alfred Runte is a public historian and author living in Seattle. A specialist on the national parks, he received his Ph.D. in history from the University of California, Santa Barbara. His highly-acclaimed National Parks: The American Experience *(University of Nebraska Press, 1979) has now appeared in a second, revised edition (1987), and he has also recently revised his popular* Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks *(Roberts Rinehart, 1990). Runte's latest work is* Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness *(University of Nebraska Press, 1990).*

In Harmony With The Landscape:

Yosemite's Built Environment, 1913-1940

by Robert C. Pavlik

Yosemite National Park is best known for its spectacular scenery. Its discovery and subsequent establishment as a park has also been well documented.[1] Scant attention has been paid, however, to the park's roads and structures, or built environment. Beginning just before World War I and lasting roughly until 1940, a special effort was made to blend Yosemite's built environment with its renowned natural setting. There was a strong desire on the part of park officials to rebuild Yosemite's facilities in an organized and aesthetic manner, the better to serve its increasing influx of visitors. The successes and failures of that effort tell us much about Yosemite in particular and the evolution of national parks in general. Put simply, the question still remains: Is it possible to allow development inside the national parks and yet protect their distinctive natural features?

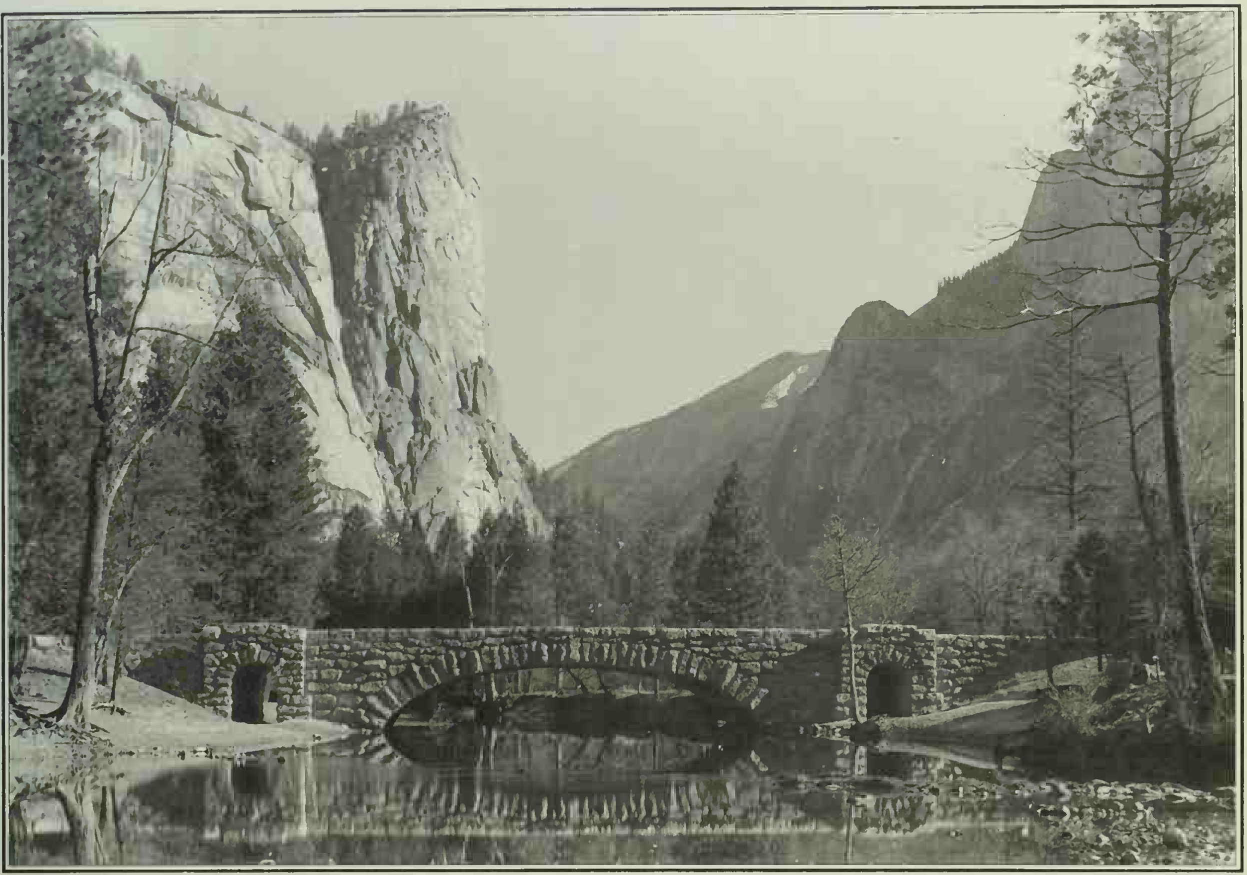
In 1913, three important events shaped the evolution of Yosemite's cultural and natural landscape: the shift from Army administration to civilian control; the admission of automobiles into Yosemite Valley; and the passage of the Raker Act, authorizing the city of San Francisco to dam the Hetch Hetchy Valley for a municipal water supply. Yosemite was on the verge of momentous changes, among them a dramatic surge in historical patterns of visitation. How government officials responded to these changes, especially in terms of the infrastructure and built environment, would forever determine the fate of the park's natural heritage.

Early Years of National Park Service Management: Contradictory Beginnings

The National Park Service's first director, Stephen T. Mather, and his hand-picked choice for superintendent, Washington B. Lewis, ushered in a new era of development for Yosemite. Their mission was to remake the park into a public pleasuring ground and resort that was readily accessible and accommodating to the public, while preserving the natural features. In a "Statement of Policy," written in 1918 and coauthored with Assistant Director Horace M. Albright, Mather stated that

> In the construction of roads, trails, buildings, and other improvements, particular attention must be devoted always to the harmonizing of these improvements with the landscape. This is a most important item in our programs of development and requires the employment of trained engineers who either possess a knowledge of landscape architecture or have a proper appreciation of the esthetic value of park lands. All improvements will be carried out in accordance with a preconceived plan developed in special reference to the preservation of the landscape . . . [2]

Despite Mather's general concern for the landscape, there appeared to be little objection to using park resources for construction projects, or regard for the preservation of features considered less than scenic or aesthetic. An example was the Cas-



Stoneman Bridge over the Merced River near Camp Curry, Yosemite Valley, 1939. Designed to accommodate heavy automobile traffic and built in 1933 of reinforced concrete and faced with native granite, the Stoneman Bridge reflected the National Park Service's commitment to modernizing structures in the parks, while still keeping them in harmony with natural surroundings. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

When the National Park Service was formed in 1916, its first director, Stephen T. Mather (right), chose Washington B. Lewis, (left) to run Yosemite National Park. Taken at the New Village, this photo dates from 1924. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

cades power plant, the first significant development to take place under Mather's direction. A new electrical generating facility, it was designed to meet not only the current needs of the park, but to allow for expansion of government and concession facilities for years to come. The power plant consisted of a log crib dam, 17 feet high and 170 feet long, a penstock, and a powerhouse, a large concrete structure situated below the level of Highway 140 and next to the Merced River.[3] The diversion dam was located on the Merced River at the head of the rapids, above Cascades, yet below the floor of the valley, so it would not affect the falls or rapids on the valley floor above Pohono Bridge.[4] The large pool of water created by the dam was also thought to be a scenic attraction that park visitors would find pleasing. The power plant was first put into operation on May 28, 1918. A dedication was held on September 7, with Interior Secretary Franklin K. Lane and Park Service Director Mather in attendance. In his remarks, Mather illustrated the important role the plant would play in Yosemite's development, stating that "the installation of this plant . . . symbolizes the new and greater function for which the Yosemite National Park is preparing, and which it will assume in the very near future."[5] At the time, no mention was made of the questionable practice of erecting a dam within a national park, especially so close on the heels of the Raker Act, which had legalized San Francisco's Hetch Hetchy project. The prevailing attitude at the time was that the park's development was necessary to provide for increased public use, even if some of the resources had to be sacrificed.

Building the New Village

The first major rehabilitation of Yosemite Valley to take place after the construction of the powerhouse was the relocation and construction of the New Village north of the Merced River. Rather than continue to develop and occupy the Old Village site on the south side of the river, an area park managers and visitors thought to be seedy and run down, a new location near Yosemite Falls was identified and plans were drawn up for its development. A maintenance yard—consisting of shops for carpentry, plumbing, electrical work, and blacksmithing, as well as a livestock barn—had already been established on the north side of the valley (on its present site) in 1916-1917.[6] Employee residences, administrative offices, and operations facilities were relocated adjacent to the maintenance shops over the next ten years. A new bridge near the Old Village replaced the dilapidated Sentinel Bridge in

1918-1919, and hastened the traffic flow between the two areas of development. Anticipating the need for more residences and their placement on the north side of the valley, a new schoolhouse was erected there in 1917-1918, the first unit of the new planned village area. With the school on its new site, the children and their parents were not far behind. In the 1918-1919 season, four cottages for government workers, the first of a series of employee residences in this area, were completed in the vicinity of the old Camp Lost Arrow.

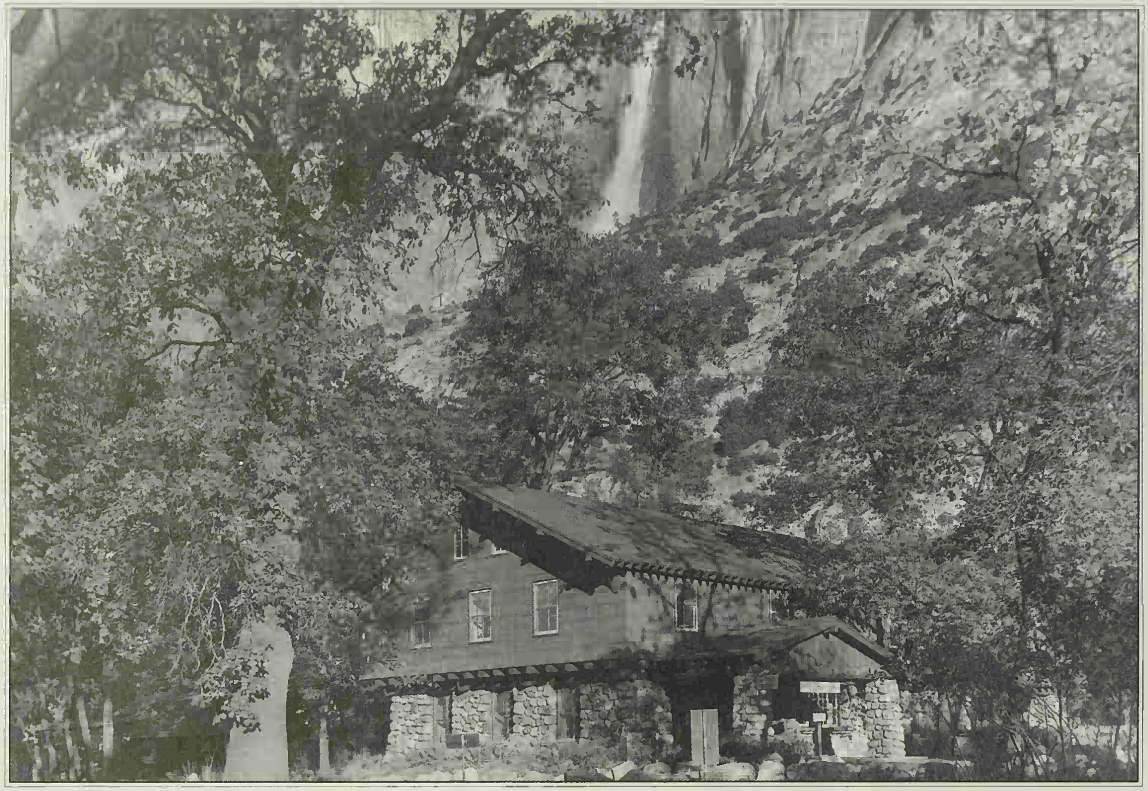
The next improvement in the new village area was the erection of a Ranger's Clubhouse in 1920. Mather called upon landscape engineer Charles P. Punchard, Jr., working in conjunction with architect Charles Sumner, another Mather affiliate, to produce the initial design for a dormitory that would also serve as model for the construction in the new village of an administration building, museum, and post office.[7] Punchard and Sumner produced a striking building of steep-pitched roofs and rustic scrollwork more fitting for the Swiss Alps than a Sierran canyon. Their design reflected a preference for European scenic imagery carried over from the early years of national park development. For those American travelers who desired a foreign, exotic experience and could not afford the trip overseas, the national parks at first attempted to provide not only spectacular scenery but architecture that could compete with the European originals. Such an approach to scenery was also some compensation for a nation that was still unsure of its own heritage and history and that continued to rely on the cultural precedents set in the Old World.[8]

During this transition period between 1916 and 1925, the park headquarters remained in a makeshift structure in the Old Village. Ideal for summertime, this site's lack of sunshine during the winter combined with the building's poor construction to make the office uncomfortable most of the year. The building was not only inefficient; park managers feared that it left visitors with a negative impression of the park and that the wretched conditions contributed to employees' "indifference in their work."[9] In order to reduce discontent in the workplace, Congress in 1923 appropriated $35,000 for the construction of a new administration building. Architect Myron Hunt designed the structure, which was completed in October 1924. The park managers lost no time moving into their new quarters, and the former administration building in the Old Village was razed the following March.[10]

Another element of the new village construction was the museum. Park Naturalist Ansel Hall organized the Yosemite Museum Association in 1920 for the purpose of soliciting private donations to a permanent museum program in the park. His fundraising efforts caught the attention of the American Association of Museums, which secured a $75,500 donation from the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Foundation for the construction of a fireproof museum building in Yosemite.[11] The building was completed in May 1925, the first official museum in a national park.

The emergence of the administrative center was widely heralded in the 1920s as a giant step toward the elimination of the Old Village and the removal of the "unsightly, ramshackle" buildings across the river. Although the new buildings did not conform to the Ranger Club's Swiss chalet style of architecture, as had originally been planned, they were a powerful statement of the new "Rustic" architecture style. They also illustrated the rapidly changing attitudes of landscape architects and planners who were involved in the development of national parks in the early 1920s. As architects continued to exercise their creative skills in designing buildings that were harmonious with the landscape, an approach compatible with American architectural movements in general in the early twentieth century, they depended less on existing European styles and started to experiment with native building materials and designs that were integral with the intended building site.

What the National Park Service designers created came to be known as the "Rustic Style." Borrowing from the Arts and Crafts Movement, Native American Indian traditions, and the Shingle, Oriental, and Prairie styles, with a degree of San Francisco Bay Area architectural influence, park architects introduced buildings similar to those found on streets adjacent to California colleges. The distinguishing feature of park buildings was the design and placement of these same structures within the forests, near giant sequoia groves and high mountain lakes, and bordering the subalpine meadows and waterfalls of Yosemite National Park. Adherence to a comprehensive design plan, as well as a philosophy guiding the style and method of construction, also made these buildings important



A major step toward moving the center of Yosemite National Park activities away from the Old Village was taken when the Administration Building, shown here in 1927, was constructed. Taking their cue from the Arts and Crafts Movement, the park's designers used local materials and landscaping with native plants to blend the community as much as possible with natural surroundings. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

and unique. Because each building was individually designed for its site and much of the construction material came from the surrounding area, the buildings truly became a part of the landscape.

Influence of Automobiles

In addition to the influence of changing architectural styles, the introduction of the automobile was crucial to the development of the modern Yosemite National Park built environment. The automobile's legal entry into the park in 1913 necessitated the improvement of the entire road system. Park planners decided that Yosemite Valley, the focus of visitor activity and overnight accommodations, would be favored first with a road improvement program that included widening, straightening, relocating, and paving the valley's haphazard thoroughfares. A stunning ninety percent increase in travel to the national park in 1915, occasioned by the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in nearby San Francisco, provided the immediate impetus to improve roads built originally for horse-drawn wagons. The 1915 tourist season suggested that the automobile as a new method of conveyance for potential park enthusiasts could no longer be ignored.

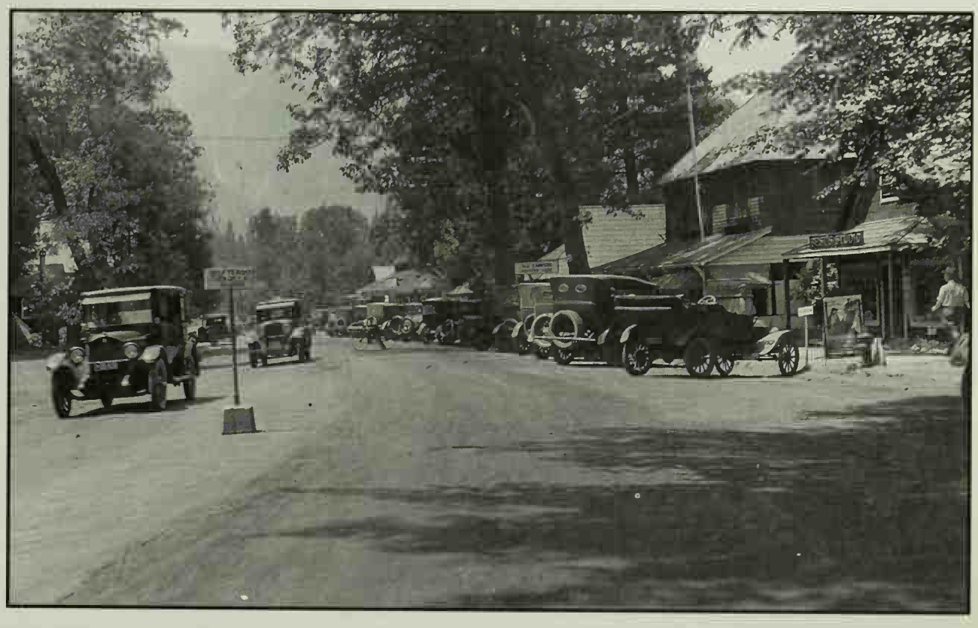
For almost fifteen years, however, Yosemite motorists were forced to drive on unpaved, dusty, gravel roads, and the increasing numbers of motorists made driving in the valley a most unpleasant experience. Complaining that "of 138 miles of government owned roads in the park, only eight miles have been constructed under Congressional appropriations," Superintendent W.B. Lewis in 1923 called for the improvement of the entire road system, including construction of a road from Happy Isles, at the upper end of Yosemite Valley, to Tuolumne Meadows via the Merced Canyon, and a branch road from the top of Nevada Falls to Glacier

Point, following the approximate route of the Glacier Point-Panorama trail.[12] Although such an elaborate project was never built, it shows the vigor with which men like Lewis promoted schemes to make the park accessible to a desirous public.

Lewis's call for action was answered in part, however, by a congressional appropriation of $1.5 million for improvement of the Yosemite road system. The April 9, 1924, act made funds available for the paving of the valley floor and El Portal roads, approximately twenty-nine miles in all, and the modification of the remaining 110 miles of park roads.[13] This generous funding package was probably inspired in part by the imminent completion of the All-Year Highway from Merced to El Portal, constructed by the state of California and promising to bring even greater numbers of motorists to the park. In 1925 the federal Bureau of Public Roads and the National Park Service approved an interagency agreement providing for the engineering and construction of new roads within all national parks, a function that the Department of Transportation continues to this day.[14] In Yosemite, the resident park superintendent, engineer, and landscape architect had final say over the location of such roads, and they took great interest in the placement, design, and construction for minimal impact on the landscape.

Sanitation and Health

Garbage disposal and sanitation were pressing issues to be confronted with the increased tourism brought by the invasion of automobiles. Initially, the problem became acute in Yosemite Valley, where the greatest concentration of people occurred, but later it spread to other areas as their popularity grew. The problem first began to be addressed with the arrival of the Army Cavalry into Yosemite Valley in 1906. Park Supervisor Gabriel Sovulewski recalled that, "as [is] always the case with Army officers, sanitation took precedence over all other



Old Village, Yosemite Valley, in the 1920s. Until 1913, automobiles were banned from the park. The world's fairs at San Francisco and San Diego in 1915, however, brought thousands of tourists to the state, and Yosemite experienced its first mass invasion by motorists. By the 1920s, park roads, though narrow and unpaved, were regularly jammed with automobiles, particularly during the summer vacation season. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

problems."[15] The conditions that greeted the Army officials were not conducive to good public health. Campers occupying the meadows below the Old Village had no sanitary facilities, and all campers and concessioners in the park were responsible for their own garbage disposal by whatever means they deemed appropriate.[16] As a result, sewage from the multiplying hotels, camps, and residences often flowed untreated into the Merced River, resulting in a badly polluted stream and serious health hazards for those living downstream from the valley.[17] The Army responded by restricting the campers to meadows above the Old Village and by instituting in 1912 a garbage collection and disposal service. Acting Superintendent George V. Bell succinctly described this operation: "The garbage is disposed of in a very up-to-date method, being gathered daily in garbage wagons, hauled to a pit, and buried."[18] Of course, this practice proved to be a boon to the bears, who flocked to the pits to scavenge and thereby developed a dependence on human offal that has continued to be a park management problem.

The first major improvement in sanitation came in 1920, when Congress appropriated funds for a sewage disposal system in Yosemite Valley. The tremendous surge in tourist visits to the valley after 1913 alarmed park managers, who feared that the inadequate sanitary facilities might turn the national parks into "breeding grounds for the dissemination of disease," damage the park's credibility, and lessen the possibility of continued appropriations for development.[19] Thus, they campaigned for and received authorization for the sewage treatment plant, which was located in a meadow south of the Three Brothers. At first the plant consisted of two Imhoff tanks, one sludge bed, and 6.3 acres of sand filter beds. Later, the system's capacity was expanded to dispose of sewage from 6,000 people.[20] Hotels and residences in the valley connected to this system, and a total of 31 restrooms were installed in the public campgrounds.[21]

The great amount of rubbish that larger crowds produced necessitated the building of an incinerator in the valley. Located behind the New Village in the maintenance area, the three units, capable of handling the garbage of 15,000 people daily, were installed by 1925. Wet refuse was burned, while cans were crushed and hauled away to be buried.[22] Refuse from the hotel kitchens continued to be hauled to the "bear pits," where nightly displays of ursine extravagance were witnessed by incredulous visitors and interpreted by misguided park naturalists. Garbage was not collected in other areas of the park until the late 1940s.

As visitation soared, the sewage plant quickly proved inadequate. Visitors and park personnel alike complained of the odor, conspicuous location, and inability to expand the facility.[23] Other towns and cities of the time shared similar problems. As one visitor reportedly remarked, "My, doesn't this valley smell refreshing—its just like San Francisco Bay."[24] Along with aggravating auto traffic, the sewage problem was a clear signal that Yosemite was already suffering some of the ill effects of urbanization.

Because the smell of San Francisco Bay was something park officials wanted to avoid, they once again coaxed Congress to fund a new treatment plant. After great debate, the park superintendent, public health officials, and landscape architects finally approved a site in the meadow north of Bridalveil Falls, where the plant would be sufficiently screened from visitors by the thick growth of oaks, pines, and cedars.[25] The project also required reducing odors and noise, preventing contamination from reaching the river, protecting fish from chlorine in the effluent, and screening from the approach roads to the valley and from the valley rim.[26] Constructed in 1930 and 1931, the disposal system met all of those requirements admirably. In May 1934 the California Sewage Works Association bestowed on the park its Award of Merit for the best operated and maintained sewage plant in the state.[27] With additions and improvements, the plant served well until a new facility was constructed in El Portal in the mid-1970s.

As improvements occurred in outlying areas of the park and more visitors took advantage of expanding roads and trails, more restrooms were also installed. Shortly after the Glacier Point Fourmile Trail was rebuilt in 1928-1930, the park replaced an unsightly pit privy at Union Point with an attractive Rustic Style restroom with a battered stone foundation, redwood siding, and shake roof.[28] Similar structures appeared on or near all trail heads, including three in 1934 alone (Vernal Falls Bridge, Glacier Point, and Hetch Hetchy).[29] In the era of park modernization, even the most basic of utilitarian structures commanded the careful attention of the Park Service's planners, landscape architects, and administrators, in order to preserve land-

Union Point Restrooms, Four Mile Trail, Yosemite National Park, 1932. As tourism increased in the automobile era, larger and more modern sanitation systems, as unobtrusive as possible, were called for. The Union Point rest area on the road to Glacier Point is a perennial attraction. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

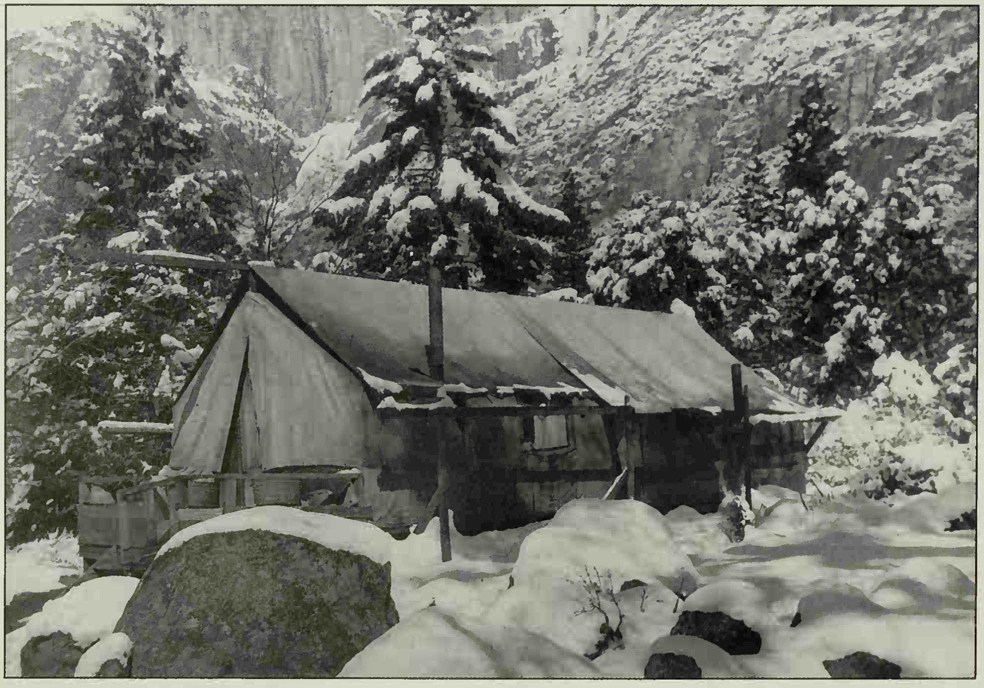
scape values while accommodating park visitors comfortably.

Relocating the Indian Village

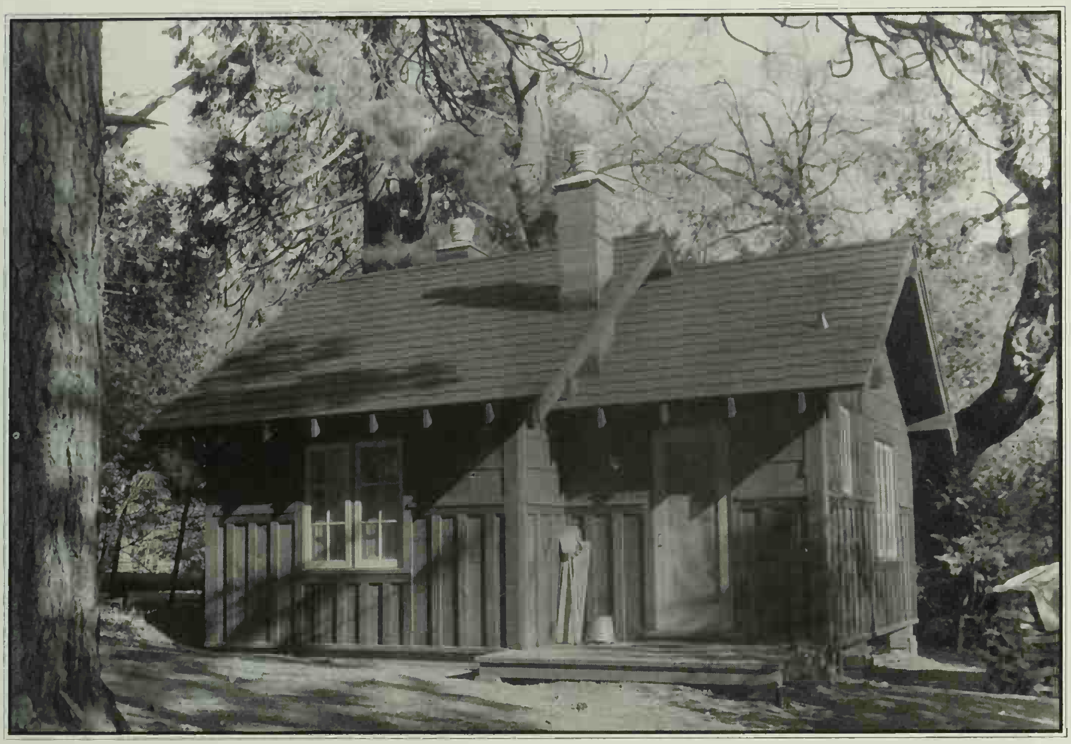
Providing adequate medical facilities also concerned park officials. Superintendent Lewis pleaded this case with the Secretary of the Interior in 1923 when he noted that the existing hospital, a "temporary" structure built in 1912, was so overcrowded that patients had to be housed on the hospital porch or in tents in the public campgrounds. In some instances, the ill were refused medical care due to the lack of space.[30] The site chosen for the new Yosemite medical center was at the mouth of Indian Canyon, east of the New Village, on the road to the recently constructed Ahwahnee Hotel.

The placement of the hospital at the entrance to Indian Canyon in 1929 supplanted an historic-era Indian village that extended from the hospital west to the post office.[31] Although Superintendent C.G. Thomson characterized the village site as too "rocky, rattle-snaky, and hot," the Indian inhabitants regarded it as a desirable location, one their ancestors had occupied for generations because it was warm and sunny in cold winter months.[32] The Indians lived there in makeshift tent cabins and shacks built from discarded materials. It is plausible that park planners and Yosemite Park and Curry Company executives were eager to remove this eyesore for visitors passing between the new luxurious hotel and the expanding park administration area at the New Village. The large parcel of land the Indians occupied was also coveted by the government as the logical space for expansion and development for the New Village. In the debate over proper location for the new Indian village, however, the rationale centered on the need to segregate the Indians from other park residents and visitors alike, and to find a place where they would be less visible, ostensibly to provide the Indians with a "private" place to reside.[33] Sites considered included the entrance to Indian Caves, at the eastern end of the valley, and an area between Rocky Point and El Capitan, at the far western end.[34] Either location would have sufficiently separated Indians from whites and provided a degree of control over the Indian village inhabitants by the ranger force. The original plan for the new Indian residences called for a Great Plains "tepee type of house," reflecting the widespread ignorance of Miwok culture and indifference to the distinctions between groups of Native Americans.[35]

The displaced Indians were finally moved to a less visible, more isolated location, segregated from the rest of the park and concession employees, at the far western end of the developed area on the north side of the valley. The location was finally selected by April 1931, and construction began in late July.[36] Specifically, the village was built west of the winter campground now known as "Sunnyside" or Camp Four. To his credit, Assistant Landscape Architect John Wosky abandoned the original ersatz tepee design in favor of a more dignified structure similar to two cabins constructed at Glacier Point earlier that year. The tiny Indian dwellings measured 19.5 feet by 22 feet and contained two small bedrooms and a combination kitchen/dinette. The only plumbing was a sink, located in the kitchen. A wood stove served as the source of heat and for cooking.[37] All the cabins



The old Indian village of tent cabins and shacks, shown here about 1915, was considered an eyesore by some park administrators. Because it was a sunny, cheery site, however, generations of Miwoks had occupied the village before they were relocated during park modernization. The park hospital is located there now. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*



In the early 1930s, park officials displaced Indian residents of Yosemite Valley to a new village in a remote location. The new dwellings, though more modern than the old tents and shacks, were only 429 square feet in size, with three small rooms, regardless of the needs or sizes of families inhabiting the buildings. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

were constructed uniformly, without regard for the various needs of the residents or the sizes of their families. Some cramped cabins housed upwards of six or eight people, including children and adults. The Indian village's removal from a prominent location on the road to the Ahwahnee Hotel and its subsequent placement at the remote end of the valley suggests a contradiction between the Park Service's desire to capitalize in its interpretation programs on the romantic image of the pre-contact Native Americans, while relegating their actual descendants to isolated and substandard living conditions.

The Great Depression and the Emergence of the Modern Yosemite, 1933-1940

If the period between 1913 and 1933 constituted the beginning of a rapid and thorough makeover of the built environment of Yosemite National Park, the ensuing years between 1933 and 1940 proved to be a continuation, expansion, and consolidation of the development program already under way. The stimulus for development was not increased visitation, as had been true during the teens and 1920s, but the appearance of a number of public relief programs aimed at combatting the Great Depression. It was in this period that the employee and visitor facilities at Yosemite took their present form.

Within hours of assuming office on March 4, 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt sketched out a preliminary administrative plan for a "civilian conservation corps," which he presented to his cabinet within days.[38] By the end of the month, the president signed a bill calling for the enrollment of men who would be employed on "public works projects and conservation tasks." Roosevelt instructed the Department of Labor to recruit enrollees, the Army to prepare the young men for camp life and transport them to their work stations, and the National Park Service (NPS) and U.S. Forest Service to establish camps and devise and oversee appropriate projects for the enrollees. The Army would later take over the administration of the camps, while the NPS continued to direct the work projects. The program was initially referred to as "Emergency Conservation Work," but the more popular "Civilian Conservation Corps" (CCC) was adopted as the official name for the organization in 1937.[39]

Another of Roosevelt's "alphabet" agencies that found ready acceptance in the national parks was the Civil Works Administration (CWA). Due to the slow start of another federal relief agency, the Public Works Administration (PWA), the CWA was created on November 9, 1933, to give unemployed men and women work on local projects at the federal government's expense.[40] After an explosive four and one-half months, during which the federal government spent $1 billion and engaged 4 million Americans in a "vast work-relief army," the program was dropped as quickly as it had been organized.[41] A different plan of distributing relief money to states and local governments was devised, and by mid-1934 the PWA was ready to take its place in the lineup of federal projects.

In contrast to the Emergency Conservation Work (ECW) and CWA programs, the Public Works Administration was created to distribute monies in the form of loans to responsible state, local, and municipal agencies for the construction of public works projects, or to private contractors secured by the federal government. The first year of PWA began with a $3.3 billion appropriation, most of which was allocated for federal projects, because "the machinery already existed to get under way with a minimum of delay and without opening unprotected avenues where funds might be misused."[42] A further stipulation of the PWA program was that the public works projects conform to some established program of comprehensive planning.[43] The national parks, especially Yosemite, were well suited to the nature of this requirement. Far-sighted planning had become a trademark of the national parks, and they were ready to apply for any source of funding at least partially dependent on comprehensive design plans. Crews from the PWA, CCC, and CWA programs facilitated many Yosemite National Park improvements after 1933.

A fourth source of construction revenue, and one unique to Yosemite, was provided by the Raker Act, which required the city of San Francisco to expend $1.5 million on road and trail improvements near the Hetch Hetchy reservoir. The city was slow to respond to the park service's demands for compliance with this portion of the act, and when the city finally removed the Hetch Hetchy railroad (used in construction of the dam) in 1925 and began to build trails in the area, park officials considered the city's work less than satisfactory. Rather than risk the construction of an inadequate, poorly built, and little used road and trail system, park officials reached an agreement with the city in the summer of 1932, absolving the city of responsibility for road and trail construction in the Hetch Hetchy area in exchange for $1.25 million of city money to build roads in other parts of the park.

Comprehensive road improvement was only one example of the modernization of Yosemite made possible by the surge of funds and workers after 1933. PWA funds were expended on all Yosemite road projects from 1933 to 1940, with CCC enrollees providing assistance. Realignment of the Tioga Road was the first project slated for improvement following the agreement with San Francisco. The reconstruction work took place in three stages. The first was the relocation and construction of the section of road that extends from a point two miles west of Tuolumne Meadows east to Tioga Pass.[44] A new ranger station was erected at the pass in 1931. The windswept location and rugged nature of the surrounding peaks necessitated a structure that would not attempt to compete with the landscape, but one that blended readily with its harsh and beautiful environment. The ranger station was the first stone building of the Rustic Style built by the National Park Service along Tioga Road, in anticipation of the increased numbers of visitors who would brave the mountain pass after the road improvements were completed in a few years.

In the vicinity of Tuolumne Meadows a road bridge was required to span the Tuolumne River. Sand and gravel used in the construction of the bridge came from a borrow pit located upstream from the bridge site, at the junction of the Dana and Lyell forks of the Tuolumne River. The contractor created a large pool, approximately 300 feet square and up to 20 feet deep, where a large sandbar had once been. The excavation took place next to the public camping ground, with the justification that it would be a "scenic attraction" to replace an "unsightly" area, however natural.[45] Although the utilization of natural materials found within the national park is prohibited today, it was seen at the time as a logical and economical alternative to securing building materials from great distances. Improved roads into Yosemite helped abolish this practice in favor of obtaining building and construction supplies from sources outside the park.

The second portion of Tioga Road to be reconstructed was the eleven-mile section from Crane Flat to McSwain Meadows, terminating two miles east of White Wolf. The unfinished section of Tioga Road, between White Wolf and Tuolumne Meadows, was surveyed by the Bureau of Public Roads in 1935, but not completed until the early 1960s.[46]

In 1935, work began on the new Big Oak Flat Road from the All-Year Highway to Crane Flat, linking Yosemite Valley with Tioga Road. A formal dedication ceremony took place at Crane Flat on June 23, 1940. An estimated 1800 people were in attendance to hear veteran Sierra Club leader William E. Colby deliver the keynote address, which recounted the history of Yosemite's road system and emphasized the importance of increased access and availability of the wonders of the High Sierra to the motoring public.[47] An entertaining and unusual "ribbon cutting" took the form of a log-sawing contest between two teams of Civilian Conservation Corps enrollees, who wielded crosscut saws as two camps raced side by side to cut the large log symbolically blocking the roadway. Cheered on by camp mates, the "home" team stationed at Crane Flat beat out their challengers from the Cascades camp.[48] As the log was severed, so was one of the last obstacles to free and complete automobile access to the park.

As in the case of roads, other facilities were modernized and expanded during the period from 1933 to 1940. New ranger residences and automobile checking stations were built at South Entrance, Chinquapin, and Crane Flat. A general utility building covering one-half acre was built in the Yosemite Valley maintenance area, the center of all park maintenance activities. Fire lookouts were strategically located along the park's western boundary, where fire guards could survey the cutover lands of the Stanislaus and Sierra National Forests. One of the finest examples of the Rustic Style,

Skiers at the Ostrander Lake Ski Hut, March 1941. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

C. G. Lewis, the second superintendent of Yosemite National Park, whose administration lasted from 1929 to 1937. *Courtesy Yosemite National Park Research Library.*

Ostrander Lake ski hut, was built in 1940. Coming at the end of the rugged architecture's era in national parks, it is an important element of Yosemite's built environment.

Conclusion

The twenty-seven-year period between 1913 and 1940 was an era of revolution in the human landscape of Yosemite National Park. Prior to 1913, the park was dotted with simple wood frame or log structures that were minimally functional and temporary in nature. The road system was virtually unchanged since 1874, when the first horse-drawn wagons rattled into Yosemite Valley. The park's transformation was largely attributable to the automobile. The greatly increasing number of motor vehicles in the country, and in California in particular, stimulated a building boom throughout the state that has continued to this day. Yosemite could not exist in this region and not be affected. Through faster and more independent transportation, people previously bound to the vicinities of their homes by the cost and difficulty of travel could now travel longer distances. With the automobile's appearance, the luxury of travel was no longer restricted to the leisure class, who had always possessed both the means and the time for distant sojourns. An egalitarian carrier, the automobile allowed more people to travel farther in less time, providing for a relatively inexpensive form of vacation.

Upon its inception, the National Park Service, under the leadership of Stephen T. Mather and Horace M. Albright, immediately recognized the importance of this newly mobile middle class to the success of the national parks. The NPS capitalized on the American public's love of mobility by promoting and improving the parks for the automobile. Mather and Albright, along with Yosemite's first two superintendents, W.B. Lewis and C.G. Thomson, knew that the public would follow any road into the "wilderness," as long as it was paved and there were facilities enroute and at their destination.

The Park Service also succeeded in creating and sustaining a romantic type of architecture that reflected prevailing aesthetic tastes and embodied the values that the parks were created to protect. This Rustic Style was a combination of styles promulgated throughout the western United States during the first three decades of the twentieth century. That the style was perpetuated on such a widespread scale, and yet was suited to the individual parks and various settings within the parks, makes it a unique and important architectural movement in its own right. Its use of native materials, the subjugation of the structure to the surrounding natural environment, an adherence to a comprehensive plan, and the ultimate devotion to harmony with the landscape are all elements of the Rustic Style, and their application is readily apparent in the current built environment of Yosemite.

The program of road building and facilities improvement reached its zenith during the Great Depression. With a large pool of unemployed men and readily available funds for construction, the national parks were able to reap some benefit from the nationwide tragedy, offering employment to the logger, road builder, carpenter, and stone mason, as well as to thousands of the nation's unskilled youth. The park also served as a place of retreat to the disillusioned and disheartened, who sought a respite from the rigors of the Depression. The positive effect the parks had on the American public, however, would not be fully known until after World War II, when millions of vacationers would flock to Yosemite each year, straining the capacity of facilities that had been more than adequate only a decade earlier.

The improvements that enabled Yosemite to foster a constituency during its first twenty-five years under Park Service management set a precedent for even more development, although improvements increasingly clashed in style and function with earlier facilities. The Mission 66 era (1956-1966), a ten-year effort to accommodate the greatly increased numbers of visitors to the national parks at any cost, would expand facilities substantially without taking into consideration natural or aesthetic park values. Changes in society's work force, as well as the reduction of park funding and the increased costs of building materials, necessitated a more commonplace and utilitarian style of architecture and more crowding of facilities. Placed side by side with the earlier works of craftsmen and artisans, the new buildings paled by comparison. However, many of the handcrafted Rustic structures require greater repair and maintenance expenses. While the roads and structures of the park's earlier age blend with the landscape and reflect the philosophical precepts of the National Park Service, they are not always considered in harmony with the park's present fiscal, political, and social realities, and pressure has mounted to raze, renovate, or replace them. CHS

See notes beginning on page 226.

Robert C. Pavlik is State Historian II for the San Simeon Region, California Department of Parks and Recreation. He has a Master of Arts degree in Public Historical Studies from the University of California, Santa Barbara. He has taught environmental education for the Yosemite Institute in Yosemite National Park and worked as a student-historian for the National Park Service in Yosemite. He has authored a series of articles on the built environment in Yosemite.

CONSERVATION CONFLICT AND THE FOUNDING OF KINGS CANYON NATIONAL PARK

by Lary M. Dilsaver

In the summer of 1873, John Muir made his first visit to the high country of the Kings River. He later remembered:

> In the vast Sierra wilderness, far to the southward of the famous Yosemite Valley, there is yet a grander valley of the same kind. It is situated on the south fork of the Kings River, above the most extensive groves and forests of the giant sequoia, and beneath the shadows of the highest mountains in the range, where canyons are the deepest and the snow-laden peaks are crowded most closely together.[1]

Before he wrote those words, Muir encouraged California senator John Miller in 1881 to propose the area as the country's second national park. Miller's bill failed even to clear committee.

Muir and Miller were not the only persons to recommend the Kings River watershed for park status. In subsequent years every secretary of the Interior, three secretaries of Agriculture, most Forest Service chiefs, and many San Joaquin Valley citizens also supported a park for the area. Congressmen offered more than a dozen bills between 1890 and 1935, two of which led to creation of Sequoia National Park in 1890 and its expansion in 1926. Yet no bill to make the Kings watershed a national park came close to passage.

The reason for these dismal failures lay in the number and diversity of anti-park forces. As with most proposed national parks, Kings Canyon threatened many special interests. Both the city of Los Angeles and farmers from the San Joaquin Valley planned huge reclamation projects for the river, while Fresno businessmen envisioned massive tourism development. Cattlemen, hunters, timber companies, and summer cabin owners all opposed restrictive Park Service control. They much preferred the Forest Service, which had assumed control of the earlier forest reserves in 1905, and, in keeping the Service's policy of "multiple use for the greatest good," encouraged all their diverse uses and plans.[2]

Yet, between 1935 and 1940, park advocates overcame this opposition to establish the state's first wilderness national park. The history of this intense five-year campaign to make Kings Canyon National Park a reality illustrates the growth of conservation under Franklin Roosevelt, exposes the complex opposition to wilderness preservation, and demonstrates some political methods used both to win and to block environmental legislation. It also provides a case study of the problems and conflicts, within the government and the conservation movement, precipitated by wilderness preservation issues.

In the early 1930s, the only positive aspect park supporters could find in their situation was the stalling effect their various foes had on each other's plans. Seeking to establish superior claims to dam sites, Los Angeles and San Joaquin Valley irrigators

Tehipite Valley on the middle fork of the Kings River was coveted during the 1930s for a reservoir by both Los Angeles and the San Joaquin Valley. Following John Muir's lead, conservationists continued a fifty-year-old fight to protect it. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

The Cedar Grove area on the south fork of the Kings River, looking west. This development area became the focus of controversy and compromise. From the turn of the century until 1990, various factions have competed to control it for a reservoir, massive tourist development, or wilderness. Eventually this site hosted camping and a modest tourist complex. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

and hydroelectric power developers dueled to a standstill before the Federal Power Commission. Developers waited anxiously to see what areas would be inundated by proposed reservoirs before committing to recreation investment. Like reclamation and park proponents, they were especially interested in two Yosemite-like canyons, Tehipite Valley and Kings Canyon.

Then, in 1933, the Forest Service released a comprehensive plan for the Kings River watershed, focusing on Kings Canyon along the south fork of the river. The plan proposed a huge tourism complex including campsites for 6000, four or five major hotels, three access roads, and an airstrip. One road, from General Grant Park, was already under construction; another to Tehipite Valley was on the drawing board. Untroubled by reclamation proposals, Forest Service planners had contingency plans to make any reservoir an integral part of the recreation package. Their plan also proposed wilderness designation for much of the territory previously sought by park proponents. In typical fashion, the Forest Service was doing what it could to satisfy everyone.[3]

As the Forest Service released its plan for Kings Canyon, another event with profound consequences for the future park occurred. Newly elected President Franklin Roosevelt appointed Chicago lawyer Harold Ickes as Secretary of the Interior. Ickes was one of the most strong-willed, widely despised, and powerful Interior appointees in history. He took particular interest in the National Park Service, actively participating—some say meddling—in decisions on its funding and management, and attempting to expand its control of federal lands. Notable among his achievements as Interior secretary were takeovers of the national battlefields from the War Department and of the national monuments from the Department of Agriculture. In 1934, Ickes attempted to add the entire Forest Service to Interior, even as the Secretary of Agriculture campaigned to take over the National Park Service.[4] Corporations despised Ickes for his anti-trust stance, segregationists for his civil rights actions, and many politicians for his stinging verbal and written assaults. He once referred to a southern governor as a "bubonic plague-carrying rat."[5] He could be dictatorial, suspicious, and vindictive to both his enemies and his own employees. Yet, he was also highly principled and fought tenaciously for what he believed.

Among Ickes's strong beliefs was conservation. He had been influenced by Gifford Pinchot, but later also adopted the ideas of Stephen Mather, including that of wilderness preservation. In May 1933 he declared, "If I had my way about national parks, I would create one without a road in it. I would have it impenetrable forever to automobiles, a place where man would not try to improve upon God."[6] In Kings Canyon, Ickes had a chance to put those words into action. In 1935, he persuaded California Senator Hiram Johnson to propose a bill to create a wilderness park that would be called John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park. In the Johnson bill, horse trails, footpaths, and simple camping facilities would be encouraged, while roads, hotels, and other developments would be banned. Unlike the Forest Service plan, Ickes's wilderness park included the canyon of the south fork of the Kings River.

If nothing else could unify all the developers, this bill and the presence of Harold Ickes in the conflict could. Bitter protests from power, irrigation, tourism, grazing, and timber interests buried Johnson's bill in committee, and thereafter, the various developers returned to maneuvering for

Kings Canyon is approached by a steep and winding state highway that runs from Grant Grove to Cedar Grove. From 1932 to 1939, convict labor built the road, visible toward the lower right, to facilitate Forest Service recreation development. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

control of the watershed. Despite the bill's crushing defeat, one piece of good news did reach park advocates during 1935: its hydroelectric needs temporarily sated by the new Boulder (Hoover) Dam, Los Angeles dropped its application for Kings River power development.[7]

Having gauged the opposition with the 1935 bill, Ickes, National Park Service (NPS) Regional Director Frank Kittredge, and members of the Sierra Club began to plot how to overcome them. In discussions around the state with both pro-park and anti-park people, they discovered that the Park Service had a very poor reputation. Many local citizens perceived the Park Service as an agency opposed to development, unconcerned about the fate of local farmers, restrictive in managing its lands, and controlled by wealthy, urban pleasure-seekers. They preferred the Forest Service, which supported freer use of lands and resources, seemed anxious to promote the economic welfare of valley farmers, and allowed much easier access to hunting, fishing, and travel in their territories.[8]

Ickes and Kittredge also discovered that distrust of the Park Service was fostered by Regional Forester Stuart B. Show and local Forest Service men. Over the years a deep antagonism had developed in California between the two agencies, arising both from fundamental differences in land management philosophy and from perceived empire-building by Park Service leaders. Forest Service personnel believed that their policy of "multiple-use" was fair, democratic, and promised the greatest freedom and the greatest good for the people. They regarded the Park Service's mission of strict preservation as appropriate only for select, small areas of unusual scenic curiosity. The Park Service, on the other hand, saw their administration as the only way legally and absolutely to protect wilderness areas like Kings Canyon. A Forest Service promise to manage an area as wilderness could be overturned by the next chief forester.

Details of land management also brought the two agencies into conflict. Regional Forester Show accused Ickes of trying to force the Forest Service into buying private lands and then donating them to national parks. Fire fighting posed a problem because Forest Service men and money were used to fight park fires. The Park Service also applied pressure to have livestock grazing stopped on forest lands in order to open range for herds of park deer, swollen by decades of protection from hunting.[9]

Ickes and the National Park Service men discovered, however, that all factions in the valley, despite their radically opposed and bitterly defended

A backcountry scene near Colby Pass in Kings Canyon National Park. Both the Forest Service and the Park Service proposed the high country for wilderness management in 1935. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

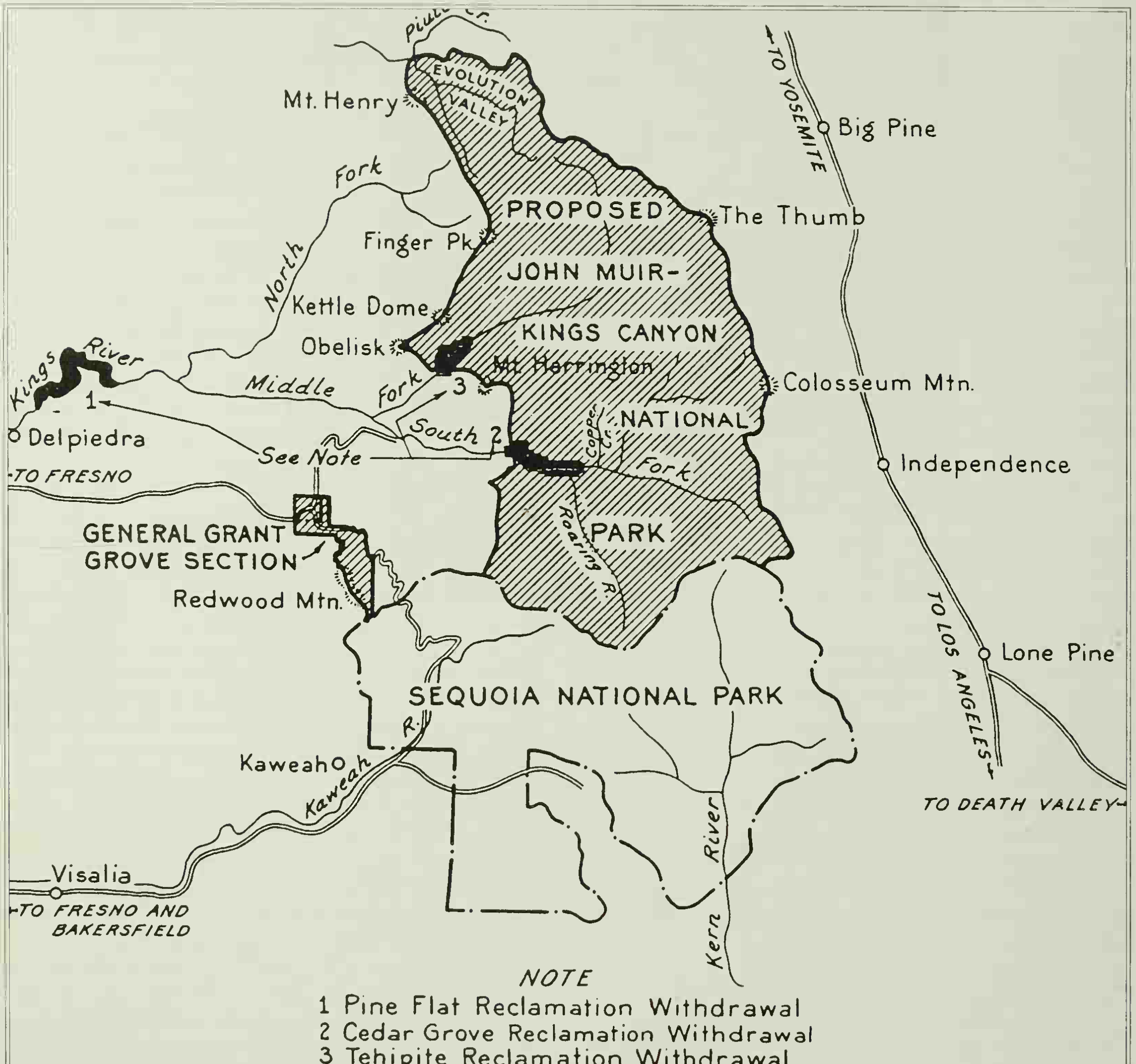
Harold Ickes was a Chicago lawyer with strong ideas about wilderness and conservation. Serving under Roosevelt from 1933 to 1945, he used diplomacy to bring about the establishment of Kings Canyon National Park. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

proposals, shared an abiding fear that Los Angeles would invade their waters. Both San Francisco and Los Angeles had attacked distant watersheds for power and water in disregard of local interests and consequences. Los Angeles, in particular, had appropriated the water supply of the Owens Valley, siphoned water from the Colorado River, and was now casting eyes on distant Sacramento Valley rivers. What chance did San Joaquin Valley farmers and communities have in blocking this imperialistic giant?

This threat of Los Angeles's potential control of water resources was the unifying element park backers had sought. Ickes, Kittredge, and Sierra Club members like Joel Hildebrand and William Colby decided to play on the fear of Los Angeles to lure the major local irrigation group, the Kings River Water Association (KRWA), into a compromise. At the same time, they campaigned widely for a more positive image both for the proposed park and the National Park Service. Although this cast the cantankerous Ickes in the unusual position of persuasive diplomat, he proved equal to the task. The campaign began during the early months of 1938. Ickes and Kittredge delivered radio addresses and speeches aimed at newspaper publishers, influential women's and businessmen's groups, state and local legislators, and various social clubs. Most talks were delivered in San Francisco or Los Angeles, but both men also appeared in Fresno and other valley towns.

Meanwhile, Assistant NPS Regional Director B.F. Manbey conducted the real compromise negotiations. Through the spring and summer of 1938, Manbey met with KRWA officials, civic authorities, businessmen's clubs, farmers, and even timber and grazing interests to foster support for Kings Canyon National Park and the Park Service. Manbey told farmers and irrigationists that the Park Service sympathized with their needs. He assured them that Harold Ickes intended to meet their legitimate water demands through the Bureau of Reclamation, which he also controlled. Manbey also promoted the health and spiritual benefits a wilderness park might bring, as well as the expanded business opportunities possible along the valley roads approaching it.

Slowly but surely, through this media and personal campaign, a compromise was achieved between Ickes and the KRWA, local businessmen, and most farmers. Three conditions were to be met


Piute Cr.
Mt. Henry
EVOLUTION VALLEY
Big Pine
TO YOSEMITE
Fork
PROPOSED
The Thumb
Finger Pk.
North
JOHN MUIR-
Kettle Dome
KINGS CANYON
Obelisk
Kings River
Mt. Harrington
Colosseum Mtn.
Middle
Fork
3
1
Delpiedra
South 2
NATIONAL
Copper Cr.
See Note
Fork
Independence
TO FRESNO
GENERAL GRANT
GROVE SECTION
Roaring R.
PARK
Redwood Mtn.
TO LOS ANGELES
Lone Pine
SEQUOIA NATIONAL PARK
Kaweah
Kaweah R.
TO DEATH VALLEY
River
Visalia
TO FRESNO AND BAKERSFIELD
Kern
NOTE
1 Pine Flat Reclamation Withdrawal
2 Cedar Grove Reclamation Withdrawal
3 Tehipite Reclamation Withdrawal

Map of John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park as proposed in the Gearhart bill of 1939. Also shown are the Pine Flat reclamation area (left), and the two valleys withheld for possible future reservoirs. *Courtesy National Park Service.*

by the Department of the Interior. First, the Bureau of Reclamation would build a large dam at Pine Flat. In addition, the department would support dams on the north fork of the river, outside the proposed park. Second, Tehipite Valley and Kings Canyon were to be excluded from the proposed wilderness park boundaries. Both sites had been important in all power and irrigation proposals. Although local farmers saw no immediate need for dams at these sites, they would not relinquish future opportunity there by allowing wilderness park status to be established. The exclusion of these canyons, the very heart of the proposed park, was a bitter pill for the Park Service to swallow, but one absolutely necessary in order to placate local water users. Finally, the Park Service would develop a major tourism complex in the canyon of the south fork of the Kings River. The preferred sites were adjacent to Copper Creek, near the entrance to the proposed wilderness park, and at Cedar Grove where the Forest Service had begun development.[10]

In March 1939, Representative Bertrand "Bud" Gearhart of the Ninth Congressional District (Fresno) introduced two bills. The first revived the John Muir-Kings Canyon National Park proposal, incorporating the small General Grant National Park, which had been established in 1890, as well as a magnificent adjacent stand of 7,000 giant sequoias known as Redwood Mountain. The second bill provided funds for construction of Pine Flat Dam. Unrelated in theory, the bills were interdependent in reality.[11]

As the House Committee on Public Lands took the Gearhart park bill under consideration, it still faced substantial opposition from some state irrigation associations, all grazing and hunting groups, several influential newspapers, the California legislature, the California Chamber of Commerce, a prolific letter-writing recreation group called California Mountaineers, Inc., and two conservation groups, the Wilderness Society and the National Parks Association (NPA).

Some of these opponents seemed so dissimilar that Roosevelt aide Irving Brant undertook an investigation of the last four groups. He found a startling connection. The conservation committee of the Chamber of Commerce was dominated by two retired Forest Service men, Ernest Dudley and Parker Friselle, along with Charles Dunwoody, a lobbyist for timber and power interests. Dudley and Friselle, in addition, comprised virtually the entire membership of California Mountaineers, Inc. The two conservation groups, meanwhile, were both heavily influenced by William Wharton, a Massachusetts millionaire considered by other conservationists to be "an honest dumbbell," and whose closest friends and advisors were William Greeley, a lumberman, and Ovid Butler, a retired Forest Service man and director of an association of lumber companies. Wharton followed their advice to oppose any park proposal that excluded Tehipite Valley and Kings Canyon. The net effect was the alignment of the Wilderness Society and the NPA with anti-park forces. Frustrated park advocates dubbed Wharton's organizations "The Bewildered Society" and the "Anti-National Parks Association."[12]

The Forest Service was the connecting link between these odd allies, and to the NPS men that explained everything. Exposure of this Forest Service connection did not diminish anti-park forces, but the sense of their conspiracy helped the bill pass the House Committee on Public Lands over strenuous opposition by several western Congressmen.[13]

Through the spring of 1939, as the campaign for Kings Canyon intensified, so did the antagonism between the two federal agencies. Park Service officials accused the Forest Service of distortion and slander, while Show accused Park Service personnel of wire-tapping, bullying Forest Service personnel, and burglary of Ernest Dudley's home in Exeter in search of damaging papers. Thereafter, Show hid his records so they could not be summoned by Chief Forester Silcox, who was acting under orders from the president.[14]

With feelings running high, the final battle for Kings Canyon moved to the full House of Representatives. Republican Gearhart had introduced the bill and remained its principle champion. However, the park as proposed would also include acreage in the Tenth Congressional District, represented by Democrat Alfred Elliott of Visalia. Elliott bitterly opposed the bill for a variety of reasons. First, he favored the Forest Service, and its brand of management, over the NPS. Among his close friends were Forest Service allies Dunwoody and Dudley. Second, Elliott feared that creation of the wilderness park would damage the tourist business in adjacent Sequoia National Park, which also fell in his district. Finally, according to Irving Brant, Elliott was "sore at Gearhart" for some unspecified reason. Congress looked to these men for direction, and Elliott's opposition still made the bill's passage uncertain.[15]

Then, Elliott made a mistake, a mistake of such spectacular proportions that it eliminated the last serious obstacle to park creation.[16] On March 4, 1939, a park supporter, Mrs. Gertrude Achilles of Morgan Hill, California, had written to both congressmen Gearhart and Elliott urging passage of the park bill. She had also written a second note to Gearhart along with a $100 check for use in the campaign. Unfortunately, she had mistakenly enclosed this second note and the check in the envelope to Elliott.

When he received his letter and the check to Gearhart, Elliott saw a chance to defeat the bill by trapping his colleague in a bribery scandal. He notified the FBI and had the check photostated. Then Dunwoody typed a new envelope to Gearhart and mailed the check to him from San Jose, near Morgan Hill. When Gearhart received the check, he returned it to Mrs. Achilles, suggesting she send the money to the Sierra Club.

The trap had not worked, yet Elliott began showing the photostatic copy of the check to prominent men in the San Joaquin Valley and to several other congressmen, ostensibly allowing them to draw their own inferences. Soon Gearhart received an anonymous phone call from a man who had been at one of the meetings and who warned, "He is out to frame you, Buddy, and I would not be a party to it. I had to tell you. Be on your guard."[17] Over the next few days three congressmen approached Gearhart with the same news.

Gearhart, a former district attorney, then began collecting the evidence to protect himself and show

A National Park Service planning team looks over the canyon of the Kings River in August 1951. This portion of the canyon, over 8,000 feet from mountaintop to riverside, is the deepest in the United States. From left to right are Dr. Harold C. Bradley of the Sierra Club, Park Superintendent Eivind Scoyen, lawyer Thomas Crow, NPS Director Conrad Wirth, and Regional Director Lawrence Merriam. *Photograph by Howard Stagner, park naturalist.*

Elliott's misconduct. He obtained an affidavit from Mrs. Achilles stating that she had not typed an envelope and that she had mailed her letter from Morgan Hill, not from San Jose. Step by step Gearhart pieced the entrapment story together. As Gearhart quietly continued his investigation, however, Elliott continued to suggest to San Joaquin created because he would personally profit from it.[18]

Finally, on May 2, Representative Gearhart rose before the House on a question of personal privilege. With controlled and deliberate emotion he systematically reported the entire plot, demonstrating at the same time his shock and sorrow that a colleague would use character assassination to defeat a bill. Word of his address quickly circulated through the halls, and by the time Gearhart reached his conclusion, the House and gallery were packed with rapt listeners:

> I have searched the precedents of this body, searched them down through the last 150 years of the history of this body, and I fail to find one case referred to in those proceedings that even approaches that which I have been compelled to lay before you.
>
> I ask no action. There was a time when I thought of expulsion. There was a time when I thought of disciplinary action. But all that is past now. The record is made. I am content.[19]

With the exception of Elliott, every person rose and gave Gearhart a standing ovation. They then turned to see how Elliott would answer these charges. During Gearhart's testimony, the representatives around Elliott had quietly moved away one by one, until he now sat separated from his nearest colleague by more than twenty feet. The Democrat's attempts to defend his actions were futile, consisting chiefly of an attack on the park bill and on Secretary Ickes. Frequently interrupted, peppered with questions on his actions, and laughed at, Elliott finally blurted in frustration, " . . . Some of you might think you are making a monkey out of me, but that cannot be done."[20] Roars of derisive laughter followed, and Elliott sat down, an embarrassed and lonely figure.

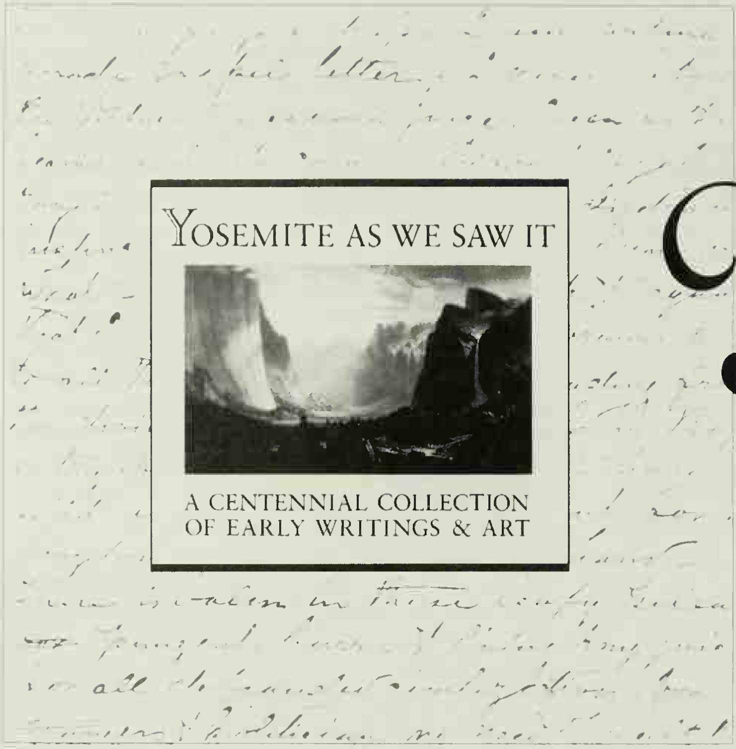
Horrified at the thought that this sort of character assassination could be levelled at each of them, representatives demanded Elliott's ouster. But Gearhart knew that when the passion died down a move to oust Elliott might become a partisan contest. As such, it would probably fail and in the process cloud the wilderness park issue. Instead, as the vote on the bill approached, Gearhart read into the record a number of San Joaquin Valley newspaper accounts of the scandal to refresh the minds of his colleagues. When the vote came up, the remaining opponents tried one last sabotage by adding an amendment to allow dams in the new park. In the ensuing arguments the amendment was defeated, but with it went the John Muir portion of the park's name. Once this last-minute opposition had failed, the bill passed easily.[21]

The Senate received the bill too late to act in 1939, but, with the support of both California senators, sent it to Roosevelt in early 1940. The president signed the Kings Canyon National Park bill on March 4, 1940. Twenty-five years later, after completion of the dams at Pine Flat and on the north fork of the Kings River, Congress added Kings Canyon and Tehipite Valley, completing acquisition of all the territory of Ickes's 1935 proposal.[22] As he watched the arguments to add the two canyons, a bitter Show recalled how they had "fit [sic], bled and finally died." While admitting that Elliott's behavior had been "highly injudicious," the loyal Forest Service man still complained about the "morality of tactics" within the Park Service, and wondered "whether the end always justifies the means."[23]

The anti-climactic end to this struggle showed how successfully park advocates had divided, converted, conquered, or discredited their opponents. The creation of Kings Canyon National Park represented a stinging rejection of the Forest Service and its mandate. The philosophical division between the Park Service and the Forest Service would erupt again into internecine conflict in the 1960s during the debate over whether the Mineral King Valley should be added to Sequoia National Park or developed as a ski resort, as well as in other park campaigns around the nation. The five-year battle to establish Kings Canyon National Park consisted of a competition of manipulative conspiracies engineered by two government agencies and readily backed by special interests. In the end the Park Service won through skillfull diplomacy and an egregious error by overzealous opponents.

See notes beginning on page 228.

Lary M. Dilsaver is an associate professor of historical geography at the University of South Alabama, and a volunteer researcher for the National Park Service. With William Tweed he recently completed Challenge of the Big Trees, *a centennial history of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks.*



"A splendid compact gathering of passionate views."
Gary Snyder

"The most comprehensive anthology of Yosemite literature ever to be made available to the public."
Kevin Starr

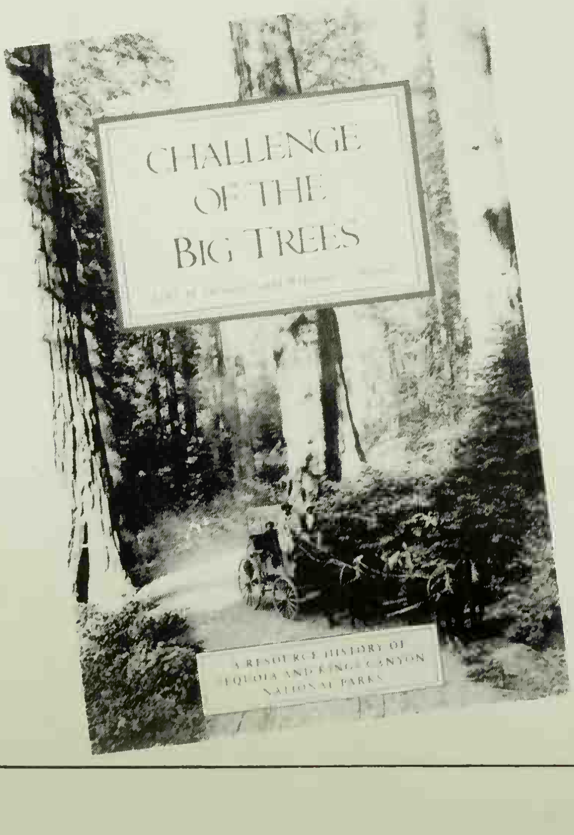
YOSEMITE AS WE SAW IT

A Centennial Collection
of Early Writings and Art
by David Robertson.

Elegantly printed case bound in celebration of Yosemite's 100th anniversary with 25 full color reproductions of works of art primarily from the Yosemite Museum Collection.

$34.95
at fine bookstores, or from
Yosemite Association
P.O. Box 545
Yosemite N.P., CA 95389
VISA/ MC, call (209) 379-2648

YOSEMITE ASSOCIATION


CHALLENGE OF THE BIG TREES
A RESOURCE HISTORY OF SEQUOIA AND KINGS CANYON NATIONAL PARKS

CHALLENGE OF THE BIG TREES

A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks

LARY M. DILSAVER and WILLIAM C. TWEED

Here is the first definitive history of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks. Written from the point of view that is based on both traditional history and historical geography, the book emphasizes the impacts of human activity on the natural ecosystems of the region. The authors explore the campaigns to establish these parks and the critical decisions that have controlled use and development. Much of the information in this book has never been available to the public.

Foreword by William Penn Mott, Jr.
380 pages, 32 maps, 17 photographs, index.
Clothbound with dust jacket, $24.95, Paper, $14.95

Send orders to: Sequoia Natural History Association
Ash Mountain, Box 10, Three Rivers, CA 93271
Phone 209-565-3341, Ext. 731

California residents add 6.25% sales tax.
Include $1.25 for postage and handling.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

A Guide to the History of California.

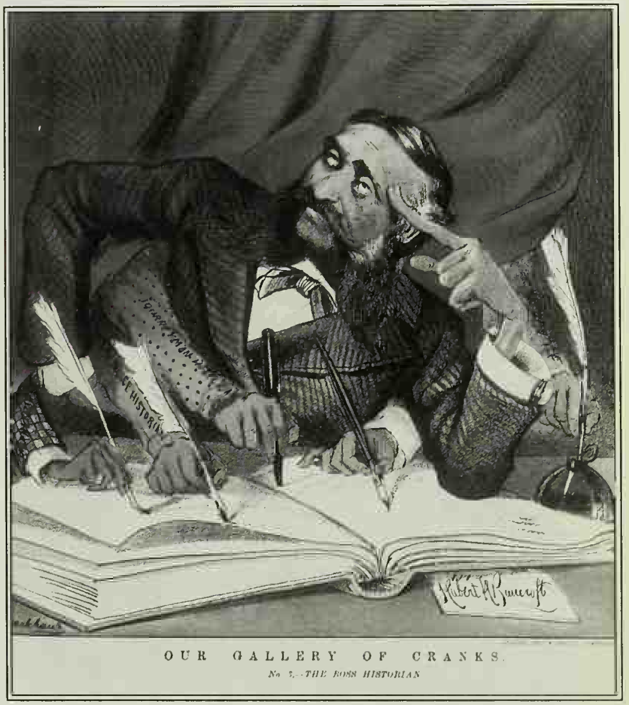
Edited by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., and Gloria Ricci Lothrop. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1989, xii, 309 pp., $65.00.)

Reviewed by Andrew Rolle, *Research Fellow, Huntington Library, and author of* California: A History (fourth edition, 1987.)

California specialists will welcome this compendium, which supplements the dated guides of the past. As compared to the first of these by the Robert Cowans, father and son, the compilers of this volume faced a much more extensive task. The volume of literature about California has grown exponentially to the point where it is virtually unmanageable. Some thirty contributors assembled this book's contents. One cannot mention each of them here, but some essays are naturally stronger than others.

I understand that the original contributions were severely cut by the publisher. This is regrettable, for the literature about California would dwarf that about other states. Although most general histories of California are listed, surely the authors of these works were due the courtesy of citing the titles of their books, and the dates of publication (see page ix).

This volume reflects current fashionable trends. Among these is the no-longer-neglected subject of race and nationality in California's past. But, while Asians, Chicanos, and blacks merit separate chapters, other groups have not been accorded such special treatment. This is unfortunate. Some immigrants, among them Italians, Portuguese, Canadians, Jews, and Basques, have left a unique impact upon such activities as viticulture, fishing, sheep raising, medicine, banking, and other important pursuits that are fully equal to those exerted by more recent immigrants. The latter are admittedly more numerous; yet other nationalities might have been grouped together in a separate chapter.



This satirical caricature of historian Hubert Howe Bancroft appeared on the April 18, 1885, cover of the San Francisco *Wasp.* The Bancroft Library, on the campus at the University of California, Berkeley, remains the outstanding legacy of the book collector-turned-historian. He was, however, criticized for his use of poorly-paid "clerks" to research and write much of the information for which he took credit, especially in his major, seven-volume *History of California,* and numerous other historical works. *Courtesy California State Library.*

When a book of this sort is assembled over a period of years, and is severely cut by the publishers, omissions are

REVIEWS

bound to occur. One thinks of the general histories by Warren Beck and David Williams, as well as by Ralph Roske. Also missing are such representative items as Clement Meighan's work on southern California Indians, Frederick Bohme's on the Portuguese, Howard Swan's *Music in the Southwest*, Felice Bonadio's biography of banker Amadeo Pietro Giannini, Elizabeth McPhail's volume on San Diego, as well as Edwin Bingham's and Dudley Gordon's biographies of the Bohemian eccentric Charles Fletcher Lummis.

Special aspects of this book, however, do merit applause. One of these is a separate section on women. Another concerns the urbanization of California. And a third discusses the resources of national and local archive and record centers. A directory of oral history is also included, and the editors furnish a chronology of California history, as well as lists of organizations interested in the state's past.

Considering the immensity of the task, conducted over a period of years, this guide is an invaluable aid to studying the history of California. Its price ($65.00), however, seems out of line even in an age of high inflation. CHS

Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook.

Edited by John R. Wunder. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1988, xiii, 814 pp., $75.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard W. Etulain, *Professor of History at the University of New Mexico, and coeditor of* The Twentieth-Century West: Historical Interpretations, *and coauthor of* The American West: A Twentieth-Century History.

John Wunder's anthology, like a fact-filled encyclopedia, is not so much a work of interpretative historiography as an extraordinarily useful reference guide to the lives and thematic emphases of fifty-seven deceased frontier and western historians. Although the contributors devote sections to evaluating the writings of their subjects, most of these discussions are more plot summaries than probing analyses and evaluations. For librarians and beginning students of frontier history, however, the extensive bibliographies appended to each essay will be invaluable. These listings include each historian's books, essays, and reviews, and also works about the authors, most of which are reviews of their book-length studies.

Perhaps the best of the essays is Richard White's imaginatively argued consideration of Frederick Jackson Turner. Also notable are the treatments of James Malin by Robert Swierenga, Robert Athearn by Elliott West, Walter Prescott Webb by Gregory Tobin, John D. Hicks by Gerald Nash, and Ray Billington by Richard Oglesby.

Why these historians were included and why others were omitted is not always clear. Generally speaking, fewer nineteenth-century and Pacific Coast historians are treated here than historians of the twentieth century and the interior West. Some readers might wonder why earlier writers like Francis Parkman, Josiah Royce, and C.F. Lummis, and later far-western historians like Carey McWilliams, John Carl Parish, and Franklin Walker are omitted, while others such as George Talbot Hunt, F. L. Owsley, Doane Robinson, Flora Warren Seymour, and William T. Utter are included. Moreover, some essays include extensive bibliographies but little analysis, while others include bibliographies longer than the discussion of the writer's life and works. On the other hand, although the collection treats only four women historians, ten of the authors supplying the essays are women. One Indian and one Hispanic are discussed by authors respectively of those ethnic groups.

Readers of *California History* will note that only Hubert Howe Bancroft, Herbert Eugene Bolton, Robert Glass Cleland, and Lawrence Kinnaird spent most of their careers in California, although others such as Billington, Hicks, and Paxson lived for more than a decade as active scholars in California. If this volume included living historians, California would be much more widely represented, of course.

In utilizing a biographical-thematic approach, essays in Wunder's massive 800-page collection differ markedly in organization from the topical, more analytical essays in Michael P.

Malone's *Historians and the American West* (1983) and the similar bibliographical chapters of Roger Nichols's *American Frontier and Western Issues* (1986). Complementing these earlier volumes, Wunder's *Historians of the American Frontier* provides another indispensable volume for readers and writers intrigued with the American West, its history, and its historians. CHS

O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations.

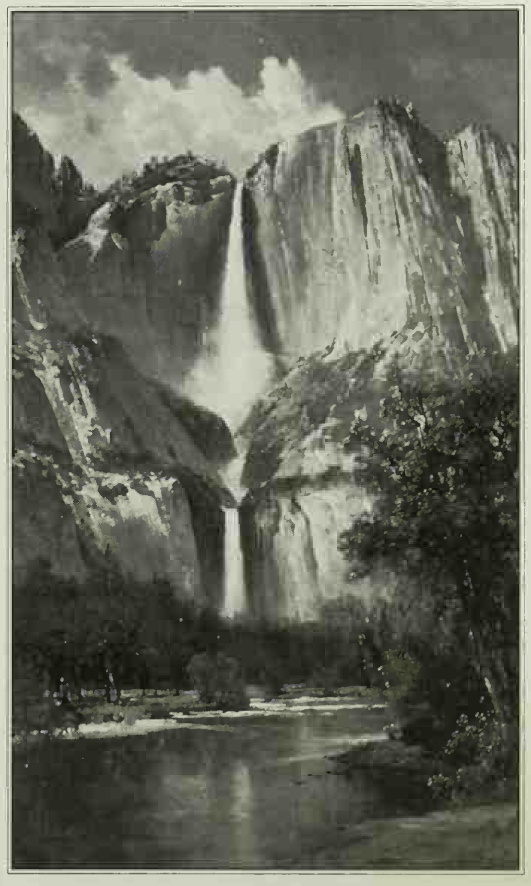
Edited by Stephen Vincent, preface by Kevin Starr, and art selection by Paul Mills. (San Francisco: Bedford Arts, Publishers, 1989, xxviii, 255 pp. with artists bibliography and index, $85.00 cloth.)

Reviewed by Marlene Smith-Baranzini, *Associate Editor of* California History.

O California! is a timely tribute to the history, art, and language of the Golden State. Rich with visual image and evocative narrative, it is a collection of the impressions of Native American and early Anglo-European artists and writers in intimate relationship to California's natural landscape.

A striking departure from the expected illustrated art history, *O California!* emphasizes the bond between people and place. Stephen Vincent, in his editor's notes, recounts the book's evolution from a relatively contained subject to this beautifully expanded vision of California by the "larger contingent of writers and artists who . . . sought to articulate their own discovery of the West." These interpretations of early California—represented in the book by over 100 artists and nearly 70 writers and spanning the late 1700s through the early 20th century—encompass the state's often spectacular and varied terrain.

The work's contemporary interpretive text stands apart from



Thomas Hill, *Yosemite Falls*, n.d., oil on canvas, in The Oakland Museum collection. *Courtesy Bedford Arts, Publishers.*

the book's historical images. Its preface, eloquently written by Kevin Starr, provides essential historic and geographic orientation to the text, and to the artists and writers represented here. Starr explains the book's organization by climate, geography, and general chronology into seven regions and subregions, starting with San Francisco Bay and ending with the southern coast of San Diego. Locator maps introduce each region; although a bit small on the page, they provide helpful orientation to the geographic format.

Starr's provocative discussions of California as representative of the national experience, and the land's evolution through the eyes of explorers, visitors, and travelers over three centuries, adds a comprehensive depth to the landscapes and literary passages that follow. He considers the exhilarating expression of the artist, evident, for example, in Herman Herzog's painting *Mirror Lake, Yosemite* and Gordon Coutt's *Desert Wash*. In the late twentieth century, we seem seldom to acknowledge the spiritual energy between people and place. Yet, Starr writes, a fundamental response to expeditions of early Spanish and American explorers lay in "nature as an emanation of the mind of God."

The journey through *O California!* begins with Fray Juan Crespi's observations, written during Gaspar de Portola's 1769 expedition to the region now called San Francisco. Crespi's journal entry of November 2, 1769, faces Arthur Frank Mathews's painting *Discovery of Bay of San Francisco by Portola*, painted well over a century later. Throughout the book, descriptive voices play off vivid images of the land, enhancing each other without forced chronological restriction. Readers seeking a sense of California's cultural past will find this an aesthetic and instructive journey; those who know California history intimately will love this collection of classic treasures.

Beyond its scope as a treasure of our cultural heritage, however, *O California!* carries another message. Its pages compel us to reflect on scenes where urban congestion has all but destroyed earlier, pristine beauty. Addressing the "dystopian possibilities" of environmental destruction that threaten successive generations of Californians, Starr shares with Vincent the duality of *O California!* as both celebration and lament. The challenge, subtle but inescapable within the pages of this breathtaking and inspiring volume, lies in swift action toward preservation of the precarious grandeur yet remaining in this land.

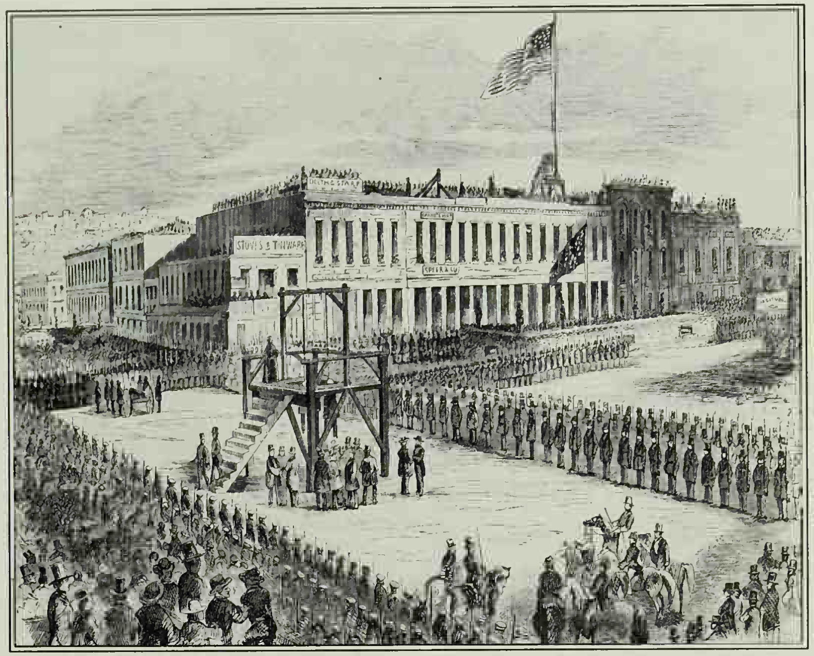
Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco.

By Kevin J. Mullen. (Reno, Nevada: University of Nevada Press, 1989, xix, 313 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gordon Morris Bakken, *Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton, and author of* The Development of Law in Frontier California.

With engaging prose and the insight of a police professional, Kevin J. Mullen joins a growing group of revisionist historians taking another look at the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851. Using newspaper crime statistics, Mullen demonstrates that predatory crime was not rampant in gold rush San Francisco. In fact, if a person was minding his own business and avoided saloons, the likelihood of being a crime victim was not great. Arson, so frequently attributed to criminal activity, was more likely the result of accident. Police in the instant city did an admirable job under the circumstances, as did courts facing staggering dockets. The new county jail, so necessary in curbing recidivism, was not the product of the 1851 Vigilance Committee, but was an ongoing project of thoughtful city officials. The merchant capitalists of the bay city were the organizational basis of the committee and left a stamp upon the municipality that carried over to the 1856 Committee of Vigilance. Some of these findings are the product of asking prying social science questions, others part of the growing historical inquiry into one of California's most colorful episodes.

Although this volume is clearly a contribution to the literature, the historiographical and theoretical approach is limited.



Popular justice, first introduced in Mexican California, became more frequent during the American period and led to spontaneous lynchings, sometimes of the clearly innocent. This 1856 lithograph from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Magazine* emphasizes the order of vigilante "justice" in an era of flagrant lawlessness and mob rule. *Courtesy California State Library.*

For example, the author correctly draws upon Richard Maxwell Brown's works, but fails to consider the more recent scholarship on vigilantism offered by David A. Johnson or John Phillip Reid's important insights on civil and criminal law on the Overland Trail. Mullen frequently discusses the death penalty and punishment, but does not put it in the context of the important work done by Louis P. Masur, Thomas L. Dumm, Peter C. Hoffer, or Michael Stephen Hindus. Clearly, adding these more recent probing studies to the author's research questions would have produced a work more satisfying to the social scientist reader.

This well-written and handsomely produced book, despite its limitations, will become required reading for those interested in the San Francisco Vigilance Committee of 1851.

REVIEWS

Katherine Augusta Wescott Tingley (1847-1929). Known as the *Purple Mother,* Tingley founded a Theosophic community at Point Loma, overlooking the San Diego Bay. Dedicated to social reform, philanthropy, and cultural arts, the Point Loma utopian colony attracted worldwide attention from its founding in 1900 until the decline of the community following Tingley's death in 1929. *Courtesy Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives to Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910.

By Sandra Sizer Frankiel. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988, xv, 182 pp., $27.50 cloth.)

Reviewed by Mark S. Still, *Assistant Professor of History at the College of San Mateo.*

In this well-researched and carefully crafted study, the author examines the religious alternatives to the Anglo-Protestantism that developed in California between 1850 and 1910. Defining Anglo-Protestantism as the evangelical and Episcopalian denominations, Frankiel notes that from the very beginning of this period Protestantism developed differently in California than it did in the East. While triumphant evangelicalism predominated in the eastern United States in the 1850s, membership in these groups was far lower in California. Consequently Anglo-Protestantism was unable to define the regional religious culture here as it did farther east. In explaining this situation Frankiel suggests that the secularism, materialism, and general instability inherent in Gold Rush society combined with California's unique cultural and ethnic pluralism to produce an environment that was not receptive to such movements as revivalism, the force that had done so much to spread evangelicalism in the East and in other frontier areas.

Frankiel's focus, however, is not on the Anglo-Protestant tradition, but on the challenges that arose to it. She theorizes that these alternatives developed from "the attempt to forge an identity out of the California experience." (p. 12) This idealized self-concept drew disparate elements from various sources. From the Gold Rush, Californians drew an exaltation of democratic values and generosity. They romanticized the

Spanish and Mexican periods, creating an image of California as Mediterranean, which reinforced the idea of a society that was both "gentle and genteel, open and hospitable, intimately related to the land and climate." (p. 13) Also characteristic of Californians was a more tolerant attitude toward non-Protestant religions and a fascination with the state's natural wonders that often had religious overtones. The resulting image and the values it engendered were in conflict with traditional Anglo-Protestant values, shaped as they were by Puritanism and emphasizing the building of Christian civilization, with the result that Anglo-Protestantism was somewhat of an anomaly in California.

Frankiel selects a number of alternative movements for consideration, ranging from the liberal Christianity of Unitarian Thomas Starr King and Presbyterian Laurentine Hamilton to such metaphysical movements as Theosophy, New Thought, and Christian Science, to the more orthodox holiness movement that arose out of evangelical denominations, and finally to John Muir as heir of the Transcendental tradition. At first glance this may seem like a heterogeneous grouping, but Frankiel suggests, quite rightly I think in most cases, that they shared a common emphasis on four themes: spiritual unity, true reality as existing inside individuals, deep knowledge obtained through inner perception, and spiritual perfection. Frankiel's argument, however, that even the Church of the Nazarene, a holiness sect that arose in southern California in the 1890s and remained within the confines of evangelicalism, evidenced mystical emphases similar to those of New Thought is less convincing.

Frankiel's contribution lies not so much in her exposition of the beliefs of these groups. Rather it is in the analytical portions of her book where she offers rich insights into why southern California proved so receptive to metaphysical movements and how liberal Protestantism responded to them.

In short, this is an excellent work, well-written and perceptive. One can easily excuse the very few minor errors that have found their way into the text, such as the confusion of the contemporary Robert Schuller with his earlier namesake, Los Angeles fundamentalist Robert P. ("Fighting Bob") Shuler. CHS

This Carleton Watkins photograph, taken in the late 1880s, captures a Los Angeles street scene at about the time Charles Lummis arrived in "the gem city of the world" to assume editorship of the *Times. Courtesy California State Library.*

Letters from the Southwest.

By Charles Lummis. Edited by James W. Byrkit. (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1989, 309 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Richard G. Lillard, *Professor Emeritus of American Studies and English, California State University, Los Angeles, and co-author with Elna Bakker of* The Great Southwest.

Charles F. Lummis wrote three versions of his long walk from Cincinnati, Ohio, to Los Angeles, from September 12, 1884, to February 1, 1885. En route he mailed a set of refined letters, occasionally hyperbolic, to the Los Angeles *Times,* where the job of city editor awaited him, and he sent a remarkably different set of letters back to the Chillicothe *Leader* in Chillicothe, Ohio, a town where he had lived and worked. Those to the *Leader* were more candid and personal, more realistic in detail and livelier in idioms and figures of speech.

Seven years later came a book, *A Tramp Across the Continent*, much more discreet, more heroically self-centered, infused with additions superimposed on the original itinerary and with new versions of events that border on the incredible. Byrkit the editor calls them "lies."

Present-day readers of southern Californian and southwestern history have in this first reprinting of the twenty-four *Leader* letters a down-to-earth report on people and places along the way through Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Here at first hand are the observations of the Southwest that made Lummis, as Byrkit says, "the first person to articulate clearly the region's seductive cultural and natural attractions, particularly those Southwest features which have seized the imagination and inspired the love and awe of people worldwide."

The letters describe not only a relatively unspoiled America. They reveal much about an engaging American who, in the course of his continental hike, changed from being a conservative easterner to being (in these letters) a western populist and who later became a lasting literary and cultural force in Los Angeles and the region. In spirited prose, often reporting exhausting adventures, Lummis comes through as an educated Harvard man, a cocky romantic, a resourceful outdoorsman and hunter, a New England mugwump, a smoker, drinker, and gagster, a grand companion, and a prolific journalist. He sketches the actions and speech of individuals he met. He provides glimpses of towns, aboriginal pueblos, Hispanic ranches, and the mining district of Golden, New Mexico. More than in any other published material, Lummis takes the common man's attitude toward the monopolistic exactions of mining companies, railroads, and irrigation districts like the Platte Canal Company in Colorado.

In the final four letters dealing with California, Lummis describes Needles, a "comfortable and substantial railroad town," Mojave Indians, whom he admired, the mining community of Calico during hard times, the physical stress of an arduous, thirsty, cross-country walk from Daggett to Cajon Pass, and the descent into valleys "green with springing grass," an Edenic contrast to the desert. He arrived already a booster of Los Angeles, "the gem city of the world." Southern California, a "whole big country, 150 miles in length, is rapidly becoming one vast settlement."

Byrkit provides an excellent introduction, severe and fair. He edits the text only occasionally, by means of brackets and footnotes. He supplies a useful index. Drawing fully on the files of the Chillicothe *Leader*, he presents a major western travel book, rich in enthusiastic detail, from the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California.

By James N. Gregory. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, xviii, 338 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Gerald Haslam, *Professor of English at Sonoma State University and author of* Voices of a Place: Social and Literary Essays From the Other California.

Every California historian will want to read this book because it replaces Walter Stein's estimable *California and the Dust Bowl Migration* as the standard study of the migration that riveted public attention half a century ago, especially after John Steinbeck published *The Grapes of Wrath.* In fact, as Gregory demonstrates, too much of the "common knowledge" about the so-called "Okies" in this state has been shaped by Steinbeck and folklore.

Gregory, in defining the migrants, wisely points out that southwesterners—from Texas, Arkansas, and Missouri, as well as Oklahoma—constituted the bulk of the sojourners, although they were all apt to be lumped under that one term, "Okie," once they reached the realm of prune pickers.

Gregory has taken advantage of latter-day scholarly interest and a certain desperate recognition among migrants and their progeny that it is now or never if their story is to be told. As a result, one of the most interesting aspects of this solid study is the rich quotations from actual migrants.

The author divides his book into two parts: "Migration and Resettlement" and "The Okie Subculture." Although both contain new material, the latter will be more interesting, and, in all likelihood, more controversial, to those already familiar with the epic. An oddity: the book's title mentions "Okie culture" while its text prudently refers to the more accurate "subculture."

In general, Part I is thorough and well-documented, containing charts, maps, and graphs that illustrate among other things where the migrants came from, why they left, and when—including a survey of major moves west that preceded the Great Depression. Gregory also documents the surprises that Okies experienced: the San Joaquin Valley, for example, they found "so vast, so orderly, so empty."

Of course that emptiness—the dearth of family farms—was as dangerous a warning to migrants as a rattlesnake's buzz because there would be few small spreads to acquire. Gregory also contrasts the experience of Depression transients with those from other periods: "Only 2 percent of recent migrants to the San Joaquin Valley had become farm owners, tenants or managers by 1940, compared with 10 percent of earlier settlers . . ."

This survey is, however, not without flaws. In an interesting discussion of characteristics of California at the time of the migration—optimism, openness, a commitment to urbane standards of culture—Gregory seems to beg the question when he suggests that "Hollywood pushed southern California and to a lesser extent the state as a whole to the forefront of that great change in mentality, teaching the pleasures of fad and fashion . . . Californians thus became consummate modernists." The large number of migrants who settled in southern California surely found some measure of "modernism," of course, but Gregory doesn't demonstrate that rural Central Valley communities like Live Oak or Manteca or Arvin—the very areas where so many others would settle—contained significantly more modernists than did rural Bowlegs or Fayetteville or Commerce. Hollywood seems to have reached all those towns primarily via Saturday matinees.

Part II is both more original and more lively. In positing the endurance of an Okie subculture in contemporary California,

Dorothea Lange, photographed by Paul Taylor, ca. 1932. *Courtesy Dorothea Lange Collection, The Oakland Museum.*

the author captures contemporary pride: "Okies find meaning in the belief that they or their parents or grandparents were part of a special encounter with suffering, a special exercise in perseverance and hard work, a special triumph over adversity."

Gregory also seems exactly correct when he suggests the role of fundamentalist churches, and to a lesser extent, honky tonks, as cultural links with the old country—like storefront churches in the urban black migration. This is a task churches and saloons still perform, but to a diminishing degree because social class has changed both the Okies and their neighbors, so the enrollment at both churches and bars in California, especially in Central Valley communities, is increasingly diverse.

In linking the latter-day popularity of country music—and the talismanic career of Merle Haggard—to the emergence of Okie pride, Gregory makes a telling point:

> The "new ethnicity" made it socially acceptable to be an Okie just as it made it safe to be Jewish, Italian, Chicano, and so on. In an era that was uniquely and genuinely celebrating pluralism, many Americans were dragging once-problematic backgrounds out of the closet.

It also led to "Okie Chic" and fake Okies—affluent white folks in Central Valley towns who suddenly pulled on cowboy boots, affected drawls, and developed a sudden love for the nasal deliveries of Hank Snow—certainly something no one would have predicted. As the author notes, "Ultimately, the Okie is an invention, a work of collective imagination." Okies also constituted a minority group that other whites could, temporarily at least, join at a time when minorities were in.

But that phenomenon proves a point too: Okie values and styles have subtly but undeniably altered rural California styles, just as the newcomers were themselves altered by California. As Gregory notes, "The Dust Bowl migration teaches us about the ways American culture is transformed through population movement." It also illustrates how minority customs might make their way into popular culture.

Readers will have to decide for themselves whether the "group continuity" for which Gregory argues is really as pronounced as he claims, or whether the aforementioned social class, hyperbolic patriotism, and the general southernism of the San Joaquin Valley's blue-collar, white value system is part of a heterogeniety much shaped by Okies, but by no means dominated by them. In any case, Gregory makes his points well and argues them enthusiastically.

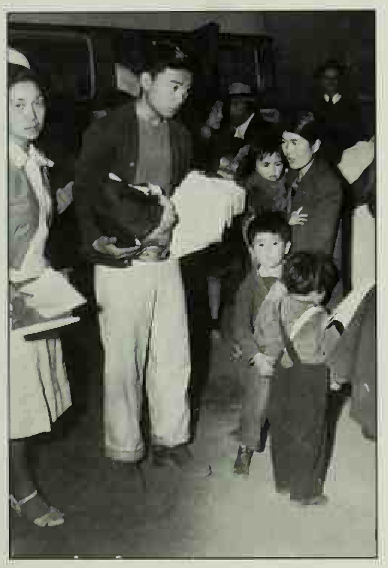
This is a good book, an interesting and challenging one, because James Gregory has given serious thought to what most have simply taken for granted. It belongs in every library of our state's history.

Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases.

Edited with an introduction by Peter Irons. (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989, xi, 436 pp., $40 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Roger Daniels, *Professor of History at the University of Cincinnati and author of* Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850.

Justice Delayed consists of two unequal parts: a brief (46 pp.) participant-observer introduction by Peter Irons and more than 350 pages of documents, including the Supreme Court decisions in *Hirabayashi, Yasui,* and *Korematsu (1943-44);* the "Summary" from the report of the Commission on the Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, *Personal Justice Denied,* but omitting those pages dealing with the Aleuts (1983); and the court proceedings of two of the three so-called *coram nobis* cases of 1983-87. *Coram nobis* is the legal doctrine under which Irons and a group of largely Asian American lawyers on the West Coast, including Dale Minami, Peggy Nagae, and Katherine Bannai, succeeded in reopening the 1943-44 cases noted above and in getting some of the original indictments quashed and the convictions reversed. Irons's



The federal government's decision during WWII to relocate California's Japanese American population, whether citizens or not, into thirteen concentration-style camps wrought extensive hardships on Japanese families. Almost half a century later, restitution issues remain controversial and unsettled. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

research, published in *Justice at War* (1983), was instrumental in providing evidence of prosecutorial misconduct in Roosevelt's Department of Justice—suppression of evidence—on which the writ applications were based. His personal, narrative account of how the cases were prepared and how they were argued in court provides a fascinating look at the inside of the cases of the 1980s. It is the kind of committed writing that made Anthony Lewis's *Gideon's Trumpet* (1964) a classic. My only complaint is that it is too brief.

With the document selection, as is always the case when one doesn't print everything, there can be some criticism, although Irons's choices are rational. And, to his credit, with the exception noted above, he prints whole documents. I have three separate objections to Irons's choices, or rather, his omissions. First, it was a mistake not to print the companion case to *Korematsu*, *Ex parte Endo*, decided the same day. Irons would argue that since *Endo* was not one of the relitigated cases, it had no place here, but it seems to me that to omit it, or any mention of it, is to obscure an important element in the compromise the court reached in December 1944. Constitutionally speaking, *Endo* is important and *Yasui* largely irrelevant. Second, it would have been most useful if Irons had printed the not-very-lengthy original federal district court decisions, since they were what was being adjudicated, and it would have been instructive to have William Denman's dissent in *Korematsu* in the 9th Circuit. Third, he fails to print any of the *coram nobis* proceedings about *Yasui*, the case that turned out the least satisfactorily for the litigants and their attorneys.

But, when all is said and done, this is a significant addition to the literature of the Japanese American removal and incarceration and its sequelae. What is important to remember, despite the limited victory that the litigants and their attorneys achieved, is that this is not a story with a happy ending. As Irons knows, but some readers may not, his title is half of an old aphorism that goes "justice delayed is justice denied." And the aphorism would hold even if the litigants had achieved their real goal of a reversal before the high court itself, a hope that was aborted by the refusal of the Reagan-Meese Department of Justice to contest the reversals beyond the level of the court of appeals. Irons begins his account with Fred Korematsu's terse eloquence: "They did me a great wrong." But we need to be reminded, in the words of one of the first chroniclers of the relocation, that the action of the federal government in 1942 and of the Supreme Court in 1943-44 betrayed all Americans. CHS

Just published -
newly discovered documents on
early California and the Fur Trade

Jedediah Strong Smith, one of America's most important frontiersmen and explorers, intruded into Mexican territory in 1826, the first American to enter California by land. He ran afoul of the Mexican officials, and the full story of that conflict has, until now, been unknown.

Letters and papers between Smith and his men and the Mexican officials have now been located and are published for the first time with a full introduction and commentary by David J. Weber.

Published in a limited edition of 1000 copies. Bound in a red linen cloth, 82 pages plus a folding map printed on rich 80# Teton text archival paper.

$35.00

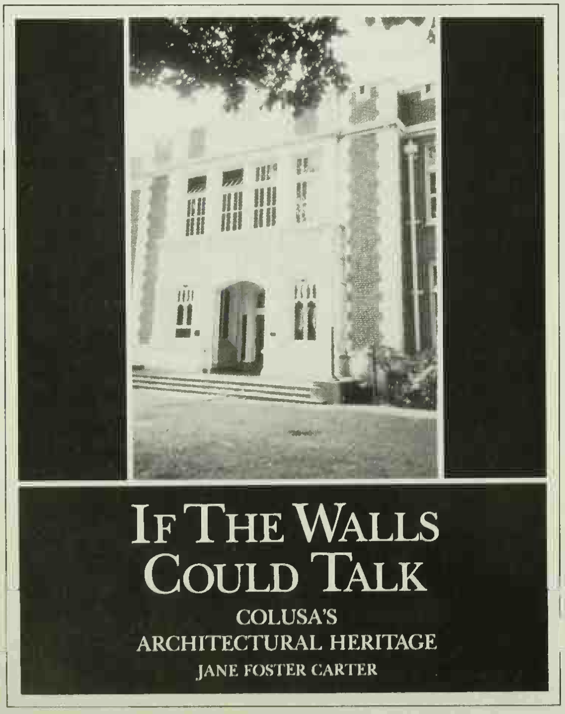
Shipping and handling $2.00, free if check accompanies order.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Publishers & Booksellers since 1902
P.O. Box 14707 Spokane, WA 99214
Toll free (800) 842-9286
Visa/Mastercard accepted

The *Californios*
versus
Jedediah Smith
1826-1827

A New Cache of Documents

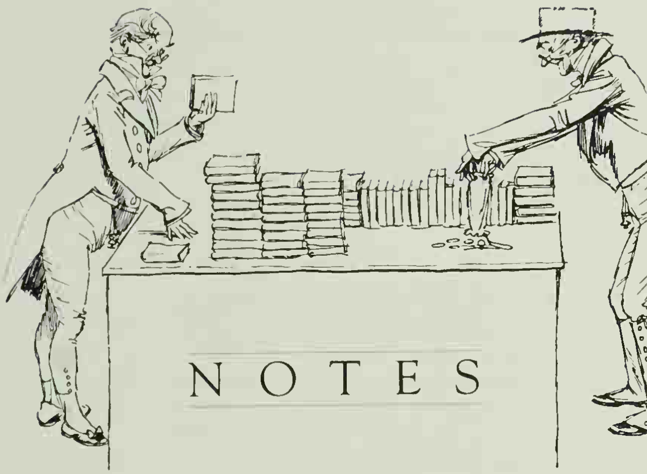
by
David J. Weber



Delightful to read, *If The Walls Could Talk* was written from scholarly research of 325 existing nineteenth-and-early-twentieth-century buildings and sites in the historic city of Colusa located on the Sacramento River.

Author Jane Foster Carter won the California Historical Society's 1989 Award of Merit for Historic Preservation for this book, which captures the historic resources of Colusa in beautiful contemporary photographs and provides historical and biographical notes about the owners and occupants, the architects and builders.

Hard cover limited edition available for $40.00 (plus $3.00 postage and handling and $2.40 tax) from the **California Historical Society**, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 or the **City of Colusa**, 425 Webster Street, Colusa, CA 95932.



NOTES

RUNTE, "Introduction," pp. 86-91.

1. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., May 17, 1864, 2301.
2. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 13 (1864): 325.
3. Ibid. For more on the precedent-setting importance of the Yosemite Park Act of 1864, see Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), chapter 2.
4. State of California, Geological Survey, J.D. Whitney, State Geologist, *The Yosemite Book: A Description of the Yosemite Valley and the Adjacent Region of the Sierra Nevada, and of the Big Trees of California* (New York: Julius Bien, 1868), 22.
5. *Hutchings v. Low*, 82 U.S. (1872), 94.
6. The ongoing management controversy in Yosemite Valley was referenced in both the House and Senate debates leading to the establishment of Yellowstone. See *Congressional Globe*, 42d Cong., 2d sess., January 30, 1872, 697, and ibid., February 27, 1872, 1243.
7. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 26 (1890): 478, 650-52. U.S., Department of the Interior, *Report of the Secretary for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1891* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891), 123-26.
8. A valuable reference to the changing status of all national-park lands is U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *The National Parks: Index 1985* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1985).

DILSAVER & STRONG, "Sequoia & Kings Canyon," pp. 98-117.

1. This article is based primarily on Douglas H. Strong's unpublished dissertation, "A History of Sequoia National Park" (Syracuse University, 1964); Strong, *Trees—or Timber? The Story of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks*, rev. ed. (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1986); and Lary M. Dilsaver and William C. Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees: A Resource History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1990). The authors are grateful to Deborah Osterberg for aid in obtaining illustrations, Beret Strong for editorial assistance, and William Tweed for suggested revisions.
2. See Douglas H. Strong, "Sequoia National Park: Discovery and Exploration," *The Western Explorer* 4 (September 1966): 1-27.
3. See A.B. Elsasser, *Indians of the Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks*, rev. ed. (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1988).
4. Strong, "Discovery and Exploration," 22-27.
5. Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1935), 295.
6. John Muir, "God's First Temples," *Sacramento Daily-Record Union*, February 5, 1876. See also William Tweed, "John Muir in the Southern Sierra," *Valley Trails* (Stockton: Stockton Corral of Westerners, 1976), 7-12.
7. See Samuel T. Porter, "The Silver Rush at Mineral King, California, 1873-1882" (M.A. thesis, Fresno State College, 1961).
8. Strong, "A History of Sequoia National Park," 61, 65.
9. U.S., Senate, *Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 1st sess., 1881, 13, pt. 1:78.
10. For a brief history, see William Tweed, *Kaweah Remembered* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1986).
11. The account that follows is based on Douglas H. Strong, "The History of Sequoia National Park, 1876-1926, Part I: The Movement to Establish a Park," *Southern California Quarterly* 48 (June 1966): 137-167. See also "The History of the Sierra Forest Reserve," June 13, 1902, and "The Sequoia National Park," *Bakersfield Morning Echo*, June 18, 1902.
12. U.S., Congress, House, *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 1890, 21, pt. 8:7834.
13. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 26:478.
14. Ibid., 26:651.
15. Richard J. Orsi, "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron': The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *Pacific Historian* 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 148. See also George Stewart to Colonel White, June 8, 1929, Sequoia National Park Archives (cited hereafter as SNPA), and "General Grant National Park," *Bakersfield Morning Echo*, June 21, 1902.
16. Tweed, *Kaweah Remembered*. Also see Strong, "The History of Sequoia National Park," Part I, 161.
17. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 26: 1095. The account that follows is based on Douglas H. Strong, "The Sierra Forest Reserve: The Movement to Preserve the San Joaquin Valley Watershed," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (March 1967): 3-17.
18. The petition is located in the National Archives, General Land Office Records, Record Group 49, Sierra National Forest File, Box 143, Part 7. SNPA also has a copy.
19. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 27:1059.
20. The account that follows is based on Strong, "A History of Sequoia National Park," 193-292. For a briefer treatment, see Strong. "The History of Sequoia National Park, 1876-1926, Part III: The Struggle to Enlarge the Park," *Southern California Quarterly* 48 (December1966):

NOTES

369-399.

21. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 44:818.
22. The movement to establish Kings Canyon is discussed in Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapter 7, and in Lary Dilsaver, "Conservation Conflict and the Founding of Kings Canyon National Park," also in this issue of *California History*. See also Francis P. Farquhar, "Legislative History of Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 26 (February 1941): 42-58.
23. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 54:41.
24. The account that follows is based on Strong, *Trees—or Timber*, 48-49.
25. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 79:446.
26. For an insider's view, see John L. Harper, *Mineral King: Public Concern with Government Policy* (Arcata, Ca: Pacifica Publishing Co., 1982).
27. Susan R. Schrepfer, "Perspectives on Conservation: Sierra Club Strategies in Mineral King," *Journal of Forest History* 20 (October 1976): 176-190.
28. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 92:3479.
29. The account that follows is based on Douglas H. Strong, "The History of Sequoia National Park, 1876-1926, Part II: The Problems of the Early Years," *Southern California Quarterly* 48 (September 1966): 265-288.
30. *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Sequoia and General Grant National Parks* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1899), 10. Cited hereinafter as *Superintendent Report*.
31. Ibid., 1910, 13.
32. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 39:535. For an insider's view, see Horace M. Albright, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-1933* (Salt Lake City: Howe Brothers, 1985).
33. *Superintendent Report*, 1890-1914, particularly 1903.
34. Strong, "A History of Sequoia National Park," 178-192.
35. See Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, especially chapter 5. See also Rick Hydrick, "The Genesis of National Park Management: John Roberts White and Sequoia National Park, 1920-1947," *Journal of Forest History* 28 (April 1984): 68-81.
36. Jim Corson, "A Brief History of the Generals Highway," June 4, 1963, an unpublished chronology; John White to H.E. Patterson, July 16, 1921; Arno Cammerer to W.B. Greeley, July 20, 1922; and SNP, "Press Bulletin on Completion of Generals Highway," June 19, 1935; all in "Roads and Trails" in SNPA. See also *Superintendent Report*, 1920-1926.
37. William Tweed, "Sequoia National Park Concessions, 1898-1926," *Pacific Historian* 16 (1972): 36-60. See also *Superintendent Report*, 1926-1930.
38. The *Sierra Club Bulletin* contains frequent references to the need for more and better trails. See also correspondence between White and William Colby and Francis Farquhar in "Sierra Club," SNPA.
39. U.S. Forest Service, "John Muir Trail: A History," 1933, SNPA; and William Tweed, *The High Sierra Trail* (Three Rivers, California: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1982).
40. William Tweed, "The Early Natural History Association" (1978), SNP library.
41. Marcella M. Sherfly, "The National Park Service and the First World War," *Journal of Forest History*, 22 (October 1978): 203-5. See also White to Horace Albright, August 2 and 6, 1931; Albright to John White, November 10, 1931; SNP, *Wildlife Management Plan* (March 1987), 11-15; and Walter Fry, "A Twenty-Five Year Survey of the Animals of Sequoia National Park" (1928); all in "Wildlife" and "Resource Management," SNPA.
42. *Superintendent Report*, 1931.
43. John White, "Atmosphere in the National Parks," an address at the Special Superintendent's Meeting, Washington, D.C., February 10, 1936, transcript in SNPA. The role of landscape architects is revealed in *Superintendent Report*, 1920-1934.
44. See John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service, 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1985), 51-65, 183, and SNP, "Statement of Conditions in Sequoia National Park Before CCC (1933) and Now (1941)," a report to the superintendent filed under "Civilian Conservation Corps," SNPA.
45. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps*, 51-65.
46. See Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapters 5-9. For correspondence on this issue, see "Giant Forest Planning," especially White to Newton Drury, September 16, 1944, SNPA. *Superintendent Report*, 1930-1947, also contains a part of the story.
47. White to Newton Drury, November 23, 1944, summarizes the history of the removal question, in "Giant Forest Planning," SNPA.
48. Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapter 6.
49. White to Drury, November 23, 1944, SNPA.
50. Newton Drury, "The National Parks in Wartime," *American Forests* 49 (August 1943): 375-78. See also *Superintendent Report*, 1942-1946.
51. Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapters 6 and 8. See also White to Drury, November 23, 1944 and September 16, 1944, SNPA.
52. See Conrad Wirth, *Parks, Politics and the People* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), especially 59-62 and 237-263; *Superintendent Report*, 1947, 1953; SNP, "Mission 66 Accomplishments, July 1, 1956-June 30, 1966)," in "Developments," SNPA.
53. For one of the earliest contributions, see Charles C. Adams, *An Ecological Survey in Northern Michigan: A Report from the University Museum, University of Michigan* (Michigan Board of Geological Survey Report, 1905).
54. For a summary of early resource management, see Lowell Sumner, "Biological Research and Management in the National Park Service: A History," *The George Wright Forum* 3 (August 1983): 3-27.
55. Emilio Meinecke, "Memorandum on the Effects of Tourist Traffic on Plant Life, Particularly Big Trees, Sequoia National Park, California," May 1926, unpublished report, in "Vegetation," SNPA.
56. Sumner, "Biological Research and Management," 5-16.
57. See sections on wildlife and vegetation management in *Superintendent Report*, 1930-1941.
58. Emilio Meinecke, "Relocation of Public and Operator Developments in Sequoia National Park," a confidential report to the National Park Service, November 1944, in "Giant Forest," SNPA.
59. Yosemite National Park, *Report on the Effects of Human Impact Upon the Giant Sequoias of the Mariposa and Tuolumne Groves—Yosemite National Park*, report to Superintendent Preston, 1954, SNPA.
60. Carl W. Sharsmith, *A Report on the Status, Changes and Ecology of Backcountry Meadows in Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks* (1959), copy in SNP Library.
61. Richard Hartesveldt, "The Effects of Human Impact Upon Sequoia Gigantea and Its Environment in the Mariposa

Grove" (1959), a preliminary report to the National Park Service, copy in Resources Management Office, SNP.

62. Stanley Cain and others, "A Vignette of Primitive America," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 48 (March 1963): 2-11.
63. U.S., *Statutes at Large*, 88:577.
64. See David J. Simon and Joseph L. Sax, *Our Common Lands* (Washington, D.C.: National Parks and Conservation Association, 1988), especially chapter 4.
65. SNP, *Sierra District Backcountry Report*, 1962-1972, in Sierra District Ranger's Office, Ash Mountain Headquarters, SNP.
66. SNP and U.S. Forest Service, *A Use Limit Plan for Portions of the John Muir Wilderness and Kings Canyon National Park* (March 16, 1973).
67. Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapters 7 and 8.
68. See John L. Harper, *Mineral King*.
69. SNP, *Mineral King Comprehensive Management Plan* (November 1980).
70. SNP, *Wildlife Management Plan* (March 1987), 11-15.
71. SNP, *Fire Management Plan* (April 1984 revision), 21-31.
72. SNP, "Recommendations of the Giant Forest Development Meeting," (June 1960), in "Giant Forest Development," SNPA.
73. SNP, *Giant Forest Development Concept Plan* (April 1980). For an earlier plan, see Sasaki, Walker and Associates, *Development Concept Plan, Giant Forest and Lodgepole, Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks, California* (1974). For a review of the evolution of the final plan, see Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, chapter 9.
74. Interview of Harold Werner, SNP fisheries biologist, by Lary Dilsaver, October 16, 1985.
75. Interview of Tom Nichols, SNP fire management specialist, by Lary Dilsaver, June 23, 1989.

BLODGETT, "Yosemite," pp. 118-133.

1. Francis P. Farquhar, "A Scene of Wonder and Curiosity," in *Yosemite: Saga of a Century 1864-1964* (Oakhurst, CA: Sierra Star Press, 1964), 11-12; Linda Wedel Greene, *Yosemite: The Park and Its Resources: Historic Resource Study; A History of the Discovery, Management and Physical Development of Yosemite National Park, California*. (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Interior, National Park Service, 1987), I, 32-34; David Robertson, *West of Eden: A History of the Art and Literature of Yosemite* (Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association and Wilderness Press, 1984), 4-5; Carl P. Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite: The Story of A Great National Park and Its Friends* (Yosemite National Park: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1959), 48-50; and Margaret Sanborn, *Yosemite: Its Discovery, Its Wonders and Its People* (New York: Random House, 1981), 79-81.
2. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 34-35; Bill and Mary Hood, "Yosemite's First Photographers," in *Yosemite Saga*, 49-52; Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957), 144-146; and Huth, "Yosemite: The History of an Idea," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (March 1948): 64-65.
3. The quotation from the early tourist is drawn from an article in *The Mariposa Democrat*, August 5, 1856, as edited by Ansel F. Hall and reprinted under the title, "The Early Days in Yosemite," in *The California Historical Society Quarterly* I (January 1923): 274. The letter from Raymond to Conness is quoted in Huth, "Yosemite," 67. The final quotation in the paragraph is taken from Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream 1850-1915* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1981, paperback reprint), 173. Also see Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 51-53, Huth, "Yosemite," 68, Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 99, and Starr, *California Dream*, 175-82.
4. The Yosemite legislation is reproduced in Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, III, Appendix D. The quotation is from Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 61. Also consult Huth, "Yosemite," 68, and Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 28-30.
5. Detailed information about the earliest services available for travelers in the Yosemite region may be found in Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 40-45, Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 92-94, Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 81-87, and Shirley Sargent, *Yosemite and Its Innkeepers: The Story of a Great Park and Its Chief Concessionaires* (Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1975), 11-12.
6. The quotation is from a letter written by William E. Boardman to Benjamin Davis Wilson, July 21, 1861 (WN 1186), located in the B. D. Wilson Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. Also consult Francis P. Farquhar, editor, *The Ralston-Fry Wedding and The Wedding Journey to Yosemite, May 20, 1858* (Berkeley: The Friends of the Bancroft Library, 1961), and the 1870 account by Olive Logan entitled "Does It Pay to Visit Yo Semite?" reprinted in *Yosemite Saga*, 13-15.
7. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 78, 89-91; Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 61-63; and Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 198-199.
8. The guidebook quoted is *Bancroft's Tourist Guide: Yosemite, San Francisco and Around the Bay (South)* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1871), 9-10. Similar advice was proferred by Charles Nordhoff, *California, For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travelers and Settlers* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872). Also consult Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 80-97, Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 93-97, and Margaret Schlichtmann, "Memories of the Big Oak Flat Road," in *Yosemite Saga*, 29-31.
9. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 115-117; Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 93-94; Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 94-98; and Sargent, *Innkeepers*, 12-13.
10. The quotation is from an undated brochure advertising the saloon in the "Yosemite National Park" file, Ephemera Collection, Rare Books Department, Huntington Library. Also refer Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 122-132, 126-127, 133, 135-138, Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 101-106, and Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 83-91.
11. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 69-77 and 89-98, Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 150-151, and Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 99-100.
12. The figures are assembled from Walter E. Dennison, compiler, *Information for the Use of Yosemite Visitors* (Sacramento: James J. Ayres, Supt. State Printing, 1886), 9-13. The 1884 party to Yosemite Valley is described in H. M. Barton, *A Trip to the Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees, California* (Dublin: Ponsonby and Weldrick, 1885), 7. Similar parties are described in W. F. Butler, *Far Out; Rovings Retold* (London: Wm. Isbister, Ltd., 1880), and Constance F. Gordon Cumming, *Granite Crags* (London and Edinburgh: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1884), among other accounts.
13. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 126-132 & 156-157; Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 101-103 & 111, and Sargent, *Innkeepers*, 14.

NOTES

14. For a description of the renovated Hutchings' House under J. K. Barnard's management, consult *Barnard's Hotel and Cottages, Yosemite Valley, California* (n.p., 189?). The broader story of private operators in the valley can be traced through Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 126-133, and Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 99-101.
15. The quotation is from Charles Nordhoff, *California* (n.p.: Ten Speed Press, 1973, paperback reprint), 71. Also see Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 145-146, and Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 106-07.
16. The quotation about accommodations in Yosemite is from C. F. G. Cumming, *Granite Crags*, 127. The quotations about the Yosemite journey are from C. F. G. Cumming, 68-69, and Barton, *Trip to the Yosemite*, 8-9. Other accounts that contain similar details about travel to the valley include the manuscript diary of Janet Jacks, May 1885, in Family Papers, Box 1, David Jacks Collection, Huntington Library; Brantz Meyer to Cornelia (Poor) Meyer, June 28, 1872 (HM 21313), Huntington Library; and Lilias Napier Rose Robinson, *Our Trip to the Yosemite Valley and Sierra Nevada Range* (London: J. Martine and Sons, 1883).
17. The quotations are from Barton, *Trip to the Yosemite*, 25, the Jacks diary (Jacks Collection), 17, and Butler, *Far Out; Rovings Retold*, 137. Other accounts that contain similar expressions of wonder are "On the Fourth Raymond Excursion to Colorado, New Mexico and California," a manuscript diary kept by Amy T. Bridges in 1882 (HM 48977), Huntington Library; Reverend J. M. Buckley, *Two Weeks in the Yosemite and Vicinity* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1873); C. F. G. Cumming, *Granite Crags;* and Brantz Meyer to Cornelia (Poor) Meyer, June 28, 1872 (HM 21313), Huntington Library.
18. These controversies are summarized in Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 69-77, 100-102, 258-259, and 289-96; Holway Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965), 33-36; Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 150-152; and Shirley Sargent, *Galen Clark, Yosemite Guardian* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1964), 73-75 and 129-131.
19. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 289-296; Jones, *Muir and Sierra Club*, 36-43; and Sargent, *Clark*, 136-137.
20. The quotation is taken from the editorial entitled "Amateur Management of the Yosemite Scenery," in *The Century Magazine* 40 (September 1890): 797-798. Criticism of the same variety is raised in "The Case of the Yosemite Valley," *The Century Magazine* 39 (January 1890): 494-495, and the open letters published under the heading of "Destructive Tendencies in the Yosemite Valley" in the same issue. The background of the alliance between Muir and Johnson is described in Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1981), 86-88 and 97-99; Jones, *Muir and Sierra Club*, 43-44; and Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 227-228.
21. The two articles by Muir are "The Treasures of the Yosemite" and "Features of the Proposed Yosemite National Park" which appeared in *The Century Magazine* 40 (August 1890): 483-500, and 40 (September 1890): 656-667, respectively. The campaign is outlined in Fox, *Muir and His Legacy*, 104-107, Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 304-309, Jones, *Muir and Sierra Club*, 44-47, and Richard J. Orsi, "'Wilderness Saint' and 'Robber Baron': The Anomalous Partnership of John Muir and the Southern Pacific Company for the Preservation of Yosemite National Park," *The Pacific Historian* 29 (Summer/Fall 1985): 136-156.
22. Michael P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club, 1892-1970.* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1988), 8-22; Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*I, 402-412; Jones, *Muir and Sierra Club*, 55-80; Sanborn, *Yosemite*, 229-36; and Orsi, "The Anomalous Partnernship."
23. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 318-341 and 370-374, and H. Duane Hampton, *How the U.S. Cavalry Saved Our National Parks* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971), 130-63.
24. The quotations are from Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), 112-13. For further discussion of the general phenomenon, consult Pomeroy, 112-124.
25. The history of the Yosemite Valley Railroad is ably encapsulated in an essay by Alfred Runte entitled "Yosemite Valley Railroad: Highway of History, Pathway of Promise," printed in Runte's informative study, *Trains of Discovery: Western Railroads and the National Parks* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Press, 1984), 60-75. It is also reviewed in Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 388-390 and 513-516. Several contemporary brochures that advertise the progressive new means of transport furnished by the railroads include Sierra Railway Company and Hetch Hetchy and Yosemite Valley Railway, *In Old Tuolumne* (n.p., n.d.); Yosemite Valley Railroad, *Yosemite The New Way Open All Year* (San Francisco: Bolte & Braden Co., c.1907); and Oliver W. Lehmer, *Yosemite National Park* (Chicago: Poole Bros., 1912).
26. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 433-439. The developing importance of automobile-borne tourist travel in the West is examined in Pomeroy, *Golden West*, 125-131 and 146-151.
27. The details of Raymond and Whitcomb's enterprise are drawn from Pomeroy, *Golden West*, 13-16, while the quotations are taken from the Bridges diary (HM 48977) and the manuscript recollections of Stephen Merrit, "From Ocean to Ocean! Or Across and Around the Country: Being an Account of the Raymond and Whitcomb Pacific, Northwest and Alaska Excursion of 1892," II, 2 (HM 53278), respectively, both in the Huntington Library.
28. The quotations are from Lehmer, *Yosemite National Park*, and Yosemite Valley Railroad Company, *Yosemite The New Way*, respectively. Similar arguments are adanced in many examples of period advertising literature, such as *Miami Lodge on the Road to Yosemite* (San Francisco: J. C. Marshall, 1915) and Andrew Jackson Wells, *The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Grove of Big Trees of California* (San Francisco: Southern Pacific Railroad Passenger Department, 1907).
29. The quotations are from Sargent, *Innkeepers*, 19 and 22. Sargent, 17-24, and Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 351-352, review Camp Curry's founding and early development.
30. The attendance figures are compiled from Sargent, *Innkeepers*, 27, 38, and 53. Camp Curry's history up to the establishment of the National Park Service in 1916 is discussed in Sargent, 35-62, and Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study*, I, 470-472.
31. Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 446-449 and 516-517, and Sargent, *Innkeepers*, 26-28. D. J. Foley, editor of *The Yosemite Tourist*, provides a contemporary description of the valley's tourist industry in *Foley's Yosemite Souvenir and Guide* (Yosemite, CA: D. J. Foley, 1908, eighth edition), 66-71.
32. The quotation is from William Lee Popham, *Yosemite Valley Romance* (Louisville,

NOTES

Kentucky: The World Supply Co., 1911), 3. Descriptions of various concessionaires can be found in Greene, *Yosemite Resource Study* I, 349-354, 462-466, and 472-480.

OGDEN, "Sublime Vistas," pp. 134-153

I am especially grateful to Peter E. Palmquist and Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., for their assistance in recent months.

1. I am indebted to Barbara Novak, my advisor at Columbia University, for many of the ideas expressed here. See Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting, 1825-1875* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980). See also Herbert Hovencamp, *Science and Religion in America, 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978).
2. See Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 183.
3. Sources on the geologists of Yosemite include William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration & Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1978; originally 1966), 355-89; and Michael L. Smith, *Pacific Visions: California Scientists and the Environment, 1850-1915* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987).
4. Sources on art and tourism include John F. Sears, "Doing Niagara Falls in the Nineteenth Century," *Niagara: Two Centuries of Changing Attitudes* (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1985), 103-115; and Kenneth Myers, *The Catskills: Painters, Writers, and Tourists in the Mountains, 1820-1895* (Yonkers, NY: The Hudson River Museum of Westchester, 1987). See also Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).
5. James Mason Hutchings, "The Yo-Ham-i-te Valley," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 1 (July 1856): 1-8.
6. Joseph Hutchinson to his father, June 7, 1859, typescript, No. 979.447 Y-1-28, Yosemite Research Library: 14.
7. Franz Stenzel, *James Madison Alden, Yankee Artist of the Pacific Coast, 1854-1860*(Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1975), 110-14.
8. See David Robertson, *West of Eden: A History of the Art and Literature of Yosemite* (Yosemite: Yosemite Natural History Association and the Wilderness Press, 1984), 9-11; and Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, "Artists in Yosemite," *The American West: The Magazine of Western History* 15 (July/August 1978): 39.
9. On the early artists of Yosemite, see also Jeanne Van Nostrand, *The First Hundred Years of Painting in California, 1775-1875* (San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980); and Edan Milton Hughes, *Artists in California, 1786-1940* (San Francisco: Hughes Publishing Company, 1986).
10. George Tirrell's *Vernal Falls*, September 3, 1858, and *Cap of Liberty and Nevada Falls*, September 1858, are now owned by the Yosemite Museum (Nos. 1945, 1946). See also James Mason Hutchings, "The Great Yo-Semite Valley," *Hutchings' California Magazine* 4 (March 1860): 386.
11. James (Joseph) Lamson, "Nine Years' Adventures in California, From September 1852 to September 1861, with Excursions into Oregon, Washington, and Nevada," entries for June 29 and 30, 1859, California Historical Society. See also Hutchings, "The Great Yo-Semite Valley," 394. Lamson's watercolor *Mount Broderick and the Nevada Fall*, 1859, is in the California Historical Society Collection.
12. James H. Lawrence, "Discovery of the Nevada Fall," *Overland Monthly* 4 (October 1884): 370.
13. For historical information of this type I have used Carl P. Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite: The Story of a Great Park and Its Friends* (Yosemite Natural History Association, 1968; originally 1931).
14. Jeanne Van Nostrand, "Thomas A. Ayres: Artist-Argonaut of California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (September 1941): 277.
15. Peter E. Palmquist, "Yosemite's First Stereo Photographer, Charles Leander Weed (1824-1903)," *Stereo World* 6 (September-October 1979): 8, 10-11.
16. "Art Items," New York *Evening Post* (December 11, 1862), 2.
17. Benjamin P. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific, Part I," *Overland Monthly* 1 (July 1868): 34.
18. Benjamin P. Avery, "Art Beginnings on the Pacific, Part II," *Overland Monthly* 1 (August 1868): 114.
19. See Gordon Hendricks, *Albert Bierstadt: Painter of the American West* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, in association with the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, 1974), 154-5; and Nancy Anderson, *Albert Bierstadt: Cho-looke, The Yosemite Fall* (San Diego: Timken Art Gallery, exhibition catalogue, May 3-June 15, 1986), n.p.
20. See Hans Huth, "Yosemite: The Story of an Idea," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (March 1948): 66-7.
21. "Local Art Items," San Francisco *Bullein* (May 25, 1869), 3. Reference courtesy Alfred C. Harrison, Jr.
22. *Kennedy Quarterly* 5 (New York: Kennedy Galleries, May 1965): 162. Thomas Hill's *Yosemite Valley*, 1864, was carried by North Point Gallery, San Francisco, in 1989.
23. Alfred C. Harrison, Jr., *William Keith: The Saint Mary's College Collection* (Moraga, California: Hearst Art Gallery, Saint Mary's College, 1988), 5, 48 (notes 55 and 56).
24. See Weston Naef, *Era of Exploration: The Rise of Landscape Photography in the American West, 1860-1885* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), 34-41.
25. See for example Harriet Errington to Lottie, August 10, 1865, in "Letters and Journal from California, 1864-65," typescript, Yosemite Research Library, 60; and Josiah D. Whitney, *The Yosemite Book* (New York: Julius Bien, 1868), 12.
26. Whitney, *The Yosemite Book*, 12-13 and plates 25-28.
27. Laura Wood Roper, "The Yosemite Valley and the Mariposa Big Trees: A Preliminary Report (1865) by Frederick Law Olmsted," *Landscape Architecture* 43 (October 1952): 12. See also Laura Wood Roper,*FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973), 287.
28. Olmsted's letter of August 9, 1865, is reprinted in Huth, "Yosemite," 70.
29. Information on Haseltine courtesy Andrea Henderson.
30. Constance F. Gordon-Cumming, *Granite Crags* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1884), 282-3. Two of Washington F. Friend's Yosemite watercolors are now at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley; another is in a private collection in California.
31. See Peter Palmquist, "California in Stereo 1850-1950," *Return to El Dorado: A Century of California Stereographs* (Riverside: California Museum of Photography, *Bulletin* 5, 1986), 6.
32. Fritiof M. Fryxell, "The Thomas Moran Art Collection of the National Parks," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 15 (August 1936): 60.
33. James D. Smillie, "Diaries," entry for June 30, 1870, Roll 2849, Frame 1003, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian

NOTES

Institution. Smillie saw Samuel Colman's California sketches on June 30.

34. See "Art Notes," *Overland Monthly* 15 (August 1875): 201; and Gordon-Cumming, *Granite Crags*, 282.
35. *Memoir, Gilbert Munger, Landscape Artist, 1836-1903* (New York: DeVinne Press, 1904), 11; and Hildegard Cummings, "Gilbert Munger on the Trail," *The William Benton Museum of Art Bulletin* no. 10 (Storrs: University of Connecticut, 1982), 7-11.
36. Smillie, "Diaries," entries for July 1-August 21, 1870, Roll 2849, Frames 1215-1240.
37. "Art Notes," *Overland Monthly* 12 (June 1874): 575. Reference courtesy Alfred C. Harrison, Jr.
38. Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *Thomas Hill: The Grand View* (Oakland: The Oakland Museum Art Department, 1980), 23-26.
39. C.D. Robinson, "Painting a Yosemite Panorama," *Overland Monthly* 22, second series (September 1893): 243-256.
40. Dwight Miller, *California Landscape Painting, 1860-1885: Artists Around Keith and Hill* (Exhibition Catalogue, Stanford University Art Gallery, December 9, 1975-February 29, 1976), 12.
41. Brother Cornelius, *Keith, Old Master of California* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1942), 217.
42. See Robert Cahn and Robert Glenn Ketchum, *American Photographers and The National Parks* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 37 and catalog.
43. Yelland's painting is at the San Diego Museum of Art; the others are privately owned.
44. "Art in California," *Alta California* (October 30, 1859), 1.
45. See Ted Orland, *Man & Yosemite: A Photographer's View of the Early Years* (Santa Cruz, California: The Image Continuum Press, 1985).
46. Jewett's *Yosemite Falls* is at the Newark Art Museum, New Jersey; *Bridalveil Falls* is privately owned.
47. Marjorie Dakin Arkelian, *William Hahn, Genre Painter, 1829-1887* (Oakland: The Oakland Museum, 1976), 27.
48. See for example Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence. A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1872), 69.
49. See Paul Hickman and Peter Palmquist, "J.J. Reilly, Photographer and Manufacturer of All Kinds of Stereoscopic Views, Part II," *Stereo World* 11 (January/February 1985): 10, 12. Therese Yelverton was then notorious because of the long series of courtroom battles in which she tried to establish the legality of her Irish marriage ceremony.
50. Benjamin F. Taylor, *Between the Gates* (Chicago: S.C. Griggs & Co., 1878), 216.
51. Palmquist, "California in Stereo," 6.
52. Peter B. Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), xii, 268-9.
53. Photographs RG57-PS(28-43), RG200-S-JH (10-38), and RG273-JH(78-82), National Archives, Washington, D.C. Hillers's Yosemite photographs are mentioned in the 1893 *Annual Report* of the U.S. Geological Survey. Information courtesy Don D. Fowler.
54. See Peter E. Palmquist, *Lawrence & Houseworth/Thomas Houseworth & Co., A Unique View of the West, 1860-1886* (Columbus, Ohio: National Stereoscopic Association, 1980), 36-7.
55. Peter E. Palmquist, *Carleton E. Watkins, Photographer of the American West* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and the Amon Carter Museum, 1983), 51-2.
56. Sarah A.J. Locke, "Diary of Events for a Trip to Yo Semite, June 5-21, 1879," typescript, 9, Yosemite Research Library.
57. James Mason Hutchings, *In the Heart of the Sierras* (Oakland: Pacific Press Publishing Co., 1886), 351.
58. Adam Clark Vroman, "Southern California and Yosemite Valley, 1900-1901," album of original prints, Center for Creative Photography, Tucson.
59. Carleton Watkins, 1864 Notebook, Miscellaneous Watkins Papers, Bancroft Library. See also Whitney, *The Yosemite Book*, and Whitney, et al., *Geology of California. I. Report of Progress and Synopsis of the Field-Work, from 1860 to 1864* (Philadelphia: Caxton Press of Sherman & Co., 1865).
60. Gordon Hendricks, *Eadweard Muybridge: The Father of the Motion Picture* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1975), 17-18; and Mary V. Jessup Hood and Robert Bartlett Haas, "Eadweard Muybridge's Yosemite Valley Photographs, 1867-1872," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 42 (March 1963): 17.
61. Smillie, "Diaries," August 26, 1871, Roll 2849, Frames 1228, 1243-47.
62. Hickman and Palmquist, "J.J. Reilly," 10.
63. Arkelian, *Thomas Hill*, 37.
64. Hutchings, *In the Heart of the Sierras*, 350.
65. Thomas Hill, "Notebook with Entries Dated 1884-1887," Hill Memorabilia Collection, the Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento.
66. Charles D. Robinson, "The Artists of California," list enclosed in a letter to Mr. Newbegin, San Rafael, August 8, 1927, n.p., Bancroft Library (copy at Oakland Museum Library).
67. J. Gray Sweeney, *American Painting at The Tweed Museum of Art and Glensheen* (Duluth: The University of Minnesota, 1982), 52.
68. "Art Notes," San Francisco *Morning Call* (January 18, 1880).
69. Clark's *Yosemite Valley* was copyrighted by Charles H. Crosby in Massachusetts in 1872 and 1873, and by D.S. Norris in 1873 (copyright no. 4425, Library of Congress). Chromos by Key and Wilkie can be seen at the Boston Public Library Print Collection.
70. Paul Hickman and Terence Pitts, *George Fiske, Yosemite Photographer* (Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press in cooperation with the Center for Creative Photography, 1980), 15.
71. See Katherine Mather Littell, *Chris Jorgensen, California Pioneer Artist* (Sonora, California: Fine Arts Research Publishing Co., 1988).
72. Virginia Best Adams, "Best's Studio," in Jack Gyer, ed., *Yosemite: Saga of a Century, 1864-1964* (Oakhurst, California: The Sierra Star Press, 1964), 46-7.
73. Robertson, *West of Eden*, 94-5, 134-6.

HYDE, "Stagecoach to Packard," pp. 154-169.

1. Technically, Yellowstone was the first *national* park. Created in 1872, it was the first chunk of land set off under control of the United States government to be a "pleasuring ground" for the people. Yosemite Valley, however, granted by the federal government to the state of California in 1864, originated the idea of setting aside scenic wilderness to be protected from exploitation. For details, see Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1979).
2. Anne F. Hyde, "An American Vision: Far Western Landscape and the Formation of National Culture, 1820-1920" (Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1988), 401-77.
3. Quoted in Stephen Fox, *John Muir and His Legacy: The American Conservation Movement*

NOTES

(Boston, 1981), 14.

4. Olive Logan, "Does It Pay to Visit Yosemite?" *Galaxy* 10 (October 1870): 498; Miriam Leslie, *California: A Pleasure Trip From Gotham to the Golden Gate* (New York, 1877), 213.
5. George A. Crofutt, *Crofutt's Transcontinental Tourist's Guide* (New York, 1871), 192; N.C. Carnall, *California Guide for Tourists and Settlers* (San Francisco, 1889), 27; Leslie, *California*, 234.
6. Carl R. Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite: The Story of A Great National Park* (Yosemite Natural History Association, 1957), 61.
7. Susan Coolidge, "A Few Hints on the California Journey," *Scribners* 6 (May 1873): 26; Caroline M. Churchill, *Over the Purple Hills, Or, Sketches of Travel in California* (Denver, 1884), 117.
8. Churchill, *Purple Hills*, 118-19; Rose Pender, *A Lady's Experiences in the Wild West in 1883* (Lincoln, Nebr., 1978), 101.
9. Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 93-109; Robert Shankland, *Steve Mather of the National Parks* (New York, 1951), 131.
10. *To San Francisco and Back* (n.p., 1868), 94; Churchill, *Purple Hills*, 144.
11. Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 111; John Ise, *Our National Park Policy* (Baltimore, 1961), 72.
12. Hyde, "An American Vision, 418-470.
13. Muir, quoted in Fox, *John Muir*, 84; Charles Nordhoff, *California for Health, Pleasure, and Residence* (New York, 1872), 69; Logan, "Does It Pay," 505.
14. Coolidge, "A Few Hints," 30; Susie C. Clark, *The Round Trip From the Hub to the Golden Gate* (Boston, 1890), 125; Logan, "Does It Pay," 501.
15. John H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West: or, Five Years in the Territories* (Philadelphia, 1873), 251; Pender, *A Lady's Experiences*, 32, quoted in Clark, *The Round Trip*, 143.
16. Quoted in Ise, *Park Policy*, 73-74.
17. Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 61; Ise, *Park Policy*, 208-11; Churchill, *Purple Hills*, 120.
18. John B. Rae, *The Road and Car in American Life* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), 48-50; John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth Century North America* (Omaha, 1985), 101-2.
19. Richard A. Bartlett, *Yellowstone: A Wilderness Besieged* (Tucson, 1985), 82-86; Tom Dillon, *Over the Trails of Glacier National Park* (St. Paul, 1912), 6; Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 63-66.
20. Rae, *Road and Car*, 50; James J. Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 129-131.
21. Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 18-22; James Montgomery Flagg, *Boulevards All the Way—Maybe!* (New York, 1925), 138.
22. Vernon McGill, *Diary of a Motor Journey from Chicago to Los Angeles* (Los Angeles, 1922), xvi.
23. Herbert A. Jump, *The Yosemite: A Spiritual Interpretation* (Boston, 1916), 1.
24. Frank E. Brumner, *Outlook* 137 (July 16, 1924): 437.
25. Muir, *Our National Parks*, 1; J. Horace McFarland, "Are National Parks Worthwhile?" *Sierra Club Bulletin* 8 (January 1912): 236.
26. Mary Roberts Rinehart, *Through Glacier Park: Seeing America First with Howard Eaton* (Boston, 1916), 24-25; Grace Gallatin Seton-Thompson, *A Woman Tenderfoot* (London, 1901), 4.
27. Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 106-113; Earl Pomeroy, *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America* (New York, 1957), 198-205; Emerson Hough, *Yellowstone National Park* (n.p., 1922), 5; R.L. Duffus, "America Works Hard at Play," *New York Times Magazine*, September 1, 1929, 21.
28. Quoted in Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 6-7.
29. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 178-180; Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 65.
30. Runte, *National Parks*, 90-95; Quoted in Jenks Cameron, *The National Park Service: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (New York, 1922), 12.
31. Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 16-23.
32. Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 56-57; Ise, *Park Policy*, 194-195.
33. Ronald A. Foresta, *America's National Parks and Their Keepers* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 25; William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, Col., 1983), 16; Stephen Mather, "Progress in the National Parks," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (January 1920): 5.
34. Quoted in Peter J. Schmitt, *Back To Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York, 1969), 161.
35. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 171-173; Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 146.
36. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 173; Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 147.
37. Quoted in Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 145.
38. Ise, *Park Policy*, 196.
39. Hyde, "An American Vision," 498-504.
40. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 174; Russell, *One Hundred Years*, 69.
41. Ise, *Park Policy*, 203; Ansel F. Hall, *Handbook of Yosemite National Park* (New York, 1921), 45.
42. Foresta, *National Parks*, 27; Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 131-32; Hall, *Handbook*, 45.
43. James E. Rother, "Three Weeks in the San Joaquin—Kings," typescript in the Bancroft Library, 1919, 27; Hall, *Handbook*, 45.
44. James Bryce, "National Parks—The Need of the Future," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 9 (January 1913): 29; Charles A. Noble, "The Sierra Club Outing of 1919," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 11 (September 1920): 15.
45. R.B. Mitchell in *Proceedings of the National Park Conference* (Washington, D.C., 1912), 109.
46. Ise, *Park Policy*, 182; Shirley Sargent, *Yosemite and its Innkeepers: The Story of A Great Park and Its Chief Concessionaires* (Yosemite, 1975), 70-71.
47. Shankland, *Steve Mather*, 133-135; Sargent, *Yosemite*, 84-85.
48. Hall, *Handbook*, 307.
49. Stephen Mather, "Sieur De Monts and Yosemite: The Problem of Our National Parks," *Outlook* 15 (April 5, 1917): 750.
50. Jeffrey Limerick, Nancy Ferguson, and Richard Oliver, *America's Grand Resort Hotels* (New York, 1979), 221-223.
51. Limerick, Ferguson, and Oliver, *Resort Hotels*, 221-223; Hyde, "An American Vision," 478-481; Curry Company, *The Ahwahnee, Situated in Yosemite National Park* (n.p., 1928).
52. Lewis Gannett, *Sweet Land* (Garden City, N.Y., 1934), 161.

RUNTE, "Grinnell," pp. 170-181.

I am indebted to Resources for the Future, Washington, D.C., and the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, Cooperstown, New York, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for financial assistance in making this article possible.

1. E. Raymond Hall, "Joseph Grinnell (1877 to 1939)," *Journal of Mammalogy* 20 (November 14, 1939): 409, 411.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Grinnell to Lane, October 7, 1914, and attached Prospectus, "Natural History Survey of Yosemite National Park," File 12-13, pt. 1, Yosemite National Park, Privileges, Joseph Grinnell, Central Files, 1907-39,

NOTES

Records of the National Park Service, Record Group 79, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter cited as R.G. 79).

5. The history of Yosemite's changing boundaries is well-treated in Holway R. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965).
6. Grinnell to Lane, October 7, 1914, and attached Prospectus, File 12-13, pt. 1, R.G. 79.
7. Bryant to Grinnell, June 18, 1917, and Grinnell to Bryant, June 19, 1917, both in the Bryant File, Records of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California, Berkeley (hereinafter cited as MVZ).
8. Joseph Grinnell and Tracy I. Storer, "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks," *Science* 44 (September 15, 1916): 375-380.
9. Ibid., 379.
10. Hall, "Joseph Grinnell," 413.
11. Mather to Grinnell, October 3, 1916, Mather File, MVZ.
12. Grinnell to W.B. Lewis, July 8, 1920, Lewis File, MVZ.
13. Grinnell and Storer, "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks," 377-78.
14. Thomas R. Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), 79-80; Horace M. Albright, "The National Park Service's Policy on Predatory Mammals," *Journal of Mammalogy* 12 (May 1931): 185-86. Some predator controls continued throughout the 1930s. For a further summary, see John Ise, *Our National Park Policy: A Critical History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961), 592-97.
15. Grinnell and Storer, "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks," 377.
16. Grinnell to Lewis, November 25, 1925, Lewis File, MVZ.
17. Joseph Grinnell and Tracy I. Storer, *Animal Life in the Yosemite: An Account of the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles, and Amphibians in a Cross Section of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924).
18. Grinnell to E.P. Leavitt, October 4, 1927, File 710, pt. 1, Yosemite Fauna, General, Central Classified Files, 1907-49, R.G. 79. Grinnell further published his "Open Letter" as "Recommendations Concerning the Treatment of Large Mammals in Yosemite National Park," *Journal of Mammalogy* 9 (February 1928): 76.
19. Grinnell to Lewis, September 14, 1920, Lewis File, MVZ.
20. Hall, "Joseph Grinnell," 417.
21. See, for example, Horace M. Albright as told to Robert Cahn, *The Birth of the National Park Service: The Founding Years, 1913-33* (Salt Lake City and Chicago: Howe Brothers, 1985), 121-22. Joseph Grinnell's contribution to park interpretation is not even mentioned.
22. Grinnell to Mather, June 6, 1919, Mather File, MVZ.
23. Bryant to Grinnell, July 19, 1919, and Grinnell to Bryant, July 29, 1919, both Bryant File, MVZ.
24. Carl P. Russell, *One Hundred Years in Yosemite: The Story of a Great Park and Its Friends* (Yosemite: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1968), 189. Russell, who began his career in Yosemite as a park naturalist and later served as superintendent (1947-52), was also among the few people who carefully acknowledged the contributions of Enid Michael, the first woman interpreter in the natural history program. See especially 134-35.
25. Bryant to Grinnell, June 9, 1920, Bryant File, MVZ.
26. Hall, "Joseph Grinnell," 416.
27. Grinnell to Bryant, June 9, 1922, Bryant File, MVZ.
28. In Yosemite, for example, these displays included a herd of exotic Tule elk, which, at Grinnell's insistence, was finally removed to the Owens Valley in 1933. See the C.G. Thomson File, MVZ. A contemporary account of the issue is A.E. Borell, "Yosemite Elk Herd Moved to Owens Valley," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 12 (December 1933): 107-109.
29. An important inventory of early studies affecting the national parks is U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Research and Education in the National Parks*, by Harold C. Bryant and Wallace W. Atwood, Jr. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1932).
30. On the issue of the origins of the national park idea, see Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (2d ed., rev.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 28-32; and Hans Huth, "Yosemite: The Story of an Idea," *Sierra Club Bulletin* 33 (March 1948): 47-78.
31. Hall, "Joseph Grinnell," 411.
32. A revealing summary of Bryant's career is Ann and Myron Sutton, "The Man from Yosemite," *National Parks Magazine* 28 (July-September 1954): 102-105, 131-32.
33. U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States: A Preliminary Survey*, by George M. Wright, Joseph S. Dixon, and Ben H. Thompson (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1933); and U.S., Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Fauna of the National Parks of the United States: Wildlife Management*, by George M. Wright and Ben H. Thompson (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935).
34. U.S., Department of the Interior, Advisory Board on Wildlife Management, *Wildlife Management in the National Parks*, by A.S. Leopold, et al., Report to the Secretary, March 4, 1963, 4.
35. Grinnell and Storer, "Animal Life as an Asset of National Parks," 377; Wright, et al., *Fauna of the National Parks (1933)*, 1; Leopold Committee, *Report*, 5.
36. Although in 1944, five years after Grinnell's death.
37. Grinnell to Robert Sterling Yard, July 17, 1915, Yard File, MVZ. Yard, an Interior Department official, had asked Grinnell to advocate controlling gray squirrels in the national parks. Grinnell refused, citing the lack of evidence that gray squirrels destroyed birds' eggs, as Yard and others charged.
38. For more on Grinnell, see especially Dunlap, *Saving America's Wildlife*, and Alfred Runte, *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). An important collection of Grinnell's essays is *Joseph Grinnell's Philosophy of Nature: Selected Writings of a Western Naturalist* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1943).

PAVLIK, "In Harmony," pp. 182-195.

1. Among the best known titles regarding the park's discovery are Layfayette H. Bunnell, *Discovery of the Yosemite in 1851* (Golden, Colorado: Outbooks, 1980); Francis P. Farquhar, *History of the Sierra Nevada* (Berkeley: University of California, 1965); Bil Gilbert, *Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker, Master of the Frontier* (New York: Atheneum, 1983); Carl Parcher Russell, *100 Years in Yosemite* (Yosemite: Yosemite Natural History Association, 1968). Its establishment and administration are addressed in William C. Everhart, *The National Park Service* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1983); John Ise, *Our*

NOTES

National Park Policy: A Critical History (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1961); Holway R. Jones, *John Muir and the Sierra Club: The Battle for Yosemite* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1965); Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).

2. As quoted in William C. Tweed, *Parkitecture: A History of Rustic Building Design in the National Park System: 1916-1942* (Typewritten MS, 1978), 26, on file, Yosemite National Park Research Library.
3. Stephen T. Mather, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1917* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1917), 60; Mather, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1918*, 45; James Delgado, "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form: Yosemite Hydroelectric Power Plant," typewritten MS, September 1981, on file, Yosemite National Park Research Library. I relied on Delgado's nomination form as a concise, complete, and accurate secondary source of information regarding the construction of the power plant and its components.
4. Mather, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1918*, 45; *Annual Report of the Superintendent of National Parks . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1916*, 14-15.
5. James Delgado, "National Register . . . Nomination Form: Yosemite Hydroelectric Power Plant"; Mather, *Annual Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1918*, 45.
6. Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1917*, Gabriel Sovulewski, "Monthly Supervisor's Reports," November 1916, December 1916, and various reports, 1917, on file, Yosemite National Park Research Library.
7. Tweed, *Parkitecture*, 30-31; Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1920*, 113.
8. The works of Hans Huth, Roderick Nash, and Alfred Runte amply address the issue of a national identity "crisis" and the role of nature, parks, and wilderness in defining our heritage. Harold Kirker has accounted for the colonial nature of architecture in early California in the absence of an existing regional or local style. Hans Huth, *Nature and the American* (Berkeley: University of California, 1957); Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 3rd ed. 1982); Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*; Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino: The Huntington Library, 1960).
9. Mather did his best to make the old administration building seem atrocious. In 1919 he wrote, "The present building . . . is the result of joining together two old abandoned buildings inherited from the state administration and to which was added later a second story . . . It is a ramshackle affair, the foundations of which have unevenly settled and rotted away, leaving the floors warped and uneven, infested with vermin impossible to eliminate, inadequately ventilated and lighted, and above all wholly lacking in space for the necessary office work for effective administration." See Mather, *Report of the Director of the National Park Service . . . for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1919*, 197.
10. W.B. Lewis, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, March, 1925," 13.
11. Lewis, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1924," 14.
12. Lewis, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1923," 7 and 28.
13. Lewis, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1925," 3.
14. Lewis, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, October, 1925," 8.
15. Gabriel Sovulewski, "The Story of Campgrounds in Yosemite Valley," *Yosemite Nature Notes* 16 (November 1937): 81-4.
16. Ibid.; Donald Bertram Tresidder, "The National Parks: A Public Health Problem" (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Medicine, Stanford University, 1927), 119.
17. "Descriptions of Sewer Systems in Yosemite National Park," November 1931, typewritten MS, box 11, Yosemite National Park Research Library-Records Center (hereinafter referred to as "YNPRL-RC").
18. George V. Bell, *Report of the Acting Superintendent of the Yosemite National Park to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1915* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 6.
19. Tresidder, "The National Parks," 71.
20. "Descriptions of Sewer Systems in Yosemite National Park."
21. Ibid.
22. Tresidder, "The National Parks," 131.
23. E.M. Hilton, "Yosemite Valley Sewage Treatment Plant," n.d., typewritten MS, Box 11, YNPRL-RC.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.; C.G. Thomson, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, June 1930," 2.
26. H.B. Hommon, "Treatment and Disposal of Sewage in the National Parks," *American Journal of Public Health* 25 (February 1935): 128-46.
27. Thomson, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, May 1934," 5.
28. Gabriel Sovulewski, "Monthly Supervisor's Report, May 1930," 2; Thomson, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, August, 1932," 5.
29. Thomson, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, April 1934," 6-7; "Glacier Point Comfort Station" file, box 59, YNPRL-RC.
30. Lewis, "Superintendent's Annual Report, 1923," 6.
31. The highly desirable nature of this area for development was recognized early by National Park Service officials, although it was not until the Mission 66 era (1956-1966) that residences, offices, a store, and a delicatessen were erected on the site.
32. "Minutes of the Meeting at Indian Village, 1929," typewritten MS, YNPRL-RC, Box 8.
33. "Memorandum of Tentative Conclusions in Regard to Certain Problems presented at Meetings of July 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, August 1 and 2," in Minutes of Yosemite National Park Committee of Expert Advisors, August 2, 1929, 3, box 10, YNPRL-RC.
34. Thomas C. Vint to Superintendent, March 9, 1928, "Landscaping" box, YNPRL-RC.
35. Ibid.
36. Thomson, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, April, 1931," n.p.; "Completion Report: Six Cabins, Indian Village," March 1932, Maintenance Office, Yosemite NP.
37. "Completion Report: Six Cabins, Indian Village"; Memorandum for the Regional Director, Region 4, from Frank A. Kittredge, Superintendent, October 6, 1947, box 8, YNPRL-RC.
38. John C. Paige, *The Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service 1933-1942: An Administrative History* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1985), 7-10. There are few secondary works on the CCC, and all are of a general nature.
39. Ibid.
40. "The Crisis in Civil Works," *The Literary Digest* 117 (February 3, 1934): 10; Florence Peterson, "CWA: A Candid Appraisal,"

NOTES

Atlantic Monthly 153 (May 1934): 587-90.

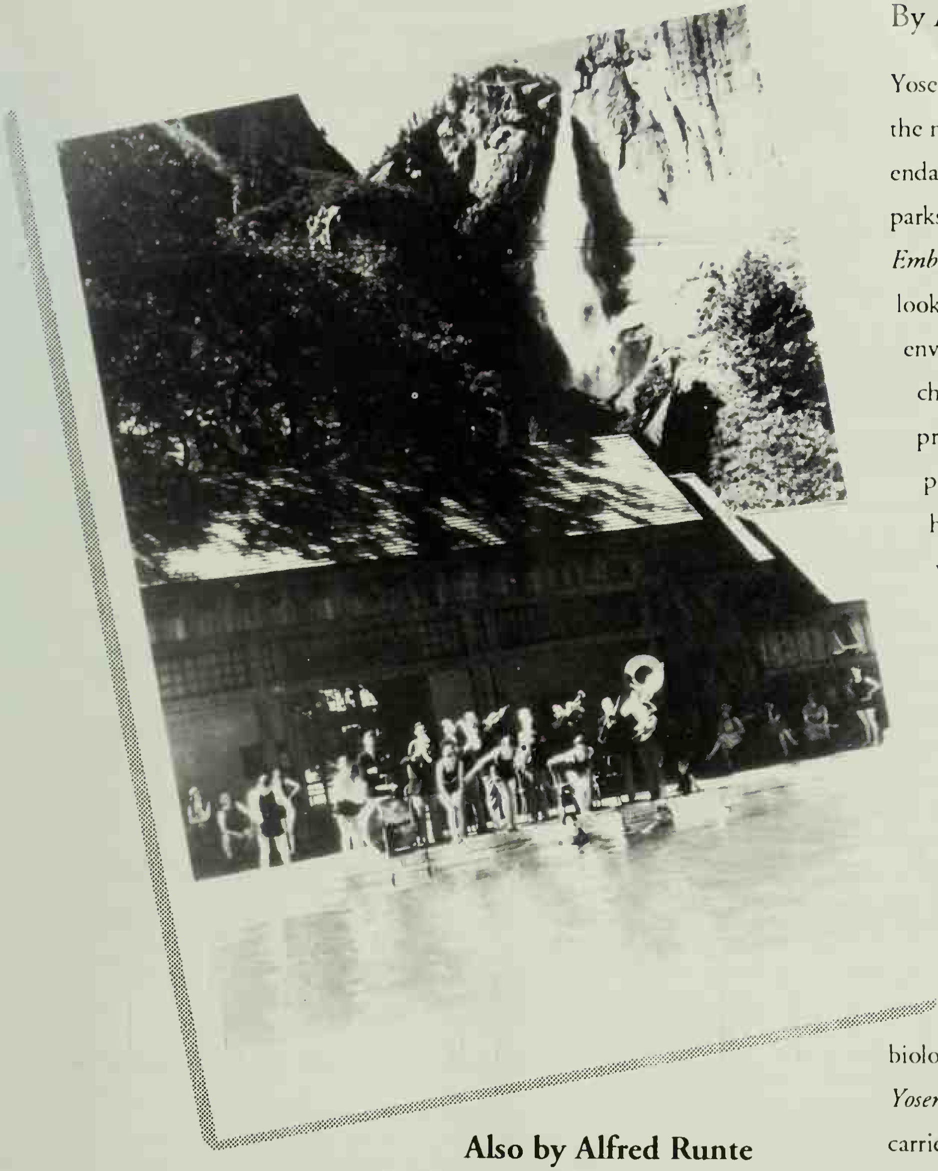
41. Wayne W. Parrish, "CWA Ends After Brightening Up Nation," *The Literary Digest* 117 (April 21, 1934): 9, 50.
42. Justus S. Wardell, "The Federal Public Works Program," *California Arts and Architecture,* October 1933.
43. Ibid.
44. J.A. Killalee, "Final Construction Report: Grading of the Tuolumne Meadows-Tioga Pass Section of the Tioga Road," January 22, 1936, box 51, YNPRL-RC.
45. Ibid.
46. During the 1950s, a dramatic battle ensued between and among Park Service officials and Sierra Club members over the completion of the Tioga road. One can only speculate that, had the road been completed prior to World War II, its impact on the landscape would have been minimized. For more information, see Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 173; Michael P. Cohen, *The History of the Sierra Club 1892-1970* (San Francisco: Sierra Club Books, 1988), 134-142; and Ansel Adams, *Ansel Adams: An Autobiography* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company/New York Graphic Society, 1985), 154-156.
47. Lawrence C. Merriam, "Superintendent's Monthly Report, June, 1940."
48. Ibid.

DILSAVER, "Conservation Conflict," pp. 196-205.

1. John Muir, "A Rival of the Yosemite—The Canyon of the South Fork of the Kings River," *Century* 21 (April 1891): 77-82.
2. Larry Dilsaver and William Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees* (Three Rivers, CA: Sequoia Natural History Association, 1990), ch. 7; Douglas Strong, "A History of Sequoia National Park" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1964), 63-292.
3. George Gibbs, *Preliminary Plan for Development of Kings River Canyon for Recreation* (San Francisco: United States Forest Service, California Region, November, 1933), found in Sequoia National Park (SNP) at the Ash Mountain Headquarters library.
4. Barry Mackintosh, "Harold Ickes and the National Park Service," *Journal of Forest History* 29 (April 1985): 78-84; William Colby, transcript of an interview by Corrinne Gibb, 51-56, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
5. Max Hayden, "Kings Canyon Becomes a National Park," an address to the Fresno Academy delivered during November 1968. A twenty-nine page transcript of the address is kept at Sequoia National Park in the museum archives vault at Ash Mountain Headquarters.
6. Quoted in Mackintosh, "Harold Ickes and the National Park Service," 82.
7. Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, ch. 7.
8. Frank Kittredge, "Kings Canyon National Park," (Unpublished memoir, Sequoia National Park archives, Box 39691, filed in chronological order, April 26, 1950).
9. A good comparison of land management philosophy is available in Dyan Zaslowsky and the Wilderness Society, *These American Lands* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1986), especially 9-112; a discussion of the relations between the agencies in California and how they affected the Kings Canyon issue is found in Irving Brant, *Adventures in Conservation with Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Flagstaff, AZ: Northland Publishing Company, 1988), 147-218.
10. For a step by step reconstruction of the negotiations, see the sixteen reports from B. F. Manbey to Frank Kittredge, Sequoia National Park archives, Box 425629, File 602-02 in chronological order: February 11, 28, March 8, 21, April 4, 13, 26, May 4, 7, 25, June 3, 13, July 5, 25, August 20, 30, 1938.
11. Brant, *Adventures in Conservation*, 165-168.
12. Brant, *Adventures in Conservation*, 162-172, 185-199.
13. Ibid.
14. Stuart B. Show, transcript of an interview by Amelia Fry, 176-211, Bancroft Library.
15. Brant, *Adventures in Conservation*, 198.
16. There are several excellent accounts of the following bizarre story, each of which adds details that the others do not: Brant, *Adventures in Conservation*, 203-205; Hayden, "Kings Canyon Becomes a National Park"; and *Congressional Record, House*, Vol. 84, Part 5, 76th Congress 1st Session (May 2, 1939), 5033-5045.
17. Hayden, "Kings Canyon Becomes a National Park," 8.
18. Ibid., 8-15.
19. *Congressional Record, House*, 5040.
20. *Congressional Record, House*, 5044.
21. Brant, *Adventures in Conservation*, 205-213.
22. See Dilsaver and Tweed, *Challenge of the Big Trees*, ch. 8.
23. Show, interview by Amelia Fry, 207-208.

YOSEMITE The Embattled Wilderness

By Alfred Runte



Yosemite ranks with Yellowstone as the most visited, cherished, and endangered of the major national parks. Alfred Runte's *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* is the first to look in depth at the park's environmental history. Runte chronicles the struggle between proponents of preservation and proponents of maximized use that has been going on since 1864, when President Abraham Lincoln signed an act setting aside Yosemite Valley "for public use, resort, and recreation." Runte focuses on the ideal of Yosemite National Park as a natural sanctuary and "on the simultaneous erosion of that ideal by pressures for greater development generally divorced from biological considerations." *Yosemite: The Embattled Wilderness* carries enormous implications for the future of every protected wilderness. 6 color and 50 b&w illustrations, 1 map. $24.95

Also by Alfred Runte
National Parks
The American Experience
Second Edition, Revised
$23.95 cloth, $11.95 paper

Available at bookstores or from

NEBRASKA

The University of Nebraska Press
901 North 17th Street
Lincoln 68588-0520

California Historical Society
BOOK SALE

The California Historical Society is pleased to offer this selection of books and posters at very special prices:

BOOKS

Backstory: Interviews with Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age by Pat McGilligan (paperbound)	$10.95
Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow (paperbound)	$17.95
A Companion to California by James D. Hart (paperbound)	$13.95
Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion by Richard E. Lingenfelter (paperbound)	$13.95
The Diaries and Writing of Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921 edited by John E. Keller (clothbound)	$3.95
Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century by Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh (clothbound)	$23.00
Felipe De Neve: First Governor of California by Edwin A. Beilharz (clothbound)	$10.00
Indians of California: The Changing Image by James J. Rawls (paperbound)	$18.50
Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo by W.W. Robinson (paperbound)	$4.00
The Making of Golden Gate Park 1906-1950 by Raymond Clary (paperbound)	$12.95
Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land by Augusta Fink (paperbound)	$9.95
Place Names of the Sierra Nevada by Peter Browning (paperbound)	$9.95
To the Promised Land by Ken Light (clothbound)	$25.00
Southern California: An Island on the Land by Carey McWilliams (paperbound)	$6.95
Stairway Walks of San Francisco by Adah Bakalinsky (paperbound)	$5.95
Index to the California Historical Society Quarterly:	
Vols. 1-40, 1922-1961	$6.90
Vols. 41-54, 1962-1975	$9.00

POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

After Dark (boxing playbill)	$4.00
San Francisco Wharf woodcut print by Dan Quest	$12.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	$5.00
History of California Women	$5.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory	$10.00

Book and poster supplies are limited. All items are sold on a no-return basis. Please pre-pay all orders.

Postage and handling charges: $1.50 for first item, $.50 for each additional item. California sales tax 6¼ percent.

Send orders to: CHS BOOKS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109
Please allow 6–8 weeks for delivery.

Additional information is available upon request.

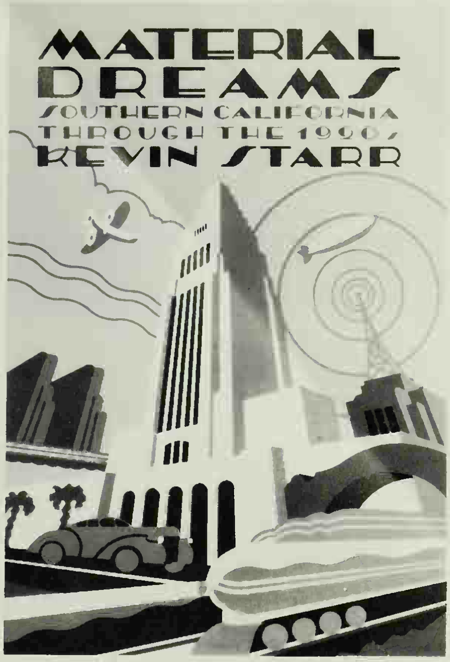
"**Richly researched, informative, fun to read**....An engaging, eccentric history....It shifts focus like a zoom lens, from physical growth to cultural ferment, water to oil, cops to football, oligarchs to Babbits, Bible-thumpers to architects, transportation to bibliophilia, William Mulholland to Jake Zeitlin, Frank Lloyd Wright to Simon Rodia, ethnic mix to real estate." —*Los Angeles Times*

"**Absorbing**....Besides illustrating the comedy and pathos of this nontraditional culture, Starr's three books demonstrate that it *is* a culture, as dense and fascinating in its way as a traditional mannered society." —*The Atlantic*

"The breadth of cultural detail astounds....California is worthy of the epic treatment accorded it here." —*The Washington Post Book World*

"Starr's two previous books...have made him the scholar laureate of the Golden State....Like its predecessors, 'Material Dreams' is a splendid achievement: impressively researched, expertly argued, and nicely varied." —*Boston Sunday Globe*

"Excellent.... Highly recommended." —*Library Journal*


MATERIAL DREAMS
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA THROUGH THE 1920S
KEVIN STARR

$24.95, 453 pp.

Just published by Oxford

Californiana from California

Postsuburban California

The Transformation of Orange County since World War II

Rob Kling, Spencer Olin, & Mark Poster, Editors

Neither a city nor a traditional suburb, Orange County, California represents a striking example of a new kind of social formation. This pathbreaking, multidisciplinary volume offers a cogent case study of the "postsuburban" phenomenon as it examines themes currently at the forefront of urban and regional studies.

$34.95

Thrown Among Strangers

The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California

Douglas Monroy

Monroy provides a bold reinterpretation of the interplay among Spanish, Indian, Mexican and Anglo cultures in California from the arrival of the Spanish in the late 18th century to the dawn of the 20th. He achieves a new and deeper understanding of both the history of Spanish and Mexican California and of how people through their passions, foibles, and institutions, created Mexican culture in southern California.

$24.95

* * *

At bookstores or order toll-free 1-800-822-6657. Visa & MasterCard only.

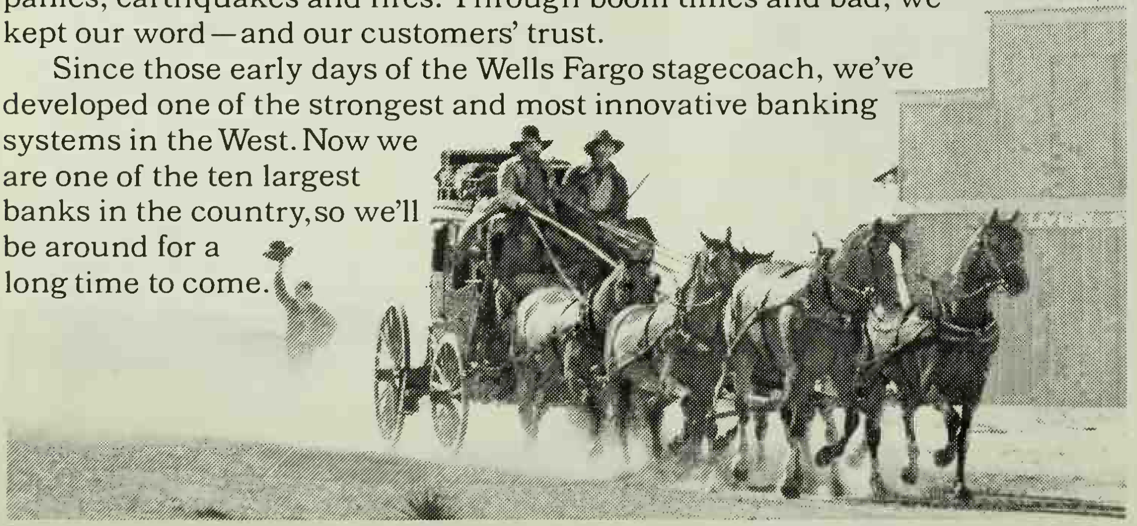
University of California Press • Berkeley 94720

Trusted by Californians since 1852.

Wells Fargo comes through.

For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word—and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.



© 1987, WFB, N.A.

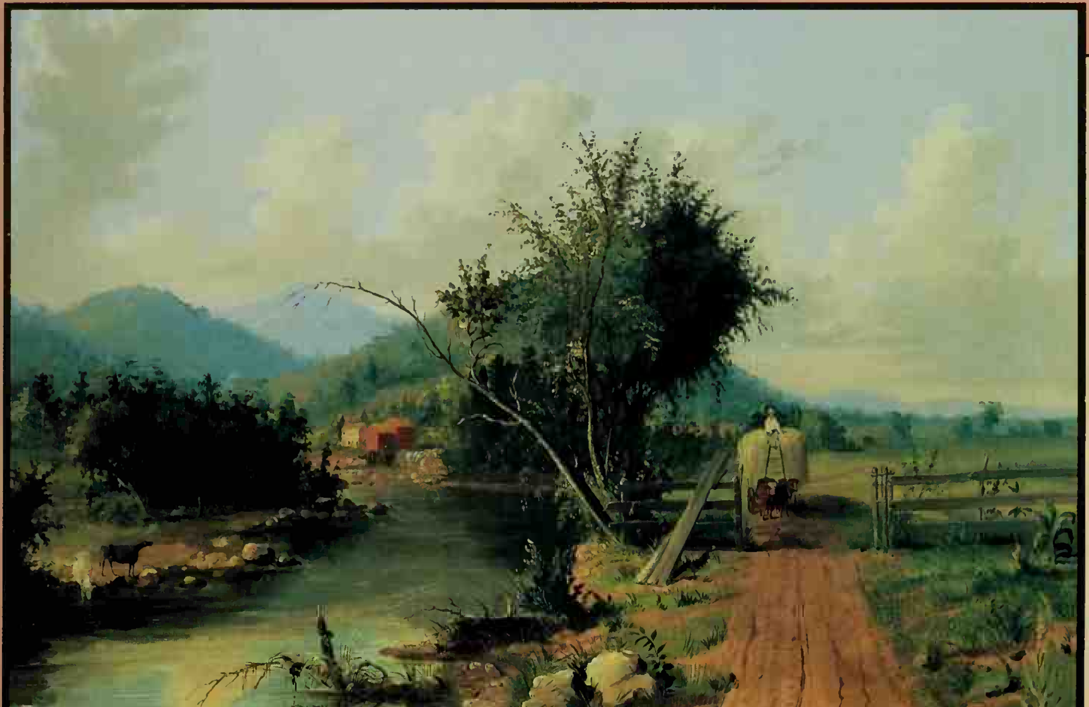
Member FDIC

WELLS FARGO BANK

$7.95

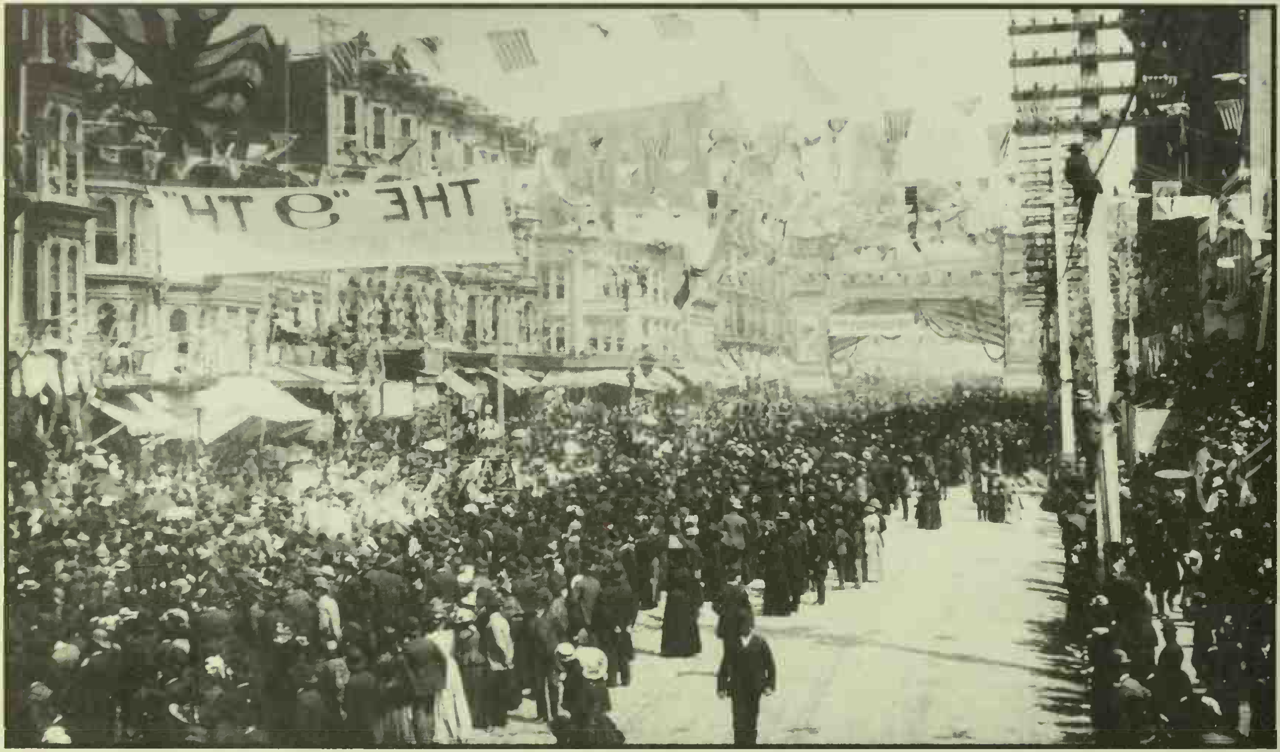
FALL 1990

CALIFORNIA HISTORY



BURLINGAME
NOV 29 1990
LIBRARY

Milestones in California History—Admission Day Celebrations in 1890



CHS Library, San Francisco.

San Francisco's celebration of the fortieth anniversary of statehood, depicted in this photograph taken on September 9, 1890, lasted five days and culminated in the largest parade ever held in the young city. San Francisco was chosen to host the state's Admission Day activities that year. Nearly all the city's 300,000 residents turned out to watch and celebrate as an estimated 20,000 participants marched in bands or rode by in carriages and gaily decorated floats. The festivities were organized and sponsored by the Native Sons of the Golden West, founded in 1875, and the Native Daughters of the Golden West, founded in 1886. Local chapters throughout the state sent delegates; San Francisco's newspapers estimated there were fifty to one hundred thousand visitors in the city. The theme of the 1890 celebration was to pay special tribute to the aging pioneers, whose courage, industry, and enterprise laid the foundations for the state's first forty remarkable years. One hundred years later, that same pioneering zeal and spirit that distinguished the 49ers still exists—in natives and immigrants alike. These ingredients will be necessary to maintain the state's economic and social leadership and to propel California into the twenty-first century.

Keith Kennedy, Editorial Assistant,
California History

On the Cover: "Jamestown, or D.O. Mills' Mill" (ca. 1855), a painting attributed to Alburtus del Orient Browere (1814-1887). Primarily a painter of landscapes, Browere came from New York to California in 1852 to record on canvas life in the mining districts. *From the CHS Collection, San Francisco; photographed by Cecile Keefe.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIX No. 3

Fall 1990

MICHAEL McCONE
Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

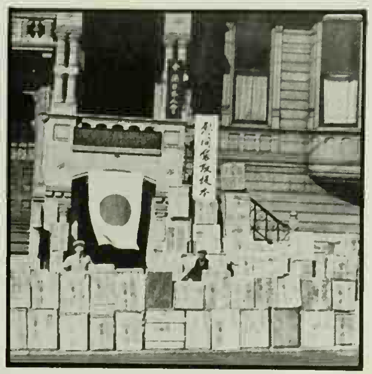
JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
Corinne Abbott, Michael Campbell, Pamela Challinor, George Johnson, Keith Kennedy, Cheryl Kolinen

250



260

276

235
Greetings from the Executive Director

236
Taking the Country Barefooted: The Indiana Colony in Southern California
by James H. Madison

250
Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Wood, and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce
by Glenda Riley

260
Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941
by Yuji Ichioka

276
"Race Prejudice is not Inborn—It is Learned": The Exhibit Controversy at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1950-1952
by Howard Shorr

284
"Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler": Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898 California Golden Jubilee
Edited with an Introduction by M. Guy Bishop

293
Reviews

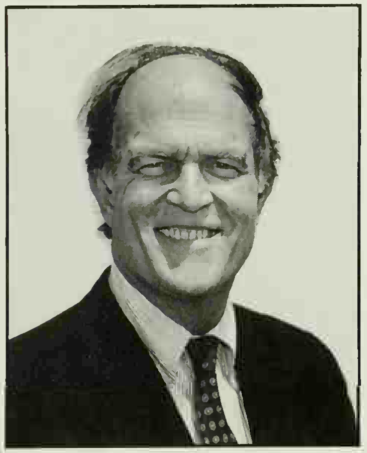
304
California Checklist

307
Notes

314
Donors

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.



Michael McCone, Executive Director, California Historical Society.
CHS Library, San Francisco.

Greetings from the Executive Director

It is a privilege to be a part of the California Historical Society. When I assumed my duties as Executive Director on July 23, 1990, I found an eager staff, Trustees committed to returning the Society to robust health, and a steadfast membership. This short message of introduction is to you, the membership, and to our ever-increasing number of readers who we hope will become members.

The purpose of the California Historical Society is to nurture and promote the history of the state of California; to collect, preserve, interpret, publish, and exhibit all aspects of the rich diversity of California's cultures and traditions.

The job is formidable, to be sure, but we have begun in earnest to achieve our priority goals of establishing a sound financial base and addressing our program and space needs in order to make a greater impact on the many communities we serve.

These priorities are interdependent: increasing revenue through contributions and member recruitment, reopening the Library, circulating the collections that they may be seen, maintaining the Quarterly, and making our presence more widely felt, understood, and respected in all areas of the state.

I am a prisoner of hope and confidence—join me and let's work together.

MICHAEL MCCONE
Executive Director
California Historical Society

Editor's Note: The above is a message to members and readers from Michael McCone, the new Executive Director of the California Historical Society. A graduate of Yale University, Mr. McCone brings to the Society a wealth of administrative experience in cultural institutions. He has served as Deputy Director of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, Director of Development of Grace Cathedral in San Francisco, and most recently as Vice President for University Relations, John F. Kennedy University.

Daniel M. Berry, ca. 1874, cofounder of the Indiana Colony and the community of Pasadena. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

TAKING THE COUNTRY BAREFOOTED: The Indiana Colony in Southern California

by James H. Madison

The Midwest winter was even colder than usual in 1872-1873, when temperatures often dropped well below zero.* In early 1873 several shivering Hoosiers gathered in Indianapolis to "form a society for removal to some more equable climate." Calling themselves the Indiana Colony, they considered Texas, Florida, and Louisiana but finally settled on southern California as "the spot unifying the blessings of the tropics without their heat, malaria or enervating influences."[1] When some would-be emigrants showed signs of wavering, one of their number, Helen Elliott, firmly responded, "Let others stay here and freeze if they wish; I'm going to California."[2]

Going to southern California was a considerable undertaking in 1873. It was not the journey itself, for the transcontinental railroad lessened considerably the rigors of the move west. Other, more complex challenges faced would-be settlers. First was the challenge of settling in a strange, largely unknown land. None of the Indiana Colony knew much about southern California; none realized how different from the Midwest this distant land was. Only slowly did they come to realize that, in addition to its attractions, it had defects—particularly insufficient water. A second difficulty facing the Indiana Colony was that of raising capital necessary to obtain and develop land. Few, if any, of these Hoosier emigrants were wealthy. Finally, they faced the challenge of leaving behind a settled community with comfortable schools, churches, and amenities in exchange for an area that seemed to them primitive and uncivilized. It was in response to these challenges that the Indiana Colony formed and attempted by collective, rather than individual, means to settle in southern California.

The Indiana Colony did not look west into total darkness. As their guide they took Charles Nordhoff's *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence, A Book for Travellers and Settlers,* published in 1872. Though Nordhoff's praise was occasionally restrained, he was one of the most influential of nineteenth-century California boosters. His special appeal to members of the Indiana Colony doubtless derived from the way in which he seemed to be addressing just their situation. Only a generation removed from the Indiana frontier, these Hoosiers understood what Nordhoff meant when he wrote that in southern California "you have not to girdle trees, pull stumps, or toil among underbrush." Consequently, "men do here more easily what they used to do in Illinois and Indiana—buy a farm, and with their first crop clear all their expenses and the price of the land." Nordhoff's Indiana readers learned about the high fertility of the California soil, the moderate and healthful climate, and the natural beauty of the land and its vegetation. He warned them, however, that California was different, citing the ignorant settlers who "attempted to plant and sow in May or June, when the rains were over, and, of course, they got no more return than if they had planted corn in Illinois in August." And he warned that water was needed for irrigation, repeating the experienced California farmer's advice to "be more careful to buy water than land." An often-made blunder of newcomers from the East was that "they try to own too much land."[3]

---

*Most of the work on this article was accomplished while the author was a John Randolph and Dora Haynes Foundation Fellow of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. He wishes to acknowledge also the support of a Summer Faculty Fellowship from Indiana University. Many people assisted in the preparation of this article. Special thanks are due to Jane Apostle, Mary Borgerding, Susan Coffman, Walter Nugent, Martin Ridge, Andrew Rolle, and Beverly Wayte.

In addition to charting a general strategy for California pioneers, Nordhoff also suggested a specific method of emigration and settlement. He advised that between twenty and fifty families form a society and "select the most trustworthy and experienced one of your member—one in whom you can all confide—to go to California to seek out a place for you." After he identified and purchased the tract, this pioneer scout would oversee division of the land into family-sized plots and would supervise planting of crops and making other arrangements to prepare for the arrival of colony members.[4] The kind of colony settlement Nordhoff advised was a sensible means of pioneering quickly and efficiently in southern California, variations of which had already been used in settling Anaheim, Riverside, and elsewhere.[5]

The organizers of the Indiana Colony followed Nordhoff's book like neophyte cooks with their first recipes. They drew up a circular and had 2,000 copies printed and distributed. The circular proposed that fifty families would form the enterprise and that an advance party would "go ahead of the main body, to make arrangements for irrigating and cultivating the lands, to plant fences, start a nursery of tropical fruit and other trees." Following lines set by Nordhoff, the Indiana Colony's circular stipulated that the advance party would plant on each member's tract of land five acres of grape cuttings and one acre of orange trees. A common area would be set aside for planting wheat, with twenty acres of wheat for each colony member. A monthly assessment of ten dollars per member would fund the work of the advance party. Only in the size of the individual landholdings did the Indiana Colony ignore Nordhoff. He advised that colonies purchase eighty acres for each member, but the Indiana Colony decided that 160 was more appropriate.[6] These midwesterners were "confident that land would be bought on the coast like the prairies of Illinois and Iowa equal in value, smoothness and fertility."[7]

Two men formed the core of the Indiana Colony—Thomas B. Elliott and Daniel M. Berry. Elliott was born in New York in 1825. After graduation from Philadelphia's Jefferson Medical College in 1850, he moved to Indianapolis to practice medicine. He became involved in a variety of public activities in the Hoosier capital, serving for a time as president of the local school board and on a committee to establish a free public library. Elliott also attached himself to the commercial fortunes of the growing midwestern city. As secretary of the board of trade he prepared and had published in 1857 a detailed pamphlet boosting the city's commercial and industrial opportunities. Later he served as president of the chamber of commerce. While promoting the city, Elliott invested heavily in local real estate and entered the flour and grain trade as a commission merchant. This latter pursuit proved unprofitable, though the local credit reporter for R.G. Dun and Company characterized Elliott as a good businessman of good character. In 1870 he took as a partner in his commission business Daniel Berry. A widower, Berry had been a schoolteacher and newspaper man before joining Elliott's commission business. The new firm struggled through the early 1870s, although Dun's credit reporter indicated that both men "are excellent Bus. men and thoroughly reliable." By 1873, however, the credit report on Elliott & Berry noted that "The firm are not in the best of credit here." When Elliott's wife Helen, whom he had married in 1853, claimed that she would not spend another winter in Indianapolis, the two men were ready to respond.[8]

With a wide variety of skills and experiences, but without much capital, Thomas Elliott and Daniel Berry set out to form the Indiana Colony. Joining them on the colony executive committee were men they knew from the local community—Calvin Fletcher, Jr., John H. Baker, J.M. Matthews, and J.H. Ruddell. These men were the first to subscribe for land. It is unlikely that any were wealthy. All but John Baker, who took only 80 acres, signed up for 160 acres, the maximum permitted. At least 25

Thomas B. Elliott as a young man, ca. 1853, president of the Indiana Colony. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

others joined the colony. Of the 31 members, 17 subscribed for 160 acres, 10 for 80 acres, and 4, including Daniel M. Berry's son Fred, for 40 acres, the minimum subscription allowed. Twenty of the 31 members were residents of Indianapolis. Seven came from other Indiana communities. Each member received a printed certificate indicating the number of acres of land he had subscribed. All agreed to follow the rules of the association, which included paying a monthly assessment of $10 and agreeing that "no spirituous distilled liquors shall be allowed on the lands of the Colony for trafic [sic]."[9]

In early August 1873, the colony sent out its advance party, led by Daniel Berry. Crossing the plains and Rockies on the newly finished transcontinental railroad, Berry reached San Francisco about August 21. He wrote at once to Elliott, colony president in Indianapolis, beginning a fact-filled and vigorous correspondence that would soon number over 130 letters back to the Elliotts.[10]

From San Francisco Berry sailed to San Diego and then Los Angeles. With a population of about 5,728 in 1870, Los Angeles was still a small, isolated town when Berry arrived, far less developed commercially than the Indianapolis he had left. The local newspaper listed the names of guests who checked in at the town's three hotels, the most luxurious of which, the Pico House, sought clientele by advertising that "The unpleasant odor of gas has entirely disappeared since the building of the new sewer."[11] Using the Pico House as his base, Berry began to travel to the surrounding countryside, looking at dozens of sites in search of suitable land for the Indiana Colony. It was a hard task. Returning from a journey to the San Bernardino area, he reported, "My back is broken with 120 miles of villanous [sic] stage riding but I still live."[12]

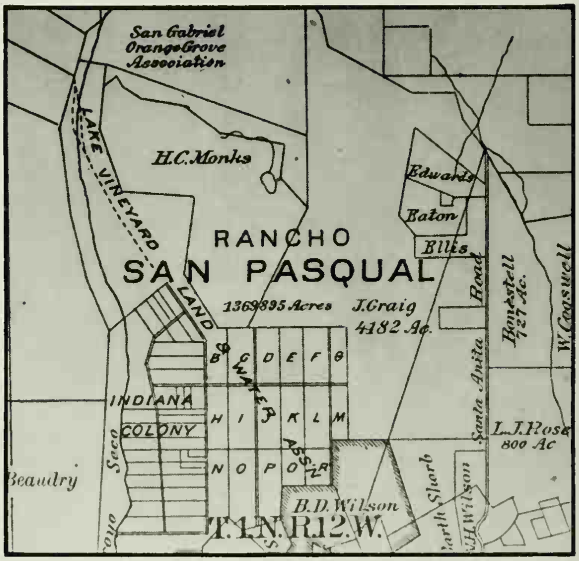
In the second week of September Berry met Benjamin S. Eaton, who had been trying to sell for his brother-in-law, John Griffin, part of the Rancho San Pasqual, located a dozen miles northeast of Los Angeles. Eaton later recalled his first impression of Berry—"a slender, pale, weak-looking, round-shouldered man, with a stove-pipe hat, and other characteristic features that proclaimed him a 'tender-foot.'"[13] On September 12, the day after he visited Rancho San Pasqual with Eaton, Berry wrote Elliott to spell out in rapturous detail the wonders of the newfound land: "It is right in line with all the best orange orchards and vineyards here and just as good, *with more water.* Grapes and grain need no irrigation." The railroad would soon be built and provide good transportation. And, Berry wrote, "the climate and scenery are heavenly." Unlike Los Angeles, where "the fog gathers thick and pestiferous and the air is heavy with slow but sure coming death," at San Pasqual the Indiana Colony would live in "the unvaporous air on the elevated land up nearer to God and the Mountains."

Berry, who suffered with asthma, reported his first night of uninterrupted sleep in years, thereby taking his place in a long line of health-seekers in southern California.[14]

The site that so captivated Berry was indeed impressive. To the north were the San Gabriel Mountains, rising nearly 6,000 feet. On the western edge was the Arroyo Seco, a wooded canyon where water from springs was "leaping out of the rocks on the side in little cascades." To the east were the grazing lands and orchards of some of southern California's largest ranches. Berry wanted desperately to buy all of the 2,800 acres Eaton offered him at $10 an acre and which Berry believed could be sold at $100 an acre.[15]

Following his report of September 12, Berry wrote letter after letter to his associates back in Indiana, attempting to convince them that he had found the promised land. He repeated often his conviction that "the great through railroad will go right across our tract," a vision that surely warmed the hearts of those who remembered Indiana's railroad boom two decades earlier.[16] He celebrated the warm, healthful climate, often making invidious comparisons with Indiana's extremes of hot and cold. As winter approached he wrote "You must be enjoying the snow and slush and wind and mud. I have not seen an hour of stormy or windy weather in Cal. yet."[17] He reassured the Indiana Colony that he had made necessary arrangements for obtaining "an abundance of water," reminding them, as Nordhoff had, that "water here means *gold*."[18] And he celebrated the productivity of the land, especially for fruit: "The same time and labor devoted to fruit here that we give at home to business would make us happy and rich in a short time."[19] Berry did not promise an easy life, for "the aristocracy here work and raise fruit. People who come here expecting to have a social status and a good living from their antecedents in the East will find they are d--- fools and have to conquer their way by work."[20]

Berry's letters showed considerable solicitation for the understandable ignorance of his Indiana readers about southern California and the unforested land and arid climate that awaited them. Again and again he explained features of soil, terrain, climate, and crops, sometimes including in his letters geography lessons accompanied by


San Gabriel Orange Grove Association
H.C. Monks
LAKE VINEYARD
Edwards
Eaton
Ellis
RANCHO
SAN PASQUAL
13698.95 Acres
J. Graig
4182 Ac.
Road
Bonestell 727 Ac.
W. Cogswell
Santa Anita
LAND & WATER ASS'N
B C D E F G
H I J K L M
N O P Q R
INDIANA COLONY
Seco
Beaudry
L.J. Rose 800 Ac
B.D. Wilson
T.1.N.R.12.W.
Sharb
H. Wilson

Map of Rancho San Pasqual area, ca. 1877. Tracts ultimately selected and subdivided by the Indiana Colony appear at the lower left, bordering the Arroyo Seco. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

hand-drawn maps. When he rhapsodized about the beauty of a live oak tree—a "jolly round headed short bodied tree"—he reminded Elliott that a picture of this tree, unknown in Indiana, was in Nordhoff's book.[21] From these letters, Elliott later recalled, "we began to understand what mountains, arroyos, Canadas[,] Canyons, zanja and mesa lands meant" and to realize how unlike the familiar Midwest California was.[22] Ignorance continued, however. When Elliott placed an advertisement for the Indiana Colony in the Indianapolis *Journal*, he incorrectly described the land in terms of feet rather than acres and spelled "Angeles," with "o's" rather than "e's."[23] On occasion Berry lost patience with Elliott's failure to understand the strange, new land. Writing about the possibility of selling the wood on the San Pasqual property, Berry fumed, "You don't understand the wood question here, so we will not discuss it when 2500 miles apart."[24]

Mixed with Berry's repeated enthusiasm for southern California were his pleadings to buy the San Pasqual land as quickly as possible. Berry was fearful that another purchaser might push aside the Indiana Colony. To keep their intentions secret he and Elliott used a code for telegrams, referring, for example, to the San Pasqual lands as "Muscat," after the variety of raisin grape they intended to grow.[25] Elliott's delay in authorizing the purchase caused growing frustration for the California scout. At one point Elliott objected to the price, after which Berry advised him that cheap land had been available three years earlier, "but Nordorff's [sic] book put up prices fearfully."[26] Others in the colony doubtless had similar concerns, exacerbated by a lack of ready cash. Nor had Elliott kept them all fully informed. One member sent his monthly $10 assessment in early October but wondered why there was not "further news from the 'pioneer party'?"[27] Another expressed strong regret that he received "no notice of *anything* in regard to the colony, which strikes me as rather a fresh way of proceeding."[28] In response Elliott issued a circular announcing the location of the San Pasqual lands, though to Berry's annoyance the colony president incorrectly placed the tract east rather than north of Los Angeles.[29]

Berry's impatience with Elliott and the slow working of the colony soon caused him to urge action without further consultation or delay. "Let the colony go to ---- if they have no sense," he wrote. A few men should take the initiative and "not wait for the colony to doubt and fuss around about it."[30] Berry was heartened when E.C. Mayhew arrived in Los Angeles and Berry convinced him to visit San Pasqual, for Mayhew was an Indianapolis resident well known to other colony members. Mayhew was pleased with Berry's choice and promised on his return to Indianapolis to spread the word to key men in the colony. "He is smart and understands California pretty well," Berry assured Elliott.[31] Still, no purchase money arrived from Indiana, nor did the colony treasurer reimburse Berry for his expenses, which by mid-October totaled $475.[32] As he continued to explain the wonders of the new land, Berry's gloom and frustration deepened: "the colony didn't understand the situation—about 10 or 12 men should have taken it and had it settled and the orange trees planted before this time." "Why don't you send the money?" he asked on October 19.[33]

That same day Berry received a draft for $200. It did not cheer him, for the sum was too small by more than half. "People here will think I represent a d--- small set of capitalists who can't raise over $200 on a trade of $20,000," he lamented.[34] Worse was yet to come.

One of the deepest panics in American history hit New York City in September 1873. Berry immediately feared that it "will stop movements in real estate in Indianapolis" at a time when the colonists, especially Elliott, were preparing to sell their various holdings in order to raise capital to purchase California land.[35] Not until the last week in October did the black financial tide reach Indiana, prompting telegrams and letters of instruction from Elliott to Berry to "buy nothing, promise nothing."[36] By this time colonist Thomas F. Croft had arrived in California, visiting San Pasqual with Berry for the first time on October 23. Croft was thoroughly delighted with the property, but two days later he joined Berry in a gloomy late-night discussion of the bad news just received from Indianapolis. Before going to bed Croft sadly noted in his pocket diary that "the Colony have about broken up."[37] Croft was right. This version of the Indiana Colony was dying. Berry was furious. "All might have been done before the panic if prompt action had been taken," he wrote Elliott. "You could have raised the money in a day then."[38]

Berry was not one to sit and stew, nor to give up on San Pasqual. Neither was Elliott. Joined by others in Indiana and California, they resumed the effort to purchase the land. In November they formed the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and filed for incorporation in California. Their intention was to sell shares to raise $25,000 for purchase of the land. They chose their name, Berry explained, because "the San Gabriel Fruit has a reputation and a commercial value above any other. . . ."[39] Despite the new association and new name, however, the group commonly referred to itself as the Indiana Colony. Of the twenty-seven eventual shareholders in the new association, ten had been members of the original Indiana Colony.[40]

With the formation of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, Berry resumed his eager boosting of southern California. Thomas Elliott soon agreed to invest $3,000 in the Association, but Berry continued to urge him to sell his seven lots in Indianapolis, because "one acre of Muscat under cultivation is worth more than the seven lots."[41] To Helen Elliott, Berry wrote that "you can buy more property here for $1,000 than in Indianapolis for $10,000—, and then have a climate that you can depend on . . . where snow and fever and rheumatism are never allowed to enter."[42] Often mixing whimsy and satire in his correspondence, Berry wrote on one occasion that "if any man can be happy in the climate and society of the Hoosier capital keep him there. This place is too good for him. Too good!!"[43] By December Berry had written over 200 letters to Elliott and others back in Indiana, sometimes writing a dozen a day. No other member of the Indiana Colony, Berry believed, had written more than one or two in its service.[44] His efforts brought results in the form of new subscribers, as, for example, A.O. Porter, from Shelbyville, Indiana, and his brother-in-law, P.M. Green, a druggist from Indianapolis, who agreed to take twelve shares in mid-December.[45]

At the end of November Berry faced a new problem. Although J.M. Matthews's enthusiasm for Rancho San Pasqual had carried him from the original Indiana Colony to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, the Indianapolis newspaper man objected to the new arrangements, threatening to bring the whole enterprise to ruin. Matthews disapproved of the decision to incorporate in California, and he insisted that he wanted individual title to his land before he would make his payment. This, Berry pointed out, was impossible since any seller of a large tract wanted to be sure that the entire tract was sold and would not "deed any pieces here and there. . . ."[46] The land had to be deeded first to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association and then transferred from the corporation to individual members. In addition, only by incorporation could members be compelled to pay their share of the costs of water development, Berry explained. Matthews also objected to the choice of directors, wanting more men from Indiana, as in the initial Indiana Colony arrangement. Berry responded that California law required that three of the directors be citizens of the state, and, moreover, it was necessary for the directors to meet face-to-face in California in order to make decisions on division of the land and on water rights. As soon as Matthews came to California, Berry wrote, he could become a director himself. Finally, Matthews objected to changing the name of the association, to which Berry retorted that the new name reflected the reality of many actual and potential members not from Indiana and also took advantage of the special appeal it would have when the settlers marketed their fruit. "The name Indiana," he concluded, "sounds too much like colds, coughs, chills &c to suit us here."[47]

Matthews continued to raise his objections into mid-December, by which time Berry was furious. But back in Indianapolis, Elliott and Calvin Fletcher, Jr., an Indianapolis resident who was a director of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, worked to reassure and soothe both Matthews and Berry, a task they eventually accomplished.[48]

While Matthews stirred up trouble, Berry continued negotiations with Griffin, assisted by Thomas Croft, who soon played a critical role in the enterprise. Indeed, in early December Croft concluded that "I must buy it myself or fail. Berry & Elliott will never close deal ever."[49] Croft did exactly that. Assured that "many of the old colony people will stand by me," he took responsibility for the purchase, paying the $25,000 with $6,250 in

Pasadena, 1876, just after its founding by the Indiana Colony. The beginnings of a vineyard (foreground) and an orange grove (center) are evident. The lane that would become Orange Grove Avenue is on a diagonal from the right edge of the photograph northward toward the San Gabriel Mountains. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

cash and $18,750 in promissory notes.[50] On December 26, Griffin deeded the 3,933 acres to Croft, and three days later Croft deeded it to the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association. All were delighted. Croft and Berry had spent Christmas day, a "beautiful day," on the land, and "had a great time climbing hills and rocks."[51] San Pasqual was now theirs to settle and develop.

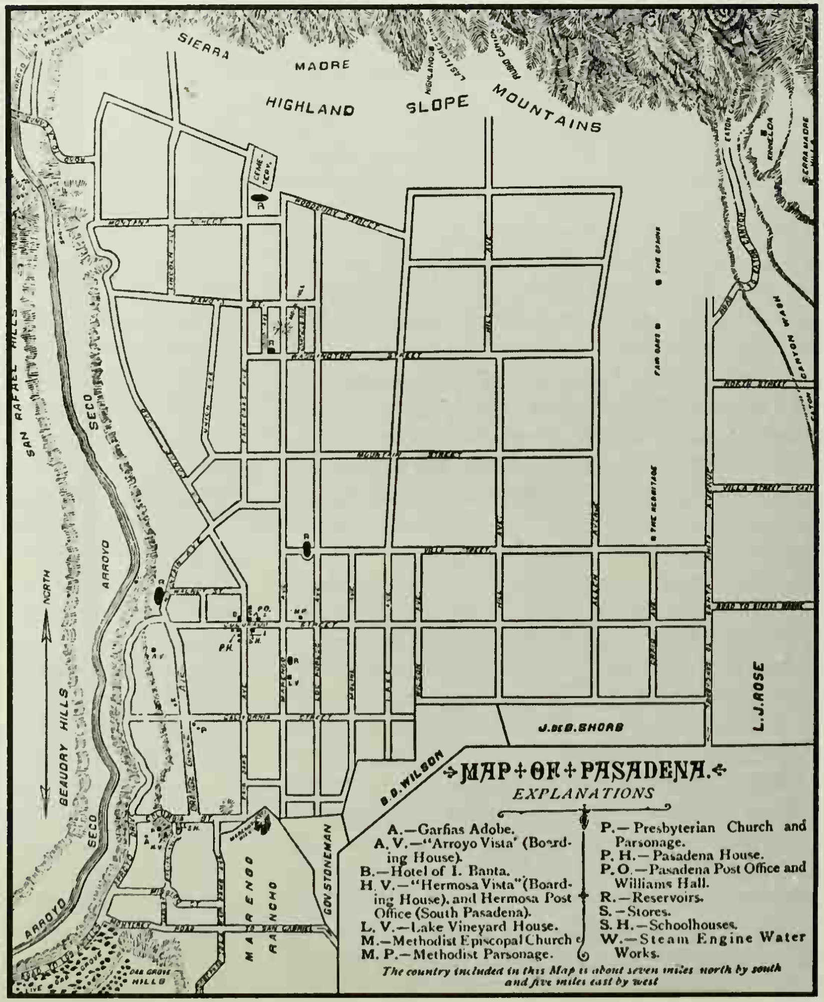
At this critical point Calvin Fletcher, Jr., arrived. Just as Croft had provided essential service in the final stage of land acquisition, so too now did Fletcher by carrying forward the critical process of surveying and laying out the 1,500 acres selected for initial settlement. Berry and Croft had eagerly anticipated Fletcher's arrival in California, which he had several times postponed, an anticipation justified by his contribution to the colony's success. Fletcher by this time was assuming a large role in the enterprise. His father, Calvin Fletcher, Sr., had been the wealthiest and perhaps most prominent citizen of Indianapolis. The large family was widely respected. Calvin Fletcher, Jr., had attended Brown University but returned to Indianapolis to manage his father's farms and develop his own various business interests, including a tree nursery.[52]

Fletcher reached Los Angeles on December 26 and immediately went to work, traveling each day from the Pico House to San Pasqual. On December 31 he reported his first impressions to Elliott in Indianapolis, noting that "things are strange and out of season." After seeing the expanse of land with occasional clumps of sagebrush and greasewood and doubtless thinking of the heavily wooded forests his father's generation encountered on the frontier of central Indiana, Fletcher noted that "Nature has cleared the land—or rather kept it clear." In fact, he wrote, "the conditions surrounding agriculture & horticulture are so different from those in Ind. that we are poor judges of what we have." Nonetheless, after visiting orchards and ranches in the San Gabriel Valley and seeing "what has been accomplished by *money* directed by *brains* and aided by *time*," Fletcher ventured to predict that "We can do as well I think." He was impressed by the strangeness and the potential of the Rancho

San Pasqual, but he was not awestruck, concluding that "the same amt of dilligence [sic] in other lands might prove as satisfactory in its results." Fletcher even suggested that he might sell his shares in the association.[53]

Fletcher's guarded reaction soon changed, as he took primary responsibility for surveying and laying out lots and streets. He was especially insistent on preserving as many trees as possible and planting others along the main north-south street, Orange Grove Avenue, and on the several east-west streets that crossed it. Fletcher's considerable experience in agriculture and land development in Indiana did not fully prepare him for California, however. His Hoosier eyes could not believe that the San Pasqual tract was as large as the deed stipulated. Eaton reported that only after walking from the western to the eastern boundary did Fletcher concede, puffing and perspiring in the warm midday sun, that "Gentlemen, it's all here! It's all here!" Nor could Fletcher understand the slope of the land and the direction water would run until he spent a rainy day exploring on foot.[54] Fletcher's uncertainties soon gave way to warm

First map of Pasadena, made in 1880. The original land of the Indiana Colony is at the lower left, just east of the Arroyo Seco. *Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Services, CSU Hayward.*


SIERRA MADRE MOUNTAINS
HIGHLAND SLOPE
SAN RAFAEL HILLS
ARROYO SECO
BEAUDRY HILLS
NORTH
CANYON WASH
J. DE B. SHORB
L. J. ROSE
B. D. WILSON
GOV STONEMAN
MARENGO RANCHO
OAK GROVE HILLS
→MAP + OF + PASADENA.←
EXPLANATIONS
A.—Garfias Adobe.
A. V.—"Arroyo Vista" (Boarding House).
B.—Hotel of I. Banta.
H. V.—"Hermosa Vista" (Boarding House), and Hermosa Post Office (South Pasadena).
L. V.—Lake Vineyard House.
M.—Methodist Episcopal Church.
M. P.—Methodist Parsonage.
P.—Presbyterian Church and Parsonage.
P. H.—Pasadena House.
P. O.—Pasadena Post Office and Williams Hall.
R.—Reservoirs.
S.—Stores.
S. H.—Schoolhouses.
W.—Steam Engine Water Works.
The country included in this Map is about seven miles north by south and five miles east by west

enthusiasm, and rather than reducing his acreage he began to consider buying more. Berry was especially grateful for Fletcher's contribution. He showed a "genius" for dividing the land, Berry reported, and he took "the brunt of everything and stopped at nothing till he carried it through."[55]

By late January 1874, Fletcher had completed his division of the land into long plots running east from the Arroyo Seco. Not only did he provide this service gratuitously but he also suggested that holders of fewer shares in the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association should make their lot selection first. This advice was accepted when on January 27, 1874, the twenty-seven shareholders or their proxies gathered on a high spot overlooking the colony land. Berry called the roll, and, with maps and surveys in hand, they harmoniously selected their individual tracts of between 15 and 180 acres. Fletcher, among the last, took 180 acres on the southern end. Berry selected 180 acres near the northern end, just south of Colorado Street, for the Elliotts and himself. Croft's choice was near the middle, along California Street.[56]

As Nordhoff had warned, land in southern California needed irrigation. Until reservoirs, ditches, and pipes were in place, the colonists had to haul water from the Arroyo. Even before the division of lots, Berry, Fletcher, and the others began the task of bringing water to San Pasqual. Benjamin Eaton, who had first introduced Berry to the land and later himself joined the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, played the major role. Eaton had superintended construction of ditches, flumes, and reservoirs in Los Angeles in the 1860s, and the newcomers from Indiana—where spring and summer rains watered corn and wheat—warmly welcomed his leadership.[57]

In addition to Eaton's expertise, the colonists could draw on a second essential ingredient for irrigation—capital. Here the potential benefits of association were considerable, for as a Los Angeles newspaper report on the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association in December 1873 noted, "by uniting they will be able to bring water on this tract at a mere nominal cost to each. . . ."[58] Financing the irrigation works proved not quite so simple, however. Berry assumed responsibility for explaining the project and its costs to the members. In letter after letter he insisted that the colony must fund an extensive, first-class irrigation works. Rather than inexpensive open ditches, which "waste water fearfully in this gravelly land," Berry wrote, "we must tax ourselves $1 an acre to lay water pipes in good and substantial manner."[59] It was not only waste of water that concerned Berry, however. He wanted a first-class irrigation project built immediately because it would function as a lure for new land purchasers. "We cannot sell out our land to advantage or with sufficient profit, without showing buyers the water."[60] With irrigation the land would increase fivefold in value, he predicted. Thus, "if we can raise the money to make water works and roads & pay for our land we can then sell off enough to support us till our lands are bearing fruit."[61] Here was Berry's fundamental strategy: develop the land, principally with irrigation pipe, plant orange trees and other crops, and sell lots to provide financial support until the oranges, lemons, and grapes produced a steady income. For men with limited capital this was a promising door of entry into California's still infant orange grove culture.[62]

Berry's was a sensible, but costly, development strategy. His initial estimate of the financial burden to each member proved far too low. In letters to Indianapolis he gradually raised the amount each investor owed for the irrigation works until he wrote in late March that the directors had agreed on an assessment of twenty percent of each's capital stock. "The strong stockholders will pay at once," he concluded, "and the weak will have to be helped along till they can sell off a small portion of their land."[63] Some objected, in particular the Vawter family of Vernon, Indiana. They "want land, land, land, but don't see that *water* is the thing we have to pay for," Berry wrote Elliott. "Get 'em to take less land and more water in the shape of assessments," he advised.[64]

As work on water pipes and the reservoir progressed in late winter and early spring 1874, Berry intensified his efforts to encourage Thomas and Helen Elliott to move west. He continued his usual tactic of making invidious comparisons between California and Indiana climates. "It is a sorry recommendation of your fine weather to see in every Indianapolis paper that somebody has just been killed by pneumonia," he wrote Helen Elliott, and then recalled an earlier winter in Indiana when he "lived on quinine, whisky and morphine."[65] In May, when spring brought lovely buds and blooms to the Hoosier countryside, Berry recalled only the "bilious White River bottoms."[66] To "young men who are looking up wives to bring here," Berry playfully advised, "they can get plenty of beautiful girls here, and save $160. expense of moving the dear things here."[67] He continued, too, his pleas to the Elliotts to sell all their Indianapolis properties, even at a loss, including their Crown Hill cemetery lots and the office furniture and safe.[68] And he addressed forthrightly Helen's concerns about the cultural and social backwardness of southern California. Unlike Indiana, "California is a new unfinished country, and hasn't a Presbyterian Church on every corner and a sidewalk and a sewing society in front of every house," he admitted. "All is new, romantic, rude, quaint, peculiar." But, "if one waits for Eastern improvements before coming land will be so dear that few can buy it. So I am willing to take the country barefooted and wait for shoes and stockings."[69] A few weeks later he assured Helen Elliott that "We shall have a school house, and use it as a church . . . ."[70]

Berry also kept the Elliotts and other correspondents informed on the progress of irrigation and agricultural works. By early April he reported that he had thirty-five acres plowed on the Elliott and Berry lands and ten acres of wheat planted, as well as some corn, potatoes, and beans. He and other settlers had begun planting vineyards too, though contrary to his initial claims, it was necessary "to haul water a mile in a large cask and pour about two quarts down each hole."[71] As soon as the irrigation work was finished, the colonists would start planting orange trees. He proudly noted in mid-April that "four houses are built and two others are going up."[72] Berry was by then living on his land in a newly built cabin, though still without a roof. In mid-May he reported happily that the last water pipe was in place.[73]

Berry's promotion of southern California extended beyond the membership of the Indiana Colony. He sent notices about the land and its attractions to Indianapolis and Chicago newspapers. The Indianapolis *Journal* published one of his pieces in late May:

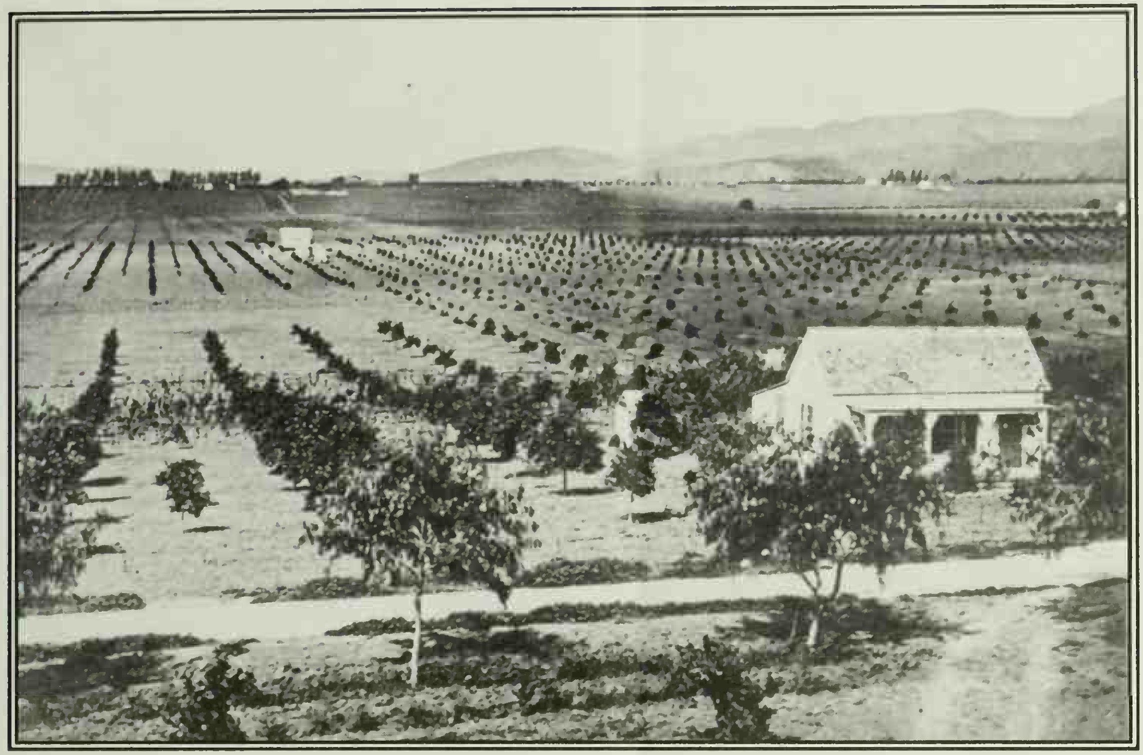
> In the few weeks since the Hoosiers took possession of their land great activity has prevailed. Three miles of flume and ditch have been made; three miles of large iron pipe made, laid, and covered below the depth of a plow; a reservoir with the capacity of three million gallons has been constructed on the highest land of the settlement, and the water let in. . . . Eighty acres of grain have been raised for hay, 100,000 grape cuttings have been planted, and a large quantity of orange and lime seed; about ten thousand small trees for nursery planting have been purchased; and a large area of land prepared for corn and semi-tropical fruits.[74]

Berry entertained visitors and potential land buyers who arrived from Indiana and elsewhere, and he corresponded with writers seeking help, as, for example, two young women from Indiana who wrote to request Berry's aid in finding them schoolteaching positions. In mentioning one request for information about southern California, Berry told Elliott that it was only "a sample of 50 other Indianapolis fools" and that "it would take three men all the time to gather and write the information needed."[75]

Berry in fact welcomed much of this activity, because by spring 1874 he was not only developing his land at San Pasqual but also selling real estate. He opened a real estate office in Los Angeles and advertised among his services "Colony Lands Selected." Pleading with Elliott, Berry wrote "The real estate business is destined to be a great business here; but I cannot do that and the Ranch and the Colony, all. I want you here today to take hold and push things."[76] A few weeks later he repeated his plea, adding that if Elliott took charge of the Los Angeles real estate office "I will run the ranch and start another colony next winter."[77]

Berry received part of the help he requested when his son Fred, who worked for Thomas Elliott, left Indianapolis for California, arriving in June 1874. Young Fred reported that "The face of the country is all parched & dried and looks bad to an Easterner." But having read his father's letters, he "expected it, [and] I am not disappointed."[78]

The best news came when Thomas and Helen Elliott at last decided to leave Indiana. Berry continued his flow of advice and encouragement, suggesting in late October that they should pack "only the things needed. I brought too much stuff."[79] His last communication from them was a late November telegram sent from Omaha, where



Pasadena, ca. 1883, looking northwest. Orchards and house gardens are more mature than in the 1876 photograph. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

the Elliotts were en route via the Union Pacific. There would be no more winters for them in Indiana. In early December they walked with Berry on the land he had so glowingly pictured for them.[80]

A growing community needed a proper name. In early 1874 Berry had suggested that "as the majority are Hoosiers how would it do to call the town 'Hoosier'?"[81] Others suggested Indianola. These suggestions were not taken up, doubtless because emigrants from other states soon outnumbered Indianans. Iowa in particular sent large numbers of emigrants to the community.[82] Eventually Elliott suggested the name Pasadena, which he reported was a Chippewa Indian word meaning crown, or key, of the valley. This name was formally adopted in April 1875, though as late as the 1880s the community was still referred to as the Indiana Colony and mail with that address continued to reach its residents.[83]

The land Berry found in September 1873 changed quickly. Within two years, members of the Indiana Colony and other newly arrived settlers built forty houses and planted 10,000 orange and lemon trees and 150,000 grape vines, as well as ornamental trees along the streets, particularly Orange Grove Avenue.[84] The new community, the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce claimed in 1876, was "one of the best examples of what can be done with water and industry to be found in Los Angeles County."[85] By 1880 there were two schoolhouses and a Methodist and Presbyterian church. According to one observer, most of the 120 families lived in "a comfortable house . . . approached by a drive through an orange grove which invariably fronts the neatly kept avenues."[86]

The hopes of Berry, the Elliotts, Fletcher, Croft, and the others for their new community in southern California were largely fulfilled. Pasadena became a sizeable and prosperous town, especially with major expansion of railroad service in the mid-1880s. Booster pamphlets boasted of the healthful climate and the beauty of the landscape, luring growing numbers of residents and winter tourists with images like those Berry painted in his letters back to Indiana in 1873-1874. The schools and churches Berry promised appeared quickly, as did a literary society, all essential requisites of

Helen Elliott as a young woman, ca. 1853. Mrs. Elliott's eagerness to escape the cold Midwest winters convinced her husband to pursue relocation in Pasadena, where she became a prominent civic leader. *Courtesy Pasadena Historical Society.*

community life for these middle-class midwesterners. Strong temperance principles accompanied them west also and not only prohibited sale of alcohol but also united sentiment to grow grapes for raisins and table use rather than wine. The town's board of trade boasted in 1888 that Pasadena was "made up not of the classes generally to be found in typical western border towns, but of people of the highest culture and intelligence," people with "the same refinement and social conditions that exist in the East."[87] The country was not barefooted long.

The members of the Indiana Colony thus met the challenges of settling in southern California. Through their collective enterprise they gradually learned about the strange land. They learned how to replicate their midwestern towns in the warm sunshine, with orange groves rather than cornfields, with real estate development rather than grain commission houses, with live oak trees rather than tulip poplars, with irrigation pipes rather than drainage ditches. It was a harder task than they expected—perhaps not as hard as pioneering on the midwestern frontier a generation or two earlier—but more different from Indiana or Iowa experiences than these newcomers anticipated. They met also the challenge of raising capital for land purchase and development, even when faced with the additional burden of the Panic of 1873. And they quickly and firmly transplanted their social and cultural institutions to their new community.

The success of the Indiana Colony and of other settlements in southern California in the 1870s did not go unnoticed. By the end of the century midwestern storekeepers, lawyers, farmers, and their families were flooding into southern California, much as they had begun to trickle there in the 1870s. A momentous change in California history was in the making.[88]

Not all the Indiana Colony left the Midwest for California. The most important case was Calvin Fletcher, Jr. He and his family lived in Europe for a time, but his wife preferred Indiana, even to California, and there they stayed. Fletcher returned to Pasadena for the second anniversary of the colony's land division, on January 27, 1876, where he spoke, along with Thomas Elliott and others. He still owned 80 acres in Pasadena as late as 1881, but Indiana remained his home.[89] Berry settled permanently in California but not for long in Pasadena. Although he continued to sing the praises of the Indiana Colony, he soon left to resume a career in journalism, editing the Los Angeles *Daily Commercial* and then working as city editor of the Los Angeles *Herald*. He died in San Fernando in 1887.[90]

The Elliotts did stay, living on Orange Grove Avenue in Pasadena. Thomas Elliott died in 1881, but Helen Elliott lived until 1923. Known as the "Mother of Pasadena," doubtless she often repeated her heartfelt winter sentiment of 1873—"Let others stay here and freeze if they wish; I'm going to California."[91]

See notes beginning on page 307.

James H. Madison is Professor of History, Indiana University, Bloomington, where he serves also as editor of the Indiana Magazine of History. *He is the author of several books, including* The Indiana Way: A State History *(1986) and* Eli Lilly: A Life, 1885-1977 *(1989). This article is part of a larger project seeking to understand the history of midwestern migration to and culture in California.*

Sara Bard Field in 1920, as photographed by W.E. Dassonville, San Francisco. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Scott Wood, and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce

by Glenda Riley

On May 18, 1913, Sara Bard Field boarded a ship in Portland, Oregon.* With her sister Mary and her four-year-old daughter Katherine, Field sailed to San Francisco where she spent $62.70 on three train tickets to Goldfield, Nevada. During the train's Sacramento stop, she mailed a letter to her husband telling him of her plans. When the trio arrived in Goldfield, they discovered a "typical mining town," but to their amazement and delight, Goldfield's hotel boasted running water, bathtubs, electricity, and "excellent food." On May 23, Field met with an attorney to initiate a divorce suit against her husband, Albert Ehrgott.[1]

Many years later, Sara explained that her divorce from Ehrgott was inevitable because she was a "girl" of eighteen when she married him, and as she matured, she grew away from him. As she became interested in such liberal causes as woman suffrage, he became more "narrow and inflexible . . . fanatical and intolerant." After "much physical, mental, and spiritual suffering," she had decided on divorce by early 1913, when her doctor sent her to a tuberculosis sanitarium in Pasadena. But Albert, a Baptist minister, blamed her alienation from him on California attorney, writer, and reformer Charles Erskine Scott Wood, whom Sara had met in 1910 when she was twenty-eight and Wood was fifty-eight. Ehrgott wrote Wood accusing him of corrupting Sara with "free love poison" and warning Wood to stay away from his wife. Ehrgott also wrote to Sara's sister Mary, saying that Sara had been happy with him until "Mr. Wood came along." He added that "certain unsurmountable reasons make it absolutely impossible to grant Sara any legal release from her marriage vows."[2]

Faced by her husband's opposition to a divorce, Sara resolved to go to Nevada, preferably to a town that was far from "the unpleasant notoriety of Reno," to obtain a migratory divorce. During the early 1900s, Reno had garnered fame as a divorce mill, largely because of a six-month residency requirement for citizenship, voting, and divorce that had been set to accommodate the needs of a rapidly-changing and highly mobile population of miners and entrepreneurs. In 1900, an English nobleman catapulted Reno into public view when he obtained a scandalous divorce there. Other famous people soon took advantage of Nevada's six-month residency requirement and liberal grounds for divorce that included a broad, catch-all cruelty provision. In 1907, a New York City lawyer established an office in Reno and published a pamphlet describing the attractions of Reno and his own qualifications as a divorce attorney.[3]

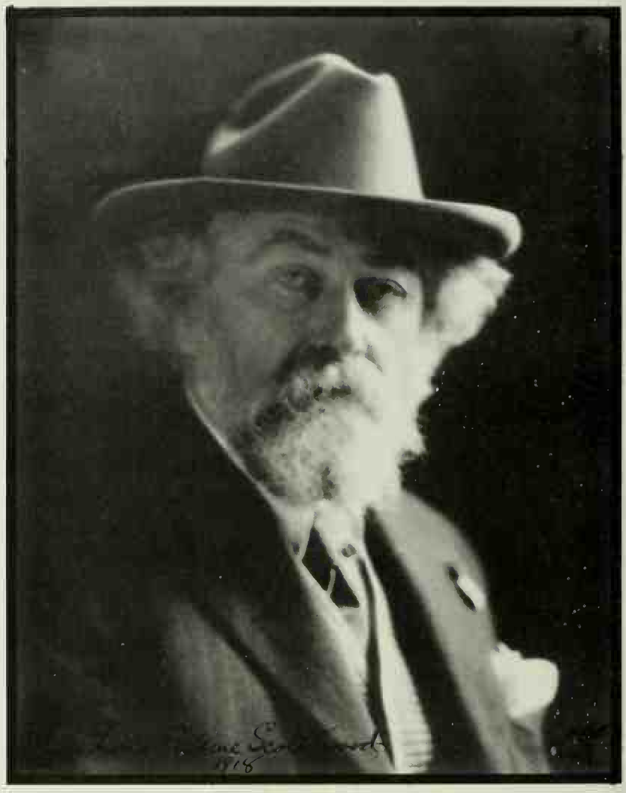
Within a few years, the people of Reno were embroiled in a struggle that pitted the pro-divorce advocates against the anti-divorce faction. On February 7, 1913, a mass of anti-divorce protestors thronged into the Nevada state capitol in Carson City demanding that a bill requiring one year's residence of all divorce-seekers be pushed through the legislature. Yet, when Field met with her attorney in Goldfield in late May of that year, he told her that he could get her a divorce decree in less than the required six months if her husband would come to Goldfield and give his consent. "What a wonderful relief it would be," wrote the euphoric Field, "if I could have this case come up at once and not have to endure this dreary six months waiting." Albert, however, continued to oppose her. Thus, Field rented a small four-room house for twenty dollars a month, where she and her daughter Kay lived until Field's divorce was finally granted in 1914, after what she termed "long, unnecessary delays."[4]

---

*The author would like to thank the Huntington Library for research support in 1988-89 on this and a larger project.

Nearly three years later, Charles Scott Wood retired from his law practice and left his wife, a staunch Catholic who refused to divorce him. He and Sara Field established a home together in San Francisco, an action that elicited a range of opinions from Sara's family. Sara's eldest child Albert, a young adolescent five years older than his sister Kay, wrote to Wood: "I hope that it won't be so very long now when people who love each other will not have to have a few silly damn fool words said over them by a parson to make them a so-called husband and wife." Albert added that he had never seen "a love so great and wonderful and beautiful" as that shared by his mother and Wood. Ehrgott also wrote to Wood, but in a very different tone. He told Wood that his "dribbling philosophy of free love is but a futile excuse for an unholy indulgence of 'love' and a sacrilegious intrusion into another man's home which an aroused public conscience will not much longer tolerate." Ehrgott accused Wood of stealing another man's wife, trifling with God, and defying public opinion and morals. He refused to let Sara have any time with Kay, and when young Albert died, he blamed Sara and Wood for the tragedy.[5]

Erhgott was mistaken about the public's conscience and opinions. As Americans entered the second decade of the twentieth century, they were more committed than ever to democracy, individualism, and the right of citizens to make decisions about their own lives as long as their actions did not harm others. As a result, a new code of morality gained adherents, as the anti-divorce arguments of religious leaders, moralists, and conservative reformers lost ground. At the same time, a growing number of articles in magazines and newspapers supported the idea of divorce as a positive act and an American citizen's prerogative. Divorce was also increasingly prevalent in the nation's literature, for writers now frequently took marital upheaval and divorce as their themes. The southern novelist Amelie Rives, who had herself divorced during the 1890s, portrayed lovely heroines who graced Virginia plantations, while the menace of marital upheaval, divorce, and in one case, a migratory divorce in North Dakota, closed in upon them. Later in the period, Mari Sandoz explored the issues of wife abuse and divorce in the West, particularly in her autobiographical novel *Old Jules.*[6]



Charles Erskine Scott Wood, ca. 1918. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

Many Americans were growing increasingly wary of the dire predictions that society and the family would both be damaged if numbers of divorces continued to grow in the United States. Admittedly, the American family showed signs of change, yet it remained vital. And American society faced many problems, but the United States was hardly in decline. In addition, many Americans had widely embraced Progressivism, which preached optimism, the value of change, and growing freedom for the individual citizen. Often, Progressives joined with feminists and others who envisioned a happier future and called for new family arrangements based upon the equality of spouses and freedom of choice to stay in a marriage or leave it.[7] In 1910, a former justice of the Supreme Court expressed the new moral attitude when he stated that he failed to understand why the partnership created by marriage differed from a commercial partnership, or why "one may be dissolved at pleasure while the other is indissoluble."[8] About the same time, such well-known people as novelist Upton Sinclair and socialist organizer Emma Goldman were positing theories of radical relationships, including sexual experimentation, equality of women and men, liberal divorce, and free love.

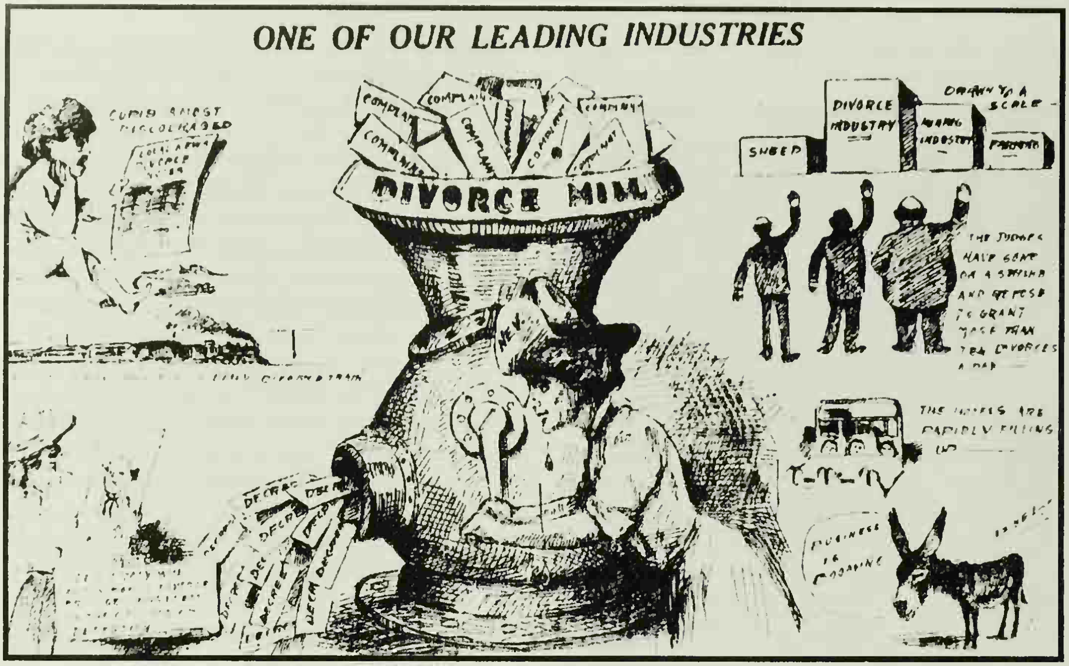
Yet, when Meta Sinclair experimented with poet Harry Kemp, her radical love theorist husband reacted in a traditional way by suing her for divorce in 1911 and naming her lover as co-respondent. Every tabloid in the United States aired the debate over new ideas regarding love, marriage, and divorce. Meta explained that she was merely doing what Sinclair had preached; she was seeking her independence and self-fulfillment. Her quest, journalists revealed to an entranced public, supposedly involved a sexually-vital man as opposed to her sexually-inadequate husband. The Sinclair divorce scandal and its heated interchanges concerning ideals of free love regularly made newspaper headlines. After several divorce hearings in New York courts made it clear that the state's restrictive divorce laws would prevent Sinclair from getting a divorce, he determinedly traveled to the Netherlands, where he quickly obtained a migratory divorce.[9]

Russian immigrant and reformer Emma Goldman, who was well-known to Californians, also received frequent public attention during this period. After she fled from a brief marriage to another Russian immigrant undertaken when she was seventeen, she began to argue her unorthodox views on the speaking-platform, from behind jail bars, and in the pages of the radical *Mother Earth News,* which she founded and edited between 1906 and 1918. Red Emma, as she was known, attacked what she labeled the myth of women's emancipation, and she insisted that man-woman relationships must be based on equality, for "a true relation of the sexes will not admit of conqueror and conquered." She also supported free love and began to advocate birth control six years before Margaret Sanger began her campaign. As an editor, Goldman frequently published the work of authors who called for complete freedom of divorce, branded marriage obsolete, or espoused total sexual freedom.[10]

A best-selling novel written by a Californian and published in 1921, took a different tack in arguing for easy divorce in the United States. In a plot full of twists and turns, Charles Norris's *Brass: A Novel of Marriage* described the close relationship of American ideals to easy divorce through its characters' marital attitudes. When the novel's protagonist Philip first learned about the darker side of marriage, he found divorce repugnant: "People he considered decent did not get divorces." Despite his aversion to it, Philip's wife divorced him. The next woman he loved was a Catholic who rejected him with disgust when she learned that he was divorced. Philip eventually remarried, but again was unhappy. When a minister tried to convince him that "a bond dissoluble at will in the divorce court is not a foundation upon which civilized society can endure," Philip balked, for he had come to believe that a democratic country should freely allow divorce. Norris, who was evidently thinking of the Declaration of Independence, had Philip proclaim that the United States "Constitution specifies 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness' for all."[11] Although he was somewhat confused about the document that stated the relevant principles, Norris firmly believed that democracy and divorce went hand-in-hand.

This new morality and view toward marriage and divorce had an impact in the early twentieth century on the attitudes of numerous Americans, including middle-class people like Sara Field and Charles Wood. In 1927, Wood put his philosophy of marriage into words when he wrote to his estranged son Erskine in an attempt to explain his and Field's relationship. Wood optimistically wrote of his belief that "old, narrow and early crude conventions" based on the "right of possession and the justness of jealousy" were breaking down and that "conventions founded on the right of every individual to his own soul and his own life" were gradually replacing the older notions. The "old idea of the sacrament of marriage" was fading as well, because so many marriages ended in "shipwrecks." If marriage was based upon the "mutual love of the parties and the mutual desire for companionship and mutual willingness to live together," then, "when this mutual desire to live together ends," the marriage relation also ends. To Wood, it was unethical to force two people to live together "against the will of either." He was baffled that so many people failed to see that freedom to part was "best for society and the race," that every couple forced to remain together despite altered feelings was "a cancer," and that "every refusal of freedom leads to falsities." Wood swore that he and Field would never marry; their refusal to marry would be their protest against "the archaic superstition and falsity" known as marriage.[12]

Charles Wood's hopes that these great changes in attitudes toward relationships and marriage would occur by the time his grandchildren reached maturity failed to materialize, although a steadily


ONE OF OUR LEADING INDUSTRIES
CUPID ALMOST DISCOURAGED
DIVORCE MILL
COMPLAINT
NEV.
DECREE
DIVORCE INDUSTRY
DRAWN TO A SCALE
SHEEP
MINING INDUSTRY
THE JUDGES HAVE GONE ON A STRIKE AND REFUSE TO GRANT MORE THAN TEN DIVORCES A DAY
THE HOTELS ARE RAPIDLY FILLING UP
BUSINESS IS BOOMING

Cartoonist Arthur Buel's commentary on Reno's divorce "industry" appeared in a Nevada newspaper on May 20, 1909. *Courtesy Nevada Historical Society.*

climbing divorce rate indicated that relationships and marriages themselves were undergoing substantial change. Regardless of how the divorce rate was computed, its pattern was the same: gradually upwards. Whether the number of divorces was compared to total population, numbers of married population, or number of marriages in a given year, the resulting ratio showed an ascending curve that continued to place the United States' divorce rate ahead of that of other nations. Although the divorce rate was already abnormally high after World War I, when hasty war-time marriages collapsed and others succumbed to war-related stresses, it climbed steadily during the 1920s, compounding annually at about three percent per year. In other words, by the late 1920s, slightly more than one of every six marriages ended in divorce.[13]

Although divorce statistics indicated that only between three and twenty percent of these divorces were obtained in different states than the state of marriage, and that only a few of these involved spouses who had purposely migrated to get a divorce, complaints about migratory divorce, like the one obtained by Sara Bard Field in Nevada, increased during the 1920s. Certainly, sticky situations could result when a spouse from a strict divorce state obtained a divorce in a liberal state and then returned to the home state or other strict jurisdiction. Was a Reno divorce gained in six months, on the basis of any one of seven liberal grounds, valid in such strict divorce states as New York or South Carolina, or would the decree be considered invalid?

The "full faith and credit" provision written into the United States Constitution by founders anxious to maintain legislative and judicial consistency in a nation composed of disparate states, and a full faith and credit act passed by the United States Congress on May 26, 1790, should have solved such problems. According to the full faith and credit doctrine, each individual state was obligated to recognize "the public Acts, Records, and Judicial Proceedings of every other state" in the union. If an action was valid in the jurisdiction where pronounced, it was theoretically valid everywhere in the United States; if it was questionable in its own jurisdiction, it was open to question elsewhere.

But in the case of divorce actions, full faith and credit turned out to be a difficult principle to apply. Because each individual state had the right to regulate the marital status of its citizens according to its own standards of morality and public policy, some states established statutes concerning marriage and divorce that were incompatible with those of other states. Being called upon to grant full faith and credit to the marriage and divorce provisions of another state could force a state to subvert its own morals and policies. If, for example, a particular state mandated one strict ground for divorce such as adultery, must that state give full faith and credit to a decree obtained by one of its citizens in another state offering a more lenient ground such as mental cruelty? If a state had to accept the more permissive cruelty decree under the full faith and credit doctrine, was it not being forced to expand its own limited grounds against its will and original intent?

But, if full faith and credit was not extended to divorce decrees obtained in other states, chaos might ensue. If a citizen of a strict state obtained a divorce in a liberal state and then remarried, he or she would be a bigamist if the home state refused to give full faith and credit to the divorce decree. Such a refusal to recognize the validity of the divorce and remarriage would also illegitimate the children of the second marriage and create two sets of claims on property by the wives of the twice-married spouse.

Migratory divorce cases occasionally caused the full faith and credit doctrine to collide head-on with the states' rights principle that a state may regulate the marital status of its own citizens. From time to time, a spouse whose mate obtained a divorce in another state challenged the validity of that decree in the courts of his or her home state. In other cases, one spouse had filed a suit for divorce in the couple's home state at the same time that the other spouse was applying for a decree in another state. Which of these actions should predominate?

These conflicts might have been resolved by the rule that a state's court must give full faith and credit to the action of another state when the jurisdiction of the other state was unimpeachable, but, because divorce law encompassed so many contradictory concepts of jurisdiction, a divorce court's jurisdiction was often vulnerable to attack. As early as 1813, Stephen Fitch of Connecticut obtained a Vermont divorce and then married Rebecca Borden of New York. Borden's mother, who considered Fitch's first marriage still valid, sued him for debauching her daughter and won $5,000 in damages. When Fitch appealed the verdict, the New York Supreme Court upheld the judgment, ruling that the Vermont divorce was invalid.[14] But, in 1832, the Maine Supreme Court *upheld* a divorce obtained by a wife in Rhode Island for her husband's alleged adultery in North Carolina. And in 1874, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that one husband's Indiana divorce was valid, even though his wife was uninformed of the divorce proceedings.[15]

In 1906, faced with a number of similar cases, the United States Supreme Court established a general principle that would be widely-applied to migratory divorce appeals for the next thirty-six years. In the case of *Haddock v. Haddock*, the court ruled five to four in favor of Harriet Haddock's contention that her husband's Connecticut divorce was invalid. Because the couple's marital domicile was New York, the court decreed that it was up to a New York court to decide whether to put the Haddocks asunder.[16]

After 1906, some judges followed the principle of marital domicile established in *Haddock v. Haddock*, but others used residency periods of jurisdictions to guide their decisions regarding migratory divorces. Some judges felt that if basic residency requirements had been met in the venue where the divorce was granted, the divorce deserved full faith and credit, but if the plaintiff appeared to have established residency only to obtain a divorce decree, it should not receive full faith and credit.

Novelist Upton Sinclair sought a Netherlands divorce to circumvent restrictive New York laws in 1911. In 1917, Sinclair settled in Pasadena, from which he embarked on a career as a radical politician culminating in his failed campaign for the governor's office in 1934. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

As the twentieth century progressed and Americans became increasingly more mobile, and affluent enough to escape the rigid divorce laws of their own states and temporarily locate in other more liberal jurisdictions, the number of migratory divorces seemed to increase. Despite statisticians' continued assurances that the number of migratory divorces was not overly high, the blatant publicity garnered by Reno and other divorce mills convinced the general public otherwise. Also, courts in strict divorce states were increasingly called upon to resolve the thorny issues that resulted from migratory divorces. In some cases, these state courts had to appeal to higher tribunals for assistance.

One particularly complicated case involving migratory divorce reached the United States Supreme Court in 1942. The situation that resulted in the case of *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* began when Lillie Hendrix and Otis Williams left North Carolina to relocate in Las Vegas, Nevada, for six weeks. After establishing the basic residency requirement of sixty days in the state of Nevada, they both obtained divorces from their respective spouses, who still resided in North Carolina. Hendrix and Williams immediately wed each other and returned to North Carolina as a married couple. Following the earlier ruling in *Haddock v. Haddock*, a North Carolina court then charged the couple with bigamous cohabitation under North Carolina law and sentenced them to two years' imprisonment, even though they had submitted their Nevada divorce decrees in their defense. After the Supreme Court of North Carolina upheld the bigamy conviction, the couple appealed the judgment to the United States Supreme Court. In 1942, the Supreme Court ruled that because due process had been followed, the Nevada decrees deserved full faith and credit in North Carolina. The court thus overturned the earlier decision in *Haddock v. Haddock* and the Hendrix/Williams bigamy conviction, although Justices Robert Jackson and Frank Murphy strongly objected to this decision on the grounds that it repealed "the divorce laws of all the states and substitutes the law of Nevada" in instances where husbands or wives could afford trips to Nevada.[17]

Many divorce court judges subsequently attempted to follow the precedent established in this 1942 United States Supreme Court decision. In 1943, the case of *Lambert v. Lambert* raised the issue of the validity of a Nevada divorce decree in the state of New York. The Lamberts had married in New York in 1920 and separated twenty-one years later. John Lambert then relocated in Nevada, petitioned for a divorce on the ground of mental cruelty, married another woman on the day the divorce was granted, and moved to Massachusetts.

RSIDE
VERY BOARDING

Reno, Nevada, ca. 1900, looking across the old Truckee River bridge. The Washoe County Courthouse, destination of early twentieth-century divorce-seekers, is the small domed building in the distance, beyond the bridge. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

But Lambert's wife Beatrice had filed a petition for divorce on the ground of adultery before Lambert left for Nevada, an action that called the validity of his decree into question. Following the 1942 *Williams v. North Carolina* decision, the Monroe County court in New York ruled that the Nevada divorce deserved full faith and credit because Lambert had met Nevada's legal requirements for a divorce. The court thus denied Beatrice Lambert's attempt to obtain a New York divorce that would have included a more favorable property settlement for her than did the Nevada decree.[18]

In the meantime, the state of North Carolina again indicted Hendrix and Williams for bigamy, arguing that they had failed to establish a *bona fide* residence in Nevada. In 1945, the Supreme Court explored this additional issue: did six weeks' residency in the Alamo Auto Court in Las Vegas constitute valid residence? This hearing explored the question of whether North Carolina courts had to give full faith and credit to a divorce when the petitioners had failed to establish a *bone fide* domicile in Nevada. In 1945 the Supreme Court ruled that because residency in this case was a sham, North Carolina was free to deny full faith and credit to the Nevada decrees. Consequently, the state of North Carolina could now convict the couple for bigamy.[19]

The second *Williams* decision established the principle that if a divorce-seeker took up residence in a state only to acquire a divorce, the resulting decree was not entitled to full faith and credit by other states, but if a petitioner maintained a genuine residence and established a real domicile, the divorce decree was entitled to full faith and credit in other jurisdictions. Although this ruling came too late to help Beatrice Lambert, it did affect other litigants. In 1946 the case of *Crouch v. Crouch* came before the Supreme Court of California. Edith M. Crouch challenged the validity of Ben E. Crouch's Nevada decree by entering her own divorce petition that included a claim on their property. The court found that Ben Crouch had established bogus residence in Nevada because he had no intention of becoming a Nevada citizen except for the explicit purpose of securing a divorce that would grant him a more favorable property settlement than offered under California law. The California court granted Edith the right to file a divorce petition, including a property claim, against Ben, whom the court considered to be her legal spouse despite his Nevada decree.[20]

After 1945, then, a general principle regarding migratory divorces prevailed: according to the United States Constitution, congressional action of 1790, and subsequent judicial rulings, a valid divorce decree granted in one state was entitled to, but might not always receive, full faith and credit from other states. Although it was generally true that a decree that was valid in the jurisdiction where it was rendered was valid everywhere, that validity was not guaranteed because a home state's rule could also be used to determine validity.[21]

The full faith and credit doctrine also generally excluded divorces granted by jurisdictions outside the United States. No state was required to recognize the validity of a divorce granted by another country, although most frequently did so on the principle of comity; and it was fully within a state's right to reject a decree that offended its moral standards or opposed its own public policy. As other destinations became attractive to increasingly-mobile Americans, it also became unsafe to assume that a quick divorce granted by Mexico, for example, would hold in the courts of the petitioner's home state.[22]

Clearly, the right of individual states to regulate the marital status of their citizens restricted the application of the full faith and credit principle in cases of divorce. As Justice Murphy had argued in his dissenting opinion in the first *Williams* appeal, divorce actions involved not only constitutional principles, but the interaction of the Constitution and state policy. Although Murphy did not envision state courts as censors of public morals, he argued that "marriage and the family have generally been regarded as basic components of our national life, and the solution of the problems engendered by the marital relation, the formulation of standards of public morality in connection therewith, and the supervision of domestic (in the sense of the family) affairs, have been left to the individual states," each of which had "the deepest concern for its citizens" in such matters. He concluded that when a conflict arose between two states on matters of domestic policy, a court could not simply apply the constitutional principle of full faith and credit, but had to take into account the moral values and public policy of the states involved. This interpretation has guided the application of full faith and credit in divorce actions until the present day, so that a wife who has to accept the validity of a husband's out-of-state decree might also receive alimony or custody of children by order of a court in their home state.[23]

In 1969, the California legislature initiated reform divorce legislation that reshaped the phenomenon of migratory divorce. California legislators became the first in the nation to act on the recommendations of reformers by instituting no-

Sara Field, photographed here in later life, and Charles Wood remained together until Wood's death in 1944. They married in 1938 to avoid legal complications involving their separate estates. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

fault divorce. After studying various reform plans and the 1966 Report of the Governor's Commission on the Family that recommended change, California legislators began drafting a no-fault divorce code in 1967. In 1969, the legislature approved the Family Law Act; Governor Ronald Reagan signed it into law on September 5, 1969. The bill, which went into effect on January 1, 1970, eliminated California's seven grounds for divorce and replaced them with two no-fault provisions: irremediable breakdown of a marriage and incurable insanity. Further, it permitted divorce after a couple had lived in California for six months or more and had demonstrated to a court's satisfaction that their marriage was destroyed and conciliation impossible. The court was to award custody of children and alimony based on a spouse's need for support and ability to pay, and all property was to be divided equally between spouses. The final decree was to be known as a dissolution, rather than a divorce decree. Legislators hoped that such provisions would eliminate the concept of fault in marital terminations and obviate the need for petitioners to present evidence that blackened the character of their spouses.[24]

California's no-fault divorce code marked the beginning of a widespread alteration of divorce law in the United States. In 1971, Iowa became the first state to follow California in instituting no-fault divorce. In addition, Iowa divorce law required marital counseling and a ninety-day cooling off period before a divorce was granted. As other state legislatures followed California and Iowa's lead by revising their state's laws along no-fault lines, the divorce rate shot up alarmingly in no-fault states and dropped in Nevada. People no longer had to remain in difficult marriages, seek annulments and separations, or relocate temporarily to obtain a migratory divorce. Statistical analysts and other experts were now convinced that strict divorce laws failed to protect the family. Such laws simply pushed aggrieved couples to take other actions and to fall into different statistical categories than divorcing couples.[25]

No-fault divorce laws did not end migratory divorce completely, however. Instead, no-fault divorce laws seem to have given the divorce shopping mentality a new twist. A 1988 article in the *Wall Street Journal* explained that divorce-seekers no longer shopped for a jurisdiction with a short residency requirement, but looked instead for a state whose settlement terms were best-suited to their particular situations. The author speculated that California laws tended to favor the spouse with less property because of its community property provisions requiring that all property be split equally between divorcing mates, while Texas courts might favor women who wanted custody of their children because juries could often be swayed by emotional appeals. Of course, the drawback of such a ploy was that the case could turn into a jurisdictional battle between one spouse petitioning for a divorce and child custody in the couple's home state and the other spouse trying to achieve the same ends in another.[26]

Further complicating the tendency to shop for a divorce was a 1977 United States Supreme Court ruling, *Bates v. State Bar of Arizona,* which gave attorneys permission to advertise their services. Soon, American lawyers advertised easy and inexpensive divorces more frequently than any other single legal service. According to these advertisements, divorces could be obtained for the bargain price of $50 to $100. In international advertisements, attorneys assured divorce-seekers of all nationalities that they could get an American divorce rapidly, cheaply, and without traveling to the United States. In a 1988 edition of the *International Herald Tribune,* classified advertisements informed divorce-seekers that some divorce attorneys even offered the services of agents in such locations as Amsterdam in the Netherlands and Guam.[27] These advertisements created the impression that a floating, worldwide divorce market existed.

Despite many Americans' outrage against the phenomenon of migratory divorce, and a long-term attempt on the part of the courts to reform it, some divorce-seekers continue to search for the most amenable jurisdiction for their circumstances. Others, however, find their home jurisdictions far more accommodating to their divorce plans than they were before California's institution of no-fault divorce in 1970. Sara Bard Field and Charles Scott Wood would not be plagued by the same problems today; their unconventional relationship would simply be one of many similar arrangements.

And what of Field and Wood during the years following Field's migratory divorce action in Goldfield, Nevada? Field, who was divorced, and Wood, who had separated from his wife, lived together without marrying for many years. Sara recalled that when Wood's wife died in 1933, she and Charles did not even consider marriage, because they believed that "neither church nor state should interfere in a relationship" unless it involved other people. Because they had no children, they saw no reason "to seek legal sanction" for such a long-established relationship. But in 1937, when Charles was eighty-five, he had a serious heart attack. Facing his own mortality made him realize that Sara might be confronted with difficult problems regarding insurance and inheritance after his death. Consequently, they renounced their vow to avoid marriage and wed on January 20, 1938.[28]

Field and Wood both had torn marriages asunder—Field through migratory divorce and Wood through separation—in order to establish an experimental relationship together. Although Wood died in 1944, Field lived until 1972, long enough to realize that the options she and Charles had selected during the early 1900s became increasingly popular as the twentieth-century wore on. CHS

See notes beginning on page 308.

Glenda Riley is Professor of History at the University of Northern Iowa. Her books include Frontier Women: The Iowa Experience; Women and Indians on the Frontier; *and* The Female Frontier. *She is finishing a book for Oxford University Press,* Divorce: An American Tradition.

Washoe County Courthouse, Reno, Nevada, photographed in the early 1900s. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

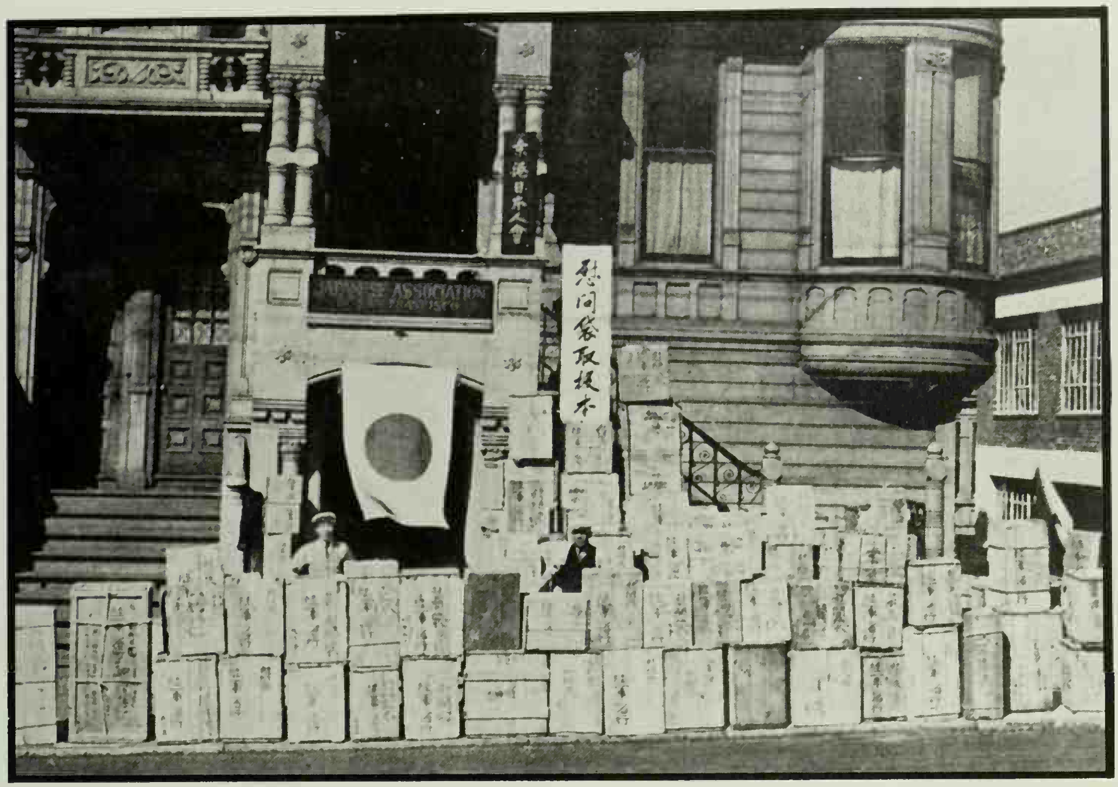
Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941

by Yuji Ichioka

As an interlude between the Japanese exclusion movement period and the dramatic wartime internment of Japanese Americans, the years between 1924 and 1941 comprise an unexplored period in Japanese American history. The numerous studies of the exclusion movement period always end with the termination of Japanese immigration in 1924. The equally numerous studies of the wartime internment of Japanese Americans take one of two approaches to the decade of the thirties. They either blithely ignore the decade altogether, or they merely consider it an incidental backdrop to the central drama of mass internment. Consequently, the decade of the thirties remains largely an unresearched period in Japanese American history.[1] One wholly neglected topic is the nationalism of the Issei, which fully crystallized after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, and continued unabated until 1941. This nationalism involved an intense patriotic identification on the part of the Issei generation with their homeland and its cause in China and was manifested in various activities to lend moral, financial, and material support to Japan's war effort.

The undeclared war between Japan and China broke out with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of July 7, 1937. During the ensuing crisis, Issei leaders in every Japanese community in the western United States established emergency committees, the majority of them in the fall when it became apparent that no quick resolution was imminent. Set up usually within preexisting Japanese Associations, these committees served four purposes.[2] First, they disseminated pro-Japanese propaganda to counteract local publicity that blamed Japan for the war. Toward this end, the committees issued political pamphlets in English, sponsored public lectures, and promoted special radio programs. Second, they collected money and goods to send to Japan. Funds were raised for national defense and war relief; money for the latter, called *imonkin* and *juppeikin*, was earmarked for needy families who had soldiers engaged in combat or killed in action. Third, the committees sent gift packets to the Japanese soldiers on the China front. Called *imonbukuro*, these packets were filled with nonperishable items such as tobacco, razors, dried fruits, soapbars, and candy. Talismans [*sennin-bari*] were often forwarded, too. Literally meaning "a thousand stitches," these talismans, it was believed, protected Japanese soldiers from the Chinese enemy because each stitch, in theory, had been knitted by one thousand maidens. Fourth and last, the committees sponsored periodic patriotic meetings to commemorate certain events in the war, such as the fall of Canton and Hankow in 1938.

The Japanese Associations and Japanese Chambers of Commerce of San Francisco, Seattle, Portland, Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City assumed the task of issuing political pamphlets. In San Francisco, for example, the Japanese Association of America and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce had published eleven separate pamphlets by December 1937. Some 50-60,000 copies of these pamphlets were printed under such titles as "Facts of the China Trouble," and "What Is The Fighting About?" Based on Japanese Foreign Ministry material, they were underwritten by the San Francisco Japanese consulate and distributed as widely as possible by the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and the Japanese Association of America and its affiliated local associations. In Portland the Japanese Association of Oregon printed and distributed 20,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "The North China Incident, 1937," and in Seattle the Japanese Association of North America and the

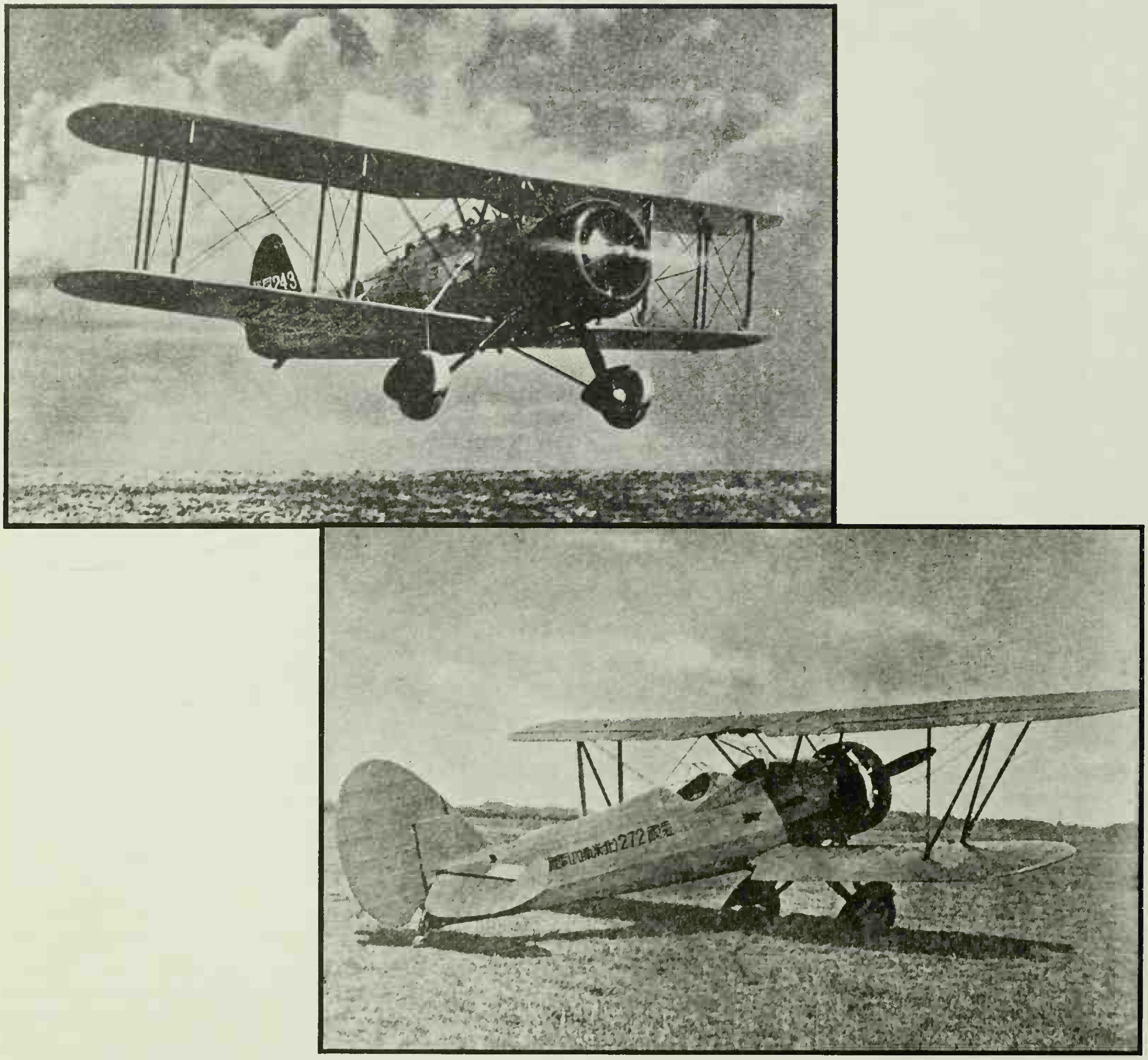


Like immigrants from other nations, Japanese immigrant organizations gave sympathy and aid to their mother country in times of trial. During the Sino-Japanese War, from 1937 to United States entry into World War II in December 1941, immigrants from Japan (Issei) on the Pacific Coast collected funds and relief supplies for the soldiers of their homeland. In this photograph, boxes of *imonbukuro* (gift packets) gathered by the Japanese Association of San Francisco lie on the sidewalk awaiting shipment to the Japanese Army Ministry. *Source: Zaibei Nihonjinkai,* Zaibei Nihonjin Shi *(San Francisco, 1940), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

Japanese Chamber of Commerce jointly printed and distributed 20,000 copies of two pamphlets entitled "The Undeclared Sino-Japanese War" and "The Oriental Conflagration; Who Struck the Spark that Started It?" In Los Angeles the Japanese Chamber of Commerce printed and distributed 20,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled "Japan's Position in the Shanghai and North China Hostilities." And in Chicago and New York City similar pamphlets were issued by the corresponding Japanese American organizations. All the pamphlets presented the Japanese government's justifications for military action undertaken in China.[3]

Two rural Japanese communities typified the patriotic activities that ordinary Issei engaged in. The first case was Yakima, Washington, where the community was located on an American Indian reservation. In August 1937 Issei leaders of this farming settlement organized an emergency committee within the local Japanese Association. Between that date and March 1939, the committee raised $5,775 for national defense, a sizable sum of money for a small community that in 1940 had a population of only 814. During the same period, the committee collected 1,714 *imonbukuro* and sent them to the Japanese soldiers on the China front via the Japanese consulate in Seattle.[4]

The second community was in Walnut Grove, California, in the Sacramento River delta region. In this small farming settlement, an emergency committee was also organized by the local Japanese Association to collect national defense funds and



In 1937 and 1938, the Japanese Association of Pasadena led a group of Issei community organizations that raised and donated funds to the Japanese military for the purchase of two aircraft: a naval fighter bomber (above) and an army liaison aircraft (below). *Source: Yusa Hanboku,* Hanboku Zenshū *(Santa Maria, 1940), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

imonbukuro, and to distribute locally the pamphlets published in San Francisco and other cities. In addition to these activities, the committee held a "war victory celebration" on November 3, 1938, to commemorate the fall of Canton and Hankow. The entire Japanese immigrant community of five hundred people attended the program, which included the latest war-related newsreels from Japan. The coincidence of the celebration with the Meiji Emperor's birthday infused it with added nationalistic meaning. This event was followed by another commemoration on February 11, 1939, a day on which the Issei celebrated *Kigensetsu*, a Japanese national holiday that the Japanese of Walnut Grove had never before observed. February 11, 660 B.C., was the date on which Jimmu Tennō, the first Japanese Emperor, was said to have ascended the Imperial Throne, marking the beginning of the Imperial line that Shinto nationalists claimed had been unbroken through the ages. Also in February 1939, the Walnut Grove Japanese community founded a local branch of the *Heimushakai*, an organization comprised of men who still were of draftable age. Since such men enjoyed draft deferments by virtue of living abroad, they established the local *Heimushakai* branch to remit money in lieu of military service. Local members pledged to donate fifty cents per month and also solicited additional donations from nonmembers.[5]

What transpired in Yakima and Walnut Grove was repeated in every settlement up and down the Pacific Coast and in the adjacent western states. As of June 1939, the Japanese of Seattle had donated 59,152 yen for national defense, 23,700 yen for medical supplies, and 12,600 yen for war relief (in the late thirties, the yen-dollar exchange rate fluctuated between four to five yen per dollar). They also donated 5,184 *imonbukuro* and an unspecified amount of war relief goods [*imonhin*]. And, as their Walnut Grove compatriots did, they observed the fall of Canton and Hankow with a victory celebration and sent congratulatory telegrams to the Japanese Army and Navy Ministries.[6] The Japanese of Tacoma forwarded 5,326 *imonbukuro* between August 1937 and February 1939. On October 10, 1937, they donated $3,346 for national defense; and the local Japanese Association in August 1938 urged all local residents to contribute a dollar or more per person every month for the duration of the war. Three months later the association contributed $938 for war relief.[7]

The *Heimushakai*, originally organized in San Francisco in August 1937, had branches in numerous Japanese settlements in California, Nevada, Idaho, and Utah, and as of June 1940 it claimed to have raised over 500,000 yen.[8] In San Francisco the Issei commemorated the first anniversary of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident with a memorial rite. Fifteen hundred persons assembled at the Scottish Rite Hall to honor the Japanese war dead on July 7, 1938. San Francisco Consul General Shiozaki Kanzō delivered an address and proposed that every Issei contribute a dollar to families in Japan who had lost loved ones in combat.[9]

In southern California Issei patriotism was especially intense. In September 1937 an emergency committee was organized by the Central Japanese Association of Southern California, the Japanese Association of Los Angeles, and the Japanese Chamber of Commerce. On September 29 this committee forwarded 255,660 yen to the Japanese military, divided equally between the Army and the Navy.[10] In October, another special committee, spearheaded by the Japanese Association of Pasadena and composed of various community organizations, was formed to raise funds specifically for two military aircraft. In January 1938 this second committee donated $8,775 to the Army for a liaison aircraft; seven months later it donated $15,724 to the Navy for a carrier-based fighter bomber.[11] In April 1938 a Los Angeles branch of the Women's Patriotic Society of Japan [*Nihon Aikoku Fujinkai Rafu Shibu*] was established by prominent Issei women.[12]

By July 1938 Los Angeles Consul Ota Ichirō felt that Japanese immigrant nationalism had gotten out of control. In his opinion, groups were competing wildly with each other to see who could raise the most money. They solicited openly in public and publicized the results of fund-raising drives in the local Japanese-language newspapers. Ota singled out the *Heimushakai* and *Hōkokukai*, yet another patriotic body, for using strong-arm tactics to coerce people into making donations. Engaging so conspicuously in pro-Japanese activities, he feared, would alarm the American public. Mindful of possible adverse repercussions, Ota warned the Issei leaders of the dangers involved, but much to his dismay zealous individuals and groups refused to heed his admonition.[13]

Thus Ota advised the Foreign Ministry to take measures to curb or dampen the "excessive patriotic ardor" of the Issei.[14] In a revealing report dated July 10, he recommended to Tokyo that the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister should issue a statement to the effect that, while it was laudable for overseas Japanese to contribute money to Japan's war efforts, it was by far better for them to use such funds to educate the citizens of the country in which they resided about Japan's policy. If such a statement were aired over shortwave radio or released through the Domei News Agency, Ota believed that it would have a salutary effect. He assumed that the Issei who had refused to heed his words would abide by the words of the Prime Minister or the Foreign Minister. Also reporting that overzealous patriotism had emerged in his jurisdiction, Consul Shiozaki endorsed Ota's recommendation.[15] Inasmuch as Shiozaki's endorsement came right after he had proposed that every Issei donate a dollar to families who had lost men in combat, this was somewhat ironic, an irony that did not escape the attention of later critics of Consul Shiozaki and Consul Ota. Ota did not receive an instant reply from Tokyo. Several weeks later he reiterated his recommendation because of continuing patriotic excesses in southern California.[16]

Ultimately, the Foreign Ministry released a statement on August 9, 1938, through the Domei News Agency.[17] Instead of being announced by the Prime Minister or Foreign Minister, it was issued in the name of Kawai Tatsuo, the Information Section Chief of the Foreign Ministry. Kawai began by cautioning overseas Japanese about excessive and competitive fund-raising campaigns. Raising national defense and war relief funds was commendable, he pointed out, but it was not the only way of being patriotic. Overseas Japanese were in a position to educate foreigners about the Japanese side of the Sino-Japanese conflict. The Japanese in America in particular were situated to inform Americans about the war. If the Issei dedicated themselves to this educational task, Kawai assured them, they would be acting as "true patriots." Indeed, they would be contributing towards the preservation of good Japanese-American relations, which was more important than the remission of national defense and war relief funds. Interestingly enough, the Foreign Ministry released Kawai's opinions as "informal remarks," rather than as an official statement of policy. In all likelihood, Tokyo adopted this low-keyed, tactful approach in order to avoid unduly antagonizing overseas Japanese.

As soon as the statement was released, many immigrants assailed it as an affront to overseas Japanese. The *Nichibei Shimbum* of San Francisco ran a series of protest letters from its readers. One reader stated that every Issei who had read the statement "felt a sense of indignation," and urged everyone to "disregard" Kawai's advice.[18] A noted Issei poet, Yūsa Keizō of Guadalupe, pointed out with barbed sarcasm the irony of Kawai's statement in the light of Consul Shiozaki's appeal to the Issei to contribute war relief funds.[19]

The harshest and most vocal critic was Fujii Sei, publisher and editor of the *Kashū Mainichi* of Los Angeles. Enraged by the statement, Fujii minced no words in lashing out at it, and at Consul Ota. Cantankerous and opinionated by nature, he had championed the patriotic activities of the Issei from the very beginning, and he had been critical of Consul Hori Kōichi, Ota's predecessor, who, in his opinion, had given only lukewarm support to the drive to collect funds for military aircraft.[20] Fujii correctly surmised that Ota had filed a report to Tokyo recommending that the statement be issued. In bitter diatribes in his daily column, Fujii heaped abuse on Ota, calling him an arrogant, ignorant, and insensitive elitist who was incapable of fathoming the motives of the common Issei. And he sternly rebuked Ota for having insulted them in an unforgivable manner.[21] According to Fujii, the Issei donated money and collected *imonbukuro* because of their sincere generosity, not for selfish motives. The Issei were profoundly grateful for the sacrifices the Japanese soldiers were making on the battlefield. They truly grieved for the families who had lost loved ones, and they possessed an undying love of Japan, their mother country. Fujii was fond of referring to his newspaper as "a country newspaper edited by a country editor for country folk." His subscribers, who lived for the most part in small farming communities, doubtless nodded approvingly at this scathing indictment of Consul Ota, for Fujii appealed to the sensiblities of ordinary Issei.

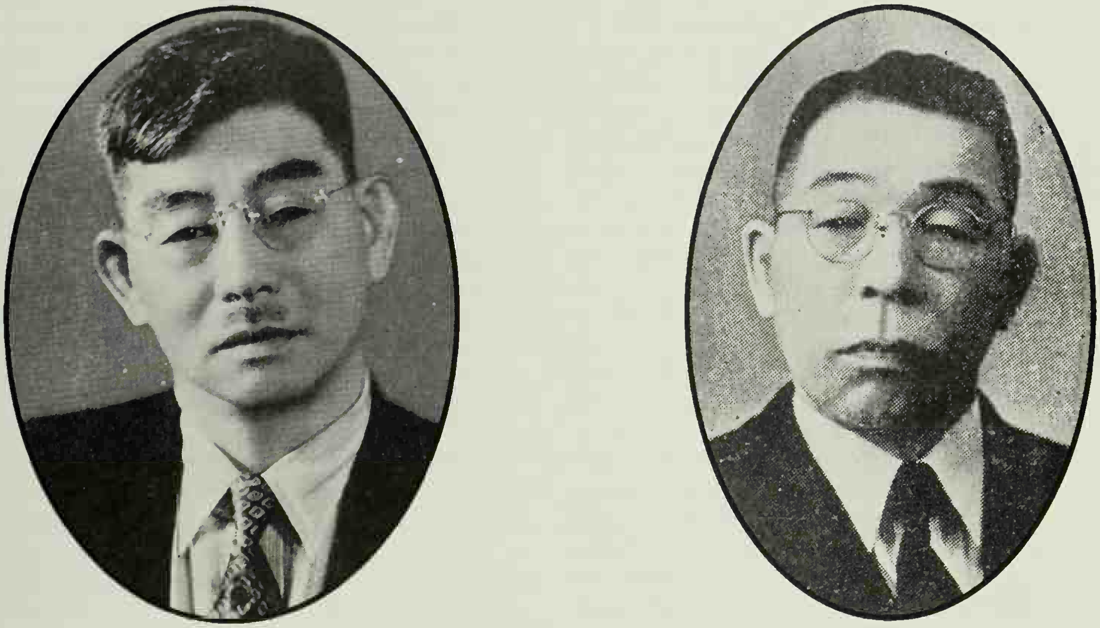
There were many cultural expressions of Issei nationalism. The Issei regularly expressed their patriotic sentiments through poetry. Every Japanese immigrant daily newspaper published patriotic poems. The *Rafu Shimpō* of Los Angeles, for example, sponsored annual poetry contests on war-related themes and published the results in its special New Year's edition. In January 1938 the theme was the so-called "China Incident"; in January 1939 it was "War Victory" to commemorate the fall of Canton and Hankow; and in January 1940 it was the coming "New Order" in Asia.

Simple verses described Issei patriotic activities:

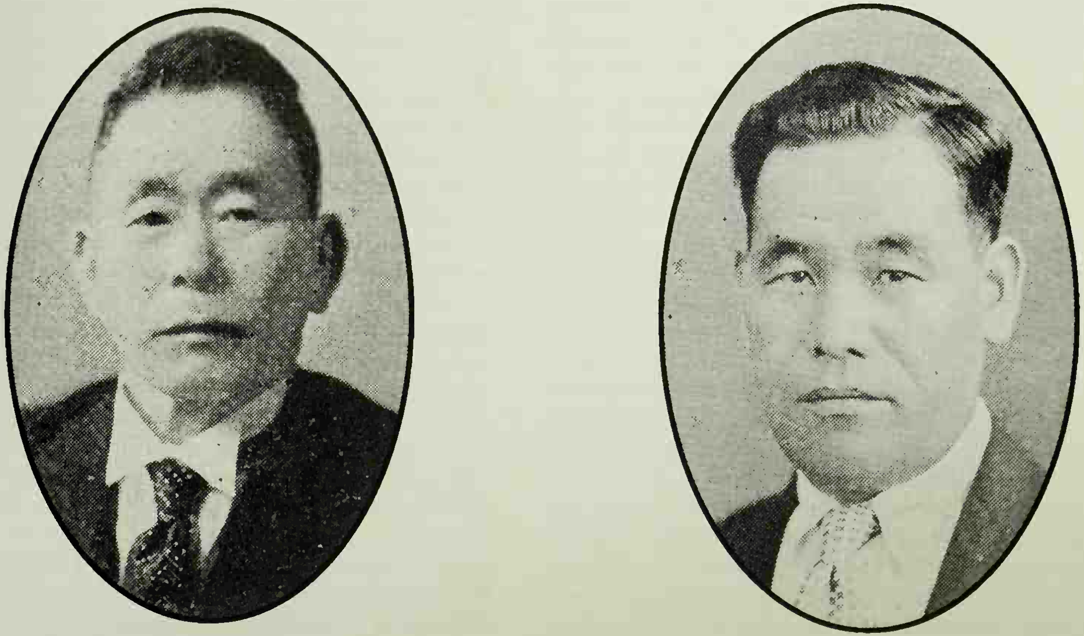
> *Sennin-bari*
> Sewn to deflect
> Chinese bullets
>
> Overtime
> Homefront contributions
> Increase even more

and,

> *Imonhin*
> My younger sister
> Includes talismans



Numerous leaders of California Issei communities organized projects to assist Japan in its war with China between 1937 and 1941. Among them were Fujii Sei, influential publisher of *Kashū Mainichi,* Los Angeles (above left); Nishimura Sueji, head of the Pasadena Japanese Association, who spearheaded the drive to collect funds for purchasing military aircraft for Japan (above right); Minami Yaemon, successful farmer from Guadalupe and senior southern California delegate to the first conference of overseas Japanese, Tokyo, 1940 (below left); and Iseda Gōsuke of Riverside, an *imonshi* who delivered relief funds in Japan and then went to China for a first-hand look at the war front (below right). *Source: Fujioka Shirō.* Beikoku Chūō Nihonjinkai Shi *(Los Angeles, 1940), photo reproduction Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*



Other poems expressed Japanese patriotism from an immigrant perspective:

War victory
Celebration in an alien land
Swelling with pride

War Victory
Hands outstretched
Towards the motherland

and,

The Flag of the Rising Sun
Bowing in silence
An old immigrant

And still others expressed keen interest in the progress of the Sino-Japanese War:

The China Incident
Ears Upturned
The radio news

and,

War Victory
Radio news
Until daybreak.[22]

The official Japanese-government "Patriotic March Song" [*Aikoku Kōshin-kyoku*] became an overnight hit within Japanese immigrant society in early 1938. Soon after, another march, composed and written by Nozaki Kiyoshi of Arroyo Grande, became the unofficial patriotic march of the Issei in southern California. This second tune was an American version of the government's patriotic march in Japan. The Issei sang both at patriotic gatherings.[23]

Many Issei endeavored to instill Japanese patriotism in their children through cultural institutions. In the late thirties, branches of the Martial Virtue Society *[Butokukai]* proliferated within Japanese immigrant society. Under the leadership of Nakamura Tōkichi, a rabid nationalist, the aim of the society was to inculcate the "Japanese spirit" in Nisei youngsters through the teaching of Japanese swordsmanship. The society even established a special institute in Tokyo in 1938 to accommodate Nisei students. Called the North American Institute of the Imperial Way *[Hokubei Kōdō Gakuin]*, the school listed Tōyama Mitsuru, a notorious right wing nationalist, as an advisor.[24] Japanese language school teachers promoted Japanese patriotism among Nisei youngsters by teaching them to compose essays in Japanese with themes relating to the Sino-Japanese War. Many teachers also taught their pupils to write letters of appreciation to Japanese soldiers and forwarded them to the China front. A typical letter read:

> December 15, 1937
>
> To Japanese soldiers in China:
>
> The year is fast coming to an end. It's probably cold over there. It's hard for us who live in sunny Southern California to imagine your hardships.
>
> Everyday we learn of your heroic deeds from the newpaper and radio. I believe that people throughout the world will soon acknowledge your efforts in fighting for justice with the Japanese spirit and *Bushido*. I hope that day will come quickly.
>
> According to the latest news, we learn that the Imperial Army is launching its final attack on Nanking. We get excited everytime we see the morning newspaper. You will reach your goal soon. The final victory is the most important. I pray that you will be victorious as soon as possible and that you will work towards restoring peace in the Orient.
>
> As we are about to usher in the New Year in this time of crisis, I would like to express our gratitude for your accomplishments thus far and to extend our encouragement for the future. I await the day when you will return home as victorious heroes.
>
> Nakamura Toshiko[25]

Various institutions and individuals shaped Issei opinion regarding the Sino-Japanese War. The Japanese immigrant press was by far the most influential. All daily newspapers relied heavily on Domei News Agency dispatches from Japan for day-to-day coverage of the war. The agency was established in 1936 with a monopoly over the release of news abroad.[26] Ostensibly an independent agency, it was in fact under the control of the Japanese government, so that its coverage of the Sino-Japanese War was always biased in favor of the Japanese side. For the average Issei, the daily Domei dispatches reprinted in the immigrant press were the main source of information about the war. In addition, each newspaper had its own correspondent in Tokyo who reported on the war in supplemental articles aimed at Issei readers. In every case these correspondents were men who had worked for the immigrant press at one time and were thus familiar to the Issei. For example, the *Rafu Shimpō* of Los Angeles had Mutō Shōgo, the *Nichibei Shimbun* of San Francisco had Sagitani Seiichi, and the *Kashū Mainichi* of Los Angeles had Komatsu Yoshimoto.

Three newspapers had their own war correspondents who also molded opinion. The *Shin Sekai Asahi*, published in San Francisco, had three men at different times. The most prolific was Murayama Tamotsu, who was a Domei reporter at the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. In the fall of 1937 he went to the China front, from which he filed dispatches to the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Murayama unfailingly cited the heroism of Japanese soldiers in reporting on the fighting. He also conveyed the gratitude the soldiers expressed at receiving *imonbukuro* from overseas Japanese, striking undoubtedly responsive chords in the hearts of the Issei who sent them. After his China assignment, Murayama embarked on an extensive speaking tour of the Japanese communities on the Pacific Coast. In late 1937 and early 1938 he gave personal, firsthand accounts of the war before Issei and Nisei audiences. Murayama was no stranger to the Issei. He was a Kibei-Nisei. Born in Seattle in 1905, he had received his early education in Japan. Upon returning to the United States, he attended Lowell High School in San Francisco. During the early 1930s, he had been very active in the San Francisco chapter of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the principal organization of the Nisei generation. Thus, among the Issei, the credibility of Murayama's pro-Japan dispatches and speeches was enhanced considerably by his roots in Japanese immigrant society.[27]

Ebina Kazuo and Suzuki Kamenosuke were the other two war correspondents for the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Both followed Murayama to the China front towards the end of 1937. An Issei, Ebina had been a newspaperman in California for over twenty years. He contributed a regular column in the *Shin Sekai Asahi* in which his war reportage appeared.[28] Suzuki was the Tokyo-based correspondent of the *Shin Sekai Asahi*. Both men reported glowingly of the Japanese army in action. Like Murayama, Suzuki also came to the United States and spoke to Issei groups. Under the sponsorship of his newspaper, he presented fifty-nine talks during a two-month speaking tour.[29]

The *Nichibei Shimbun* and the *Rafu Shimpō* had correspondent Kazumaro "Buddy" Uno. A Nisei, Uno was the only war correspondent who reported in English. He first went to the China front as a reporter for the *Shin Sekai Asahi* in the fall of 1937 and witnessed the fighting in and around Shanghai. It was on his second tour of the battlefield that he reported for the *Nichibei Shimbun* and the *Rafu Shimpō*, covering the siege of Hankow in late 1938. Uno was thoroughly taken in by the Japanese army. It seemed to him such an efficient and disciplined fighting force, with soldiers who embodied high samurai virtues. While extolling the Japanese, Uno denigrated the Chinese at every opportunity. The soldiers of the Chinese army, in his opinion, were "guilty of unimaginable brutality and cruelty," and the Nationalist government was incapable of establishing order and governing China.[30] After each stint as a war correspondent, Uno gave pro-Japan talks before both Issei and Nisei groups. He even debated pro-China speakers in public forums before non-immigrant audiences.

Understandably, Uno drew high praise from Issei leaders. Ever since the outbreak of hostilities, the adult Nisei on the whole had not stood up in defense of Japan. They either were simply indifferent or adopted a neutral stance. Or they were critical of Japan. The Issei expected the Nisei to act as a "bridge of understanding" between Japan and the United States and to present Japan's side in the Sino-Japanese conflict to the American public. Yet the Nisei, with a few notable exceptions, did not fulfill this expectation. In 1938, Yamashita Sōen, Tokyo-based correspondent of the *Nippu Jiji* of Honolulu, wrote a book on the Nisei in which he asserted that Issei leaders were "shocked" at the failure of the Nisei to champion Japan's case.[31] Similarly, Azumi Suimei, editor of the popular monthly *Nippon to Amerika*, lamented the Nisei's failure, which he attributed to "a lack of knowledge" of the historical circumstances surrounding the conflict.[32] Recognizing the "ignorance" of the Nisei, the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Shin Sekai Asahi* sponsored a joint essay contest in December 1937 in order to encourage the Nisei to study "the facts." The chosen theme was "How I, as a Nisei, can justify Japan's case in China."[33] In September 1937 Fujii Sei started his own English column, "Uncle Fujii Speaks," in the *Kashū Mainichi* expressly for the purpose of educating Nisei youngsters about the Sino-Japanese conflict.[34] To an Issei leader like Abe Toyoji, publisher of the *Shin Sekai Asahi*, therefore, it was especially gratifying to see and hear a Nisei like Uno defend Japan before his fellow Nisei and the American public.[35]

Unofficial spokesmen sent by the Foreign Ministry to talk to the Issei about the Sino-Japanese War also influenced opinion. Shishimoto Hachirō was handpicked to take a speaking tour of Japanese settlements in the western United States. Having been a newspaperman with the immigrant press from 1915 to 1931, he was a well-known figure within Japanese immigrant society. In 1932 he had returned to Japan. In late 1937 the Foreign Ministry first dispatched Shishimoto to north China to enable him to prepare for his tour. There he observed the fighting at first hand and obtained fresh information. He arrived in the United States at the beginning of 1938, and he spoke in almost every Japanese community, including rural ones like Walnut Grove. The Foreign Ministry selected Shishimoto as an unofficial spokesman precisely because he had connections with Japanese immigrant society. His old ties, it was assumed, would accrue to his effectiveness among the Issei.[36]

Henry Toshirō Shimanouchi was another unofficial spokesman for the Japanese government. He undertook a nationwide lecture tour of the United States on behalf of the Foreign Ministry from November 1937 to April 1938. He also visited north China in preparation for his tour. Publicly, he was an official representative of the Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, a semi-official government body. His mission, broadly speaking, was to stem the tide of adverse publicity Japan was suffering at the hands of the American press. Shimanouchi had an unusual background.[37] Born in 1909 in Japan, he was reared in California from the age of one, growing up in the Japanese settlements of San Francisco, Oakland, Livingston, Fresno, and Los Angeles. His father was a respected Issei leader who was associated with the *Nichibei Shimbun* for many years.[38] Educated in American public schools, Shimanouchi was a graduate of Occidental College. By upbringing and schooling, therefore, he was closer to being a Nisei rather than an Issei. In 1933 he returned to Japan, where he found employment as a reporter for an English newspaper, and in 1936 he joined the staff of the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai,* an organization that disseminated knowledge of Japan in western languages. During his American lecture tour, Shimanouchi addressed Issei and Nisei groups throughout the Pacific Coast. Issei leaders took great pride in him, for he had risen from the ranks of the Nisei. In March 1938 he spoke in Los Angeles at a meeting of the Far East Research Institute, a Nisei group formed to study the Sino-Japanese conflict. A polished bilingual speaker, Shimanouchi's defense of Japan was so masterful in the opinion of Fujii Sei that Fujii had nothing but the highest words of praise for him.[39] As a staunch defender of Japan to the Issei, Shimanouchi's credibility was also enhanced by his own background in Japanese immigrant society.

Sannomiya Miya and Nakamura Kaju were two additional persons sent by the Foreign Ministry. Sannomiya was a Nisei. Born in 1902 in Hawaii, she was raised in California. Her father was a longtime farmer in the Stockton area. Educated in American public schools, she was a graduate of the University of California. In 1926 she toured Japan with the second Nisei excursion group sponsored by the *Nichibei Shimbun.* That trip stimulated her lifelong interest in Japan. In 1933 she went to Japan to master the Japanese language. When the *Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai* was organized in 1934, she joined the staff as an English secretary.[40] She arrived in California with Shimanouchi in November 1937. Frequently sharing the same platform with him, she talked principally about cultural affairs rather than politics. Nakamura, a former member of the Japanese Diet, was head of a private institute in Tokyo that offered special classes on Japan and the Far East to foreign students. Since he recruited Nisei to enroll in his school, the Issei were acquainted with him. Nakamura arrived with Shishimoto Hachirō in January 1938. He also presented pro-Japan talks before Issei groups during his own lecture itinerary.[41]

People who were not affiliated with the Japanese government also shaped Issei opinion. Many persons representing private groups paraded across the Pacific to address immigrant audiences. The most influential had personal links to the Issei. Frank Takizō Matsumoto was among them. In 1937 he happened to be on the East Coast studying at the Harvard Business School. Like Shimanouchi, Matsumoto was born in Japan, but raised in California. In 1921 he had returned to Japan and had

Issei women also contributed to the relief effort for the mother country during the Sino-Japanese War. One of the leaders was Mrs. Sachiko Furusawa of Los Angeles, an *imonshi* who delivered relief money and supplies to Japan on behalf of the Federated Japanese Women's Associations of Southern California. *Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi,* Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi *(Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo, 1955).*

become a professor at Meiji University. During the summer of 1937, Matsumoto, on his own initiative, defended Japan before the Issei and took the Nisei to task for failing to take up Japan's cause.[42] Yamada Waka arrived in October 1937 as a member of a private delegation, and appealed specifically to Issei women. She represented *Shufu no Tomo,* a popular women's monthly, which was the most widely read Japanese magazine among Issei women. Yamada's reputation as a writer-critic rested on her regular contributions to this monthly. She herself had very old ties to Japanese immigrant society. In 1902 she had been a prostitute in Seattle; later she lived in the San Francisco Japanese settlement. Most Issei women probably were unaware of her past until Oka Shigeki, an Issei newspaperman, publicized it in his San Francisco weekly after her arrival.[43] With backing from Mrs. Abiko Kyūtarō, publisher of the *Nichibei Shimbum,* Yamada toured Japanese communities and appealed to the patriotic sentiments of ordinary Issei women.[44]

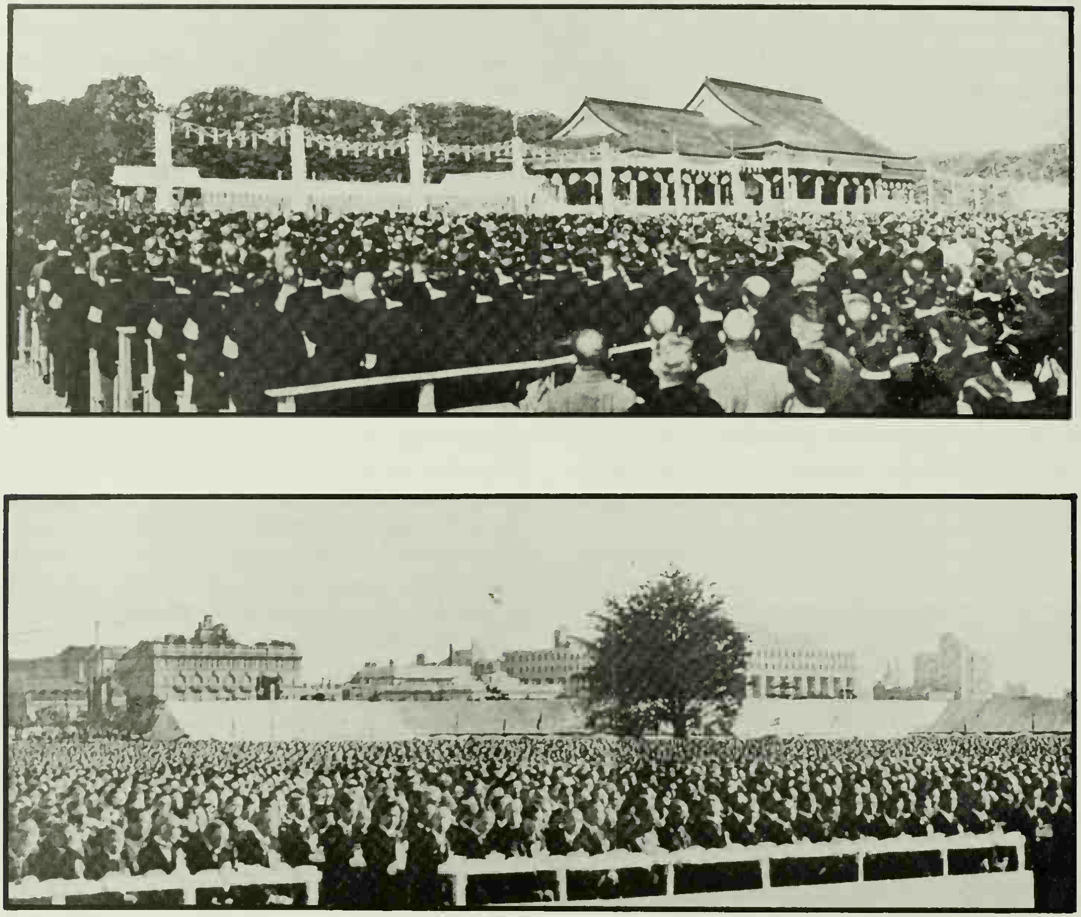
Kiyosawa Retsu, a leading political commentator, made his own personal appeal. He had been a newspaperman with the immigrant press in his youth. He arrived in San Francisco in October 1937. Learning of the pro-China activities of Chinese-Americans, Kiyosawa challenged the Nisei to defend Japan as a means of combatting the anti-Japanese propaganda spread by their Chinese counterparts. Issei leaders hailed Kiyosawa's appeal to the Nisei.[45] All of these private individuals, together with many others who had no ties to the Issei, also helped to foster pro-Japan sentiments and attitudes among the Issei.

Finally, there was a small group of influential Issei. Many large communities, at one time or another, sent representatives to the China front. These Issei, known as *imonshi,* delivered *imonbukuro* and national defense and war relief funds to Japanese military authorities. Stopping off normally in Japan, Korea, and Manchuria en route to north China, they toured the battlefront to console Japanese troops, visited the wounded in military hospitals, and participated in special ceremonies. A few of those Issei who went to China in 1938 as *imonshi* were: Miyazawa Yasutarō of Seattle, Yamazaki Masato of Tacoma, Iseda Gōsuke of Riverside, Nishimura Sueji of Pasadena, Furusawa Sachiko of Los Angeles, and Fukuda Yoshiaki of San Francisco. Nishimura represented the southern California committee that raised funds for military aircraft. He attended the ceremony held at Haneda Airfield in October 1938, at which a naval fighter bomber, the second aircraft paid for by the committee, was christened as the "Japanese Patriots of Southern California." Mrs. Furusawa represented the Federated Japanese Women's Associations of Southern California.

Imonshi were significant for a simple reason. They were all Issei leaders who returned to give eyewitness accounts of the war to their compatriots. After a grand tour of five and a half months, Fukuda Yoshiaki, for example, addressed Issei audiences throughout California in 1939. Fukuda was the Bishop of the Konkōkyō Church, a Shinto sect. As a part of his presentation, he reported that the troops at the front looked forward to receiving *imonbukuro* almost as much as letters from home, generating immense satisfaction among the Issei who had taken the trouble to collect and forward them.[46]

Shortwave radio broadcasts from Japan also stimulated Issei patriotism to some degree. The Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK Radio), a Japanese government-controlled enterprise, began overseas transmission in June 1935. Broadcasts to the Pacific Coast initially consisted of daily one-hour programs with two five-minute news spots, one in Japanese and one in English.[47] After the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the daily program was increased by half an hour, and in August 1938 a special weekly "Nisei Hour," mostly in English, was added. NHK shortwave radio programs provided the Issei with another source of Japanese-government-controlled news about the Sino-Japanese War. Yet the effectiveness of the broadcasts was limited. Most Issei did not have shortwave radio receivers. In addition, reception was not always clear. Static periodically interfered so much that programs on many days were all but unintelligible or inaudible. Thus NHK Radio influenced only those Issei who had access to receivers and only on those days reception was clear.

Issei patriotism reached its zenith at the first conference of overseas Japanese, sponsored in Tokyo by the Japanese government in November 1940. Delegates from Manchuria, Southeast Asia, the Americas, and elsewhere met together for the first time; some came from as far as Brazil and Argentina. Nearly every Japanese settlement in the United States was represented. The American delegation was composed of sixty-two delegates chosen by local Japanese consulates. Tsukamoto Matsunosuke of San Francisco, a venerable eighty-three year-old pioneer who had lived in the United States since 1887, headed the delegation. Minami Yaemon, a successful Guadalupe farmer, was the senior delegate from southern California. Over four hundred unofficial delegates from the United



Among the attendees at the first conference of overseas Japanese, sponsored by the Japanese government in Tokyo during November 1940, were sixty-two official delegates representing nearly every Japanese immigrant settlement in the United States, accompanied by more than four hundred unofficial visitors from among the American Issei. *Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi,* Nan Kashu Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi *(Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo, 1955). Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

States, many of whom were members of special tour groups organized to take in the conference, augmented the American delegation. The conference had four basic purposes: to formalize relations between overseas and domestic organizations; to study the educational problems of overseas Japanese children; to learn about conditions abroad from overseas Japanese; and to introduce conditions in Japan to overseas Japanese and through them to publicize those conditions abroad.[48]

Two factors gave the conference an ultra-nationalistic character. First, it was convened in conjunction with the observance of the so-called birth of Japan. The first Emperor Jimmu Tennō, according to Shinto ideologues, ascended the Imperial throne in 660 B.C., an event used to date the genesis not only of the Imperial line but the Japanese nation as well. Because 1940 marked the 2600th anniversary of that mythical event in antiquity, Shinto nationalism permeated the conference. Second, political chauvinism characterized the proceedings. Less than two months prior to the conference, Japan had entered the Tripartite Pact, by which Germany and Italy recognized Japan's right to establish a new order in Asia. That order, as it was formulated by Japan, was embodied in the concept of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, under which Japan was destined to rule Asia. Political slogans and speakers at the conference heralded the coming new era of Japanese expansionism abroad.

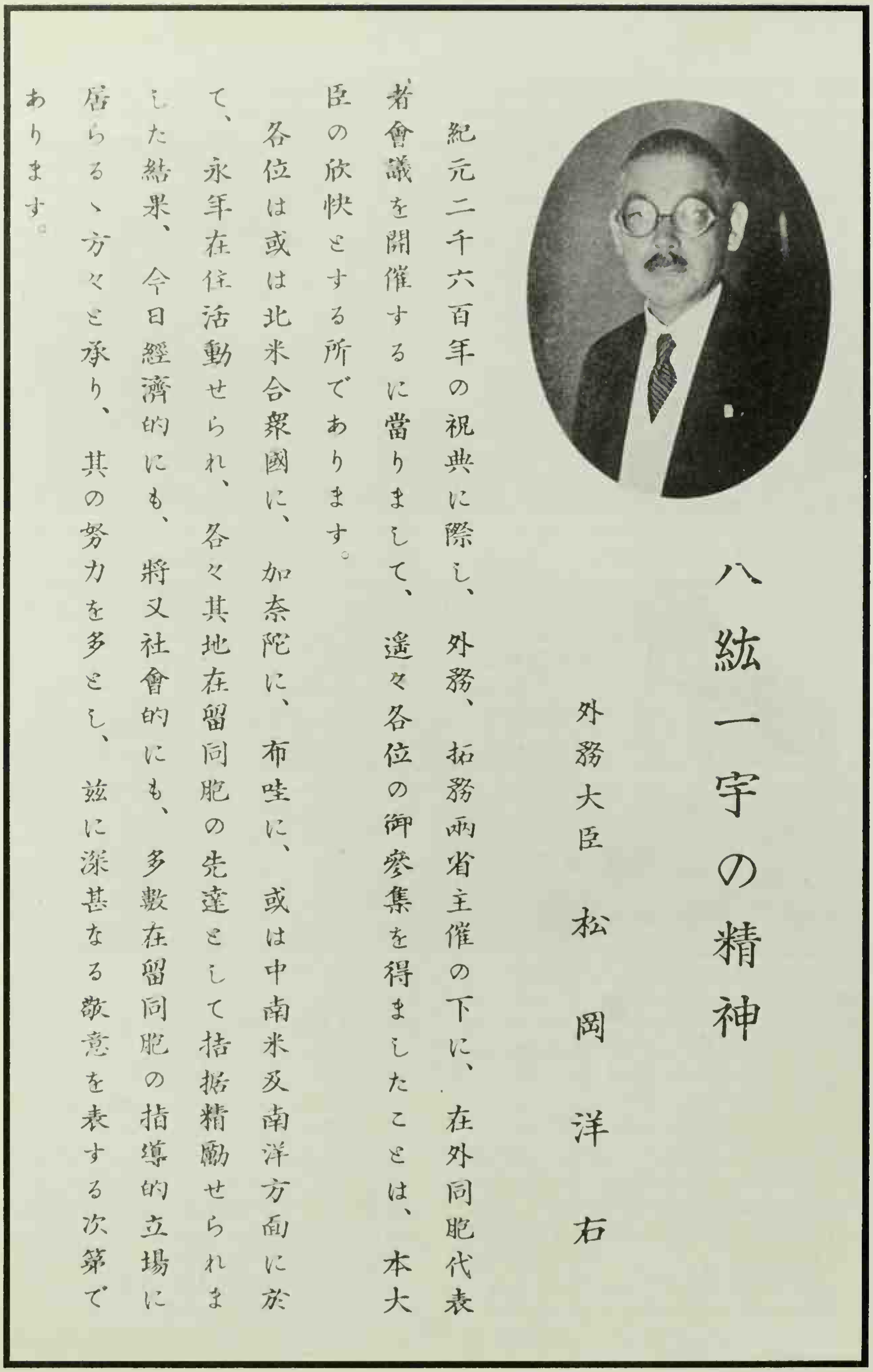
The Tokyo conference opened with a grand procession. The fifteen hundred official delegates marched to the first assembly site in Hibiya Park. As the oldest delegate, Tsukamoto occupied a place of honor at the very head of the procession. Behind him came Minami Kunitarō, another elderly Issei who hailed from Oakland, California. Every delegation marched behind these two men in an order that corresponded to the sequence of emigration from Japan. The American, including the Hawaiian, and Canadian contingents led the procession because Japanese immigrants had first immigrated to North America in the nineteenth century. The Issei delegates from North America were honored in this way as the forerunners of all those who later moved abroad, including the Japanese who colonized Manchuria in the 1930s. As such, the early Issei immigrants to North America were considered, symbolically-speaking, the harbingers of Japanese expansionism onto the Asian continent.

The conference featured sundry activities. Each delegation reported on the Japanese settlements in its country or territory. Government speakers delivered lectures on the political, economic, and social conditions in Japan and the state of military affairs in the Sino-Japanese War. Delegates engaged in roundtable discussions, inspected military installations, and enjoyed nightly social functions. The few Nisei who were in attendance participated in an open forum held for their benefit. Simultaneously, the Takashimaya Department Store hosted an exhibition of photographs and materials depicting the life of overseas Japanese. Among the display of printed matter were Japanese language newspapers, magazines, and books published abroad, and even essays written in Japanese by Nisei youngsters. The opening addresses, delivered by no less than Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke and other high government officials, were aired live over NHK Radio.

Concurrent with all of these activities in Japan, most Japanese communities in the United States held special commemorative programs. In southern California the Japanese Association of Los Angeles sponsored a day-long affair of political and cultural events, featuring Shinto rites in observance of the 2600th anniversary of the so-called birth of Japan.[49] Japanese-language school teachers taught Nisei pupils to write nationalistic essays in commemoration of the anniversary.[50] In conjunction with the Tokyo conference, the *Heimushakai* contributed nearly $15,000 for the erection of an ablution station within the Yasukuni Shrine, the national Shinto shrine in Tokyo, dedicated to Japanese soldiers killed in action since the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95.[51]

The Japanese government granted awards to each delegate from North America and to a few other Issei who did not attend the conference. Three men received highly coveted medals; everyone else received written commendations. These awards were presented by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, who had negotiated the Tripartite Pact. His presence at the conference had special meaning for the Issei in the United States. Matsuoka was not just another high government official to them. Quite the contrary, he was a man with whom the Issei personally identified. Matsuoka had lived in America from 1893 to 1902.[52] As a young lad, thirteen years old, he had come to this country to obtain an education. He started his studies in Portland, Oregon, subsequently attended high school in Oakland, and eventually graduated from the University of Oregon in 1901. He always worked in order to support himself, often at menial jobs as a domestic servant and restaurant worker. In 1902 Matsuoka returned to Japan and launched his career with the Foreign Ministry. He attracted global attention in 1933 when, as the Japanese ambassador to the League of Nations, he withdrew Japan from the League to protest its policy of nonrecognition of the puppet state of Manchukuo. En route to Tokyo from Geneva, Matsuoka stopped over in San Francisco and Portland and renewed his ties to the Issei.[53] The Issei in general felt an affinity to Matsuoka because of his background in early immigrant society. They identified him as a person who had shared their American experience, with all its attendant hardships, and who had risen from their own midst to the lofty position of Foreign Minister. This personal identification added extra significance to Matsuoka's presentation of the awards at the Tokyo conference, heightening the Issei recipients' sense of deep gratitude for the high honor accorded them.

The awards themselves had a symbolic meaning. For decades the Issei had felt rejected by their homeland, as reflected by their frequent use of the term *kimin* to refer to themselves. Meaning "an abandoned people," the expression implied resentment at the Japanese government for its refusal to come to their aid in times of need. During the anti-Japanese exclusion movement of the early twentieth century in the American West, for ex-



八紘一宇の精神

外務大臣　松岡洋右

紀元二千六百年の祝典に際し、外務、拓務兩省主催の下に、在外同胞代表者會議を開催するに當りまして、遥々各位の御參集を得ましたことは、本大臣の欣快とする所であります。

各位は或は北米合衆國に、加奈陀に、布哇に、或は中南米及南洋方面に於て、永年在住活動せられ、各々其地在留同胞の先達として拮据精勵せられました結果、今日經濟的にも、將又社會的にも、多數在留同胞の指導的立場に居らるゝ方々と承り、其の努力を多とし、玆に深甚なる敬意を表する次第であります。

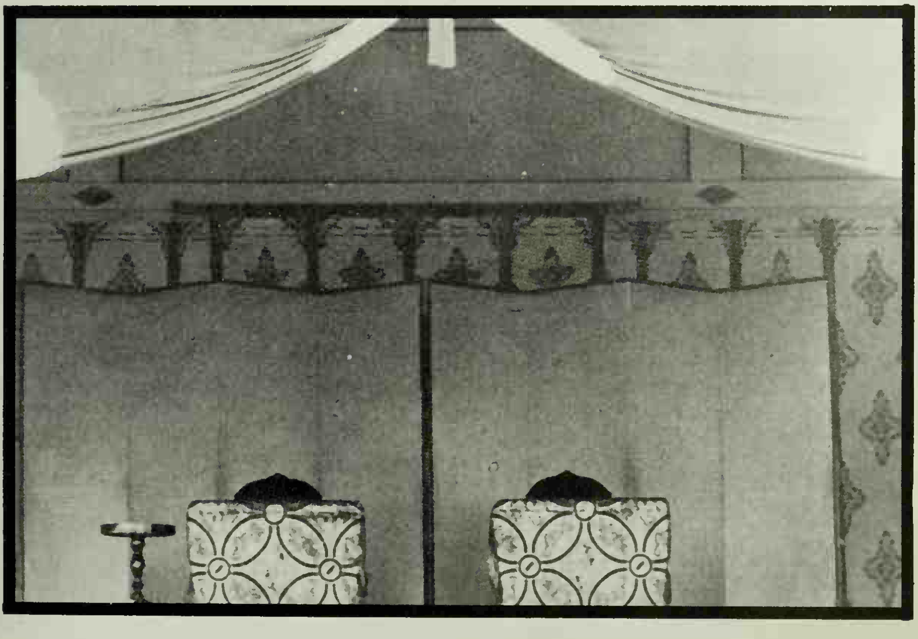
Emphasizing the importance Japan placed on the first conference of overseas Japanese, held in Tokyo, November 1940, the opening address was delivered by Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke, shown here along with the first page of the Japanese text of his address. *Source: Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai,* Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete *(Tokyo, 1941), photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

ample, Japanese diplomats had usually sacrificed the immigrants' welfare for the sake of what they perceived as diplomatic necessity. Prejudiced by class and bureaucratic bias, many officials and prominent persons in Japan, indeed, typically looked down with arrogant contempt upon their uprooted countrymen as an uneducated lot and blamed them for the hostility of white Americans. Such people believed that the Issei, by their own ignorant misconduct in America, had aroused the exclusion movement. The 1940 conference thus symbolized acceptance in Japan of the Issei, at least as it was interpreted by the immigrants. By convening the conference, the government had finally extended its hand of recognition to all overseas Japanese; and by bestowing awards upon the delegates from North America, it had acknowledged the specific contributions the Japanese immigrants in the United States and Canada had made since the nineteenth century. In sum, Issei patriotism peaked at this first conference of overseas Japanese, just one year before that fateful Sunday morning of December 7, 1941.

CONCLUSION

Issei nationalism had many grave consequences. First, it was one factor behind the so-called pre-evacuation round-up of Issei leaders on and after December 7, 1941. During the thirties, American intelligence agencies had kept close surveillance over the Japanese immigrant community, but in an uncoordinated manner. This changed in the summer of 1939, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered Army and Navy intelligence to coordinate all surveillance activities under the direction of FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.[54] American intelligence agencies classified almost every Issei leader who engaged in patriotic activities as a dangerous enemy alien, and the FBI arrested and detained these leaders on Pearl Harbor day and shortly after.

Second, Issei nationalism drove a deep wedge between the Issei generation and the Nisei leaders of the JACL. From 1939 on, FBI, Army, and Navy intelligence agents began to approach JACL officers about Issei leaders suspected of disloyalty. Some JACL leaders looked askance at the Issei's nationalistic identification with Japan. In the words of Togo Tanaka, unofficial historian of the JACL, "Out of the habit of defining loyalty, talking about loyalty, interpreting it for both the Japanese and Caucasian communities, a segment of J.A.C.L. leadership in 1939 and 1940 began to arrogate to itself the authority to judge and evaluate the loyalty of members of the Japanese community." Asked to



Although the Emperor and Empress of Japan did not attend the 1940 conference of overseas Japanese, seats were reserved for them to indicate their symbolic presence. *Source: Kazahaya Katsu'ichi,* Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi *(Los Angeles: Nan Kashū Okayama Kenjin Hattenshi Hensanjo, 1955). Photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*

cooperate in "guarding against sabotage and espionage" by federal agents, "the J.A.C.L. representatives for the most part . . . responded with a patriotic zeal exceeded only by their public expressions of American loyalty." "From the standpoint . . . within the Japanese community," according to Tanaka, such JACL leaders were perceived as "spies and stooges for the F.B.I."[55] Issei nationalism also drove a wedge between the Issei generation and the handful of Japanese American leftists and progressives, who unequivocally condemned Japanese military aggression in Asia. In short, Issei nationalism of the 1930s formed a crucial, but heretofore neglected, background to the wartime internment of Japanese Americans.

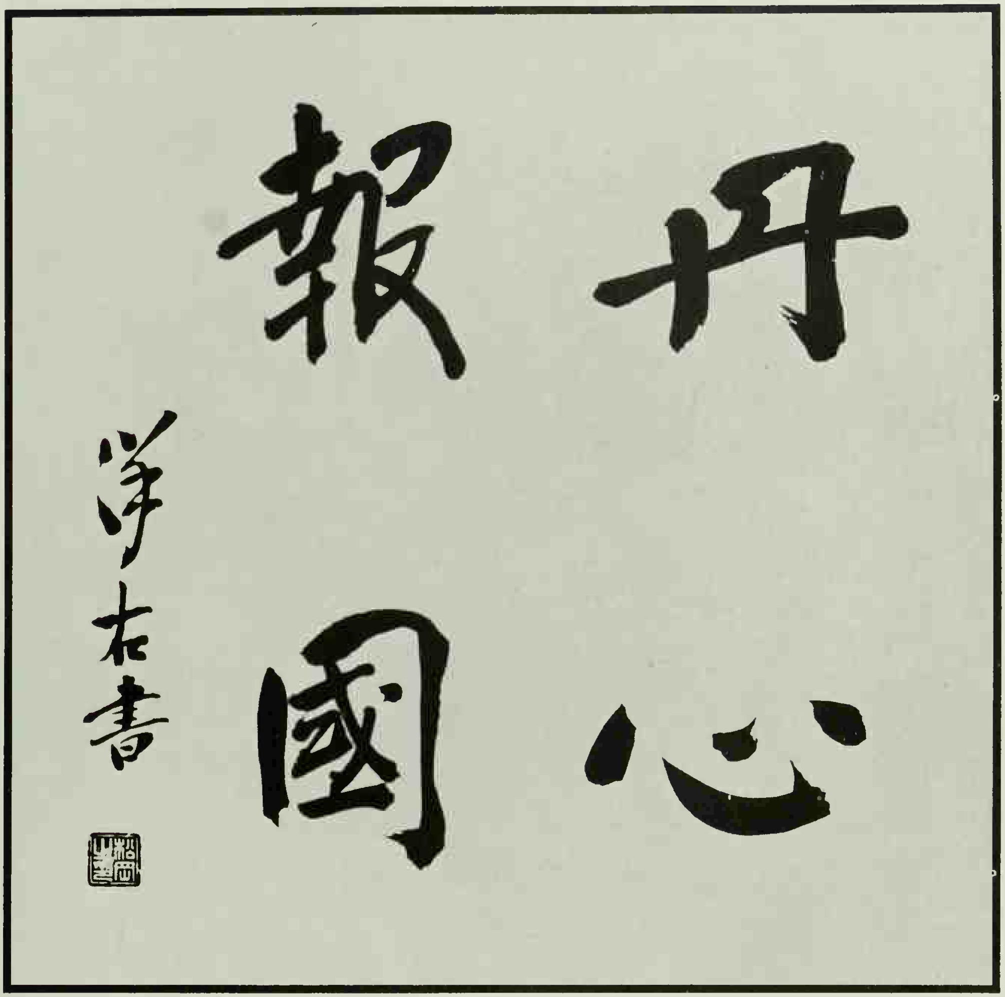
In one sense, Issei patriotism was not at all out of the ordinary in the American immigrant experience. It did not entail fifth column activities to subvert the socio-political fabric of American society, nor espionage or sabotage on behalf of the Japanese government. The Issei had rallied behind Japan in three previous wars: the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05, and the First World War. In all three conflicts, they gave the same kind of moral, financial, and material backing to the homeland as they had after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. The difference was only a matter of degree. Every immigrant group in America, whether of Asian or European origin, has rendered patriotic assistance to its native land in times of crisis. In the twentieth century, Chinese immigrant aid to Sun Yat-sen played an important role in the toppling of the Ch'ing dynasty and establishment of the Republic of China. Korean immigrants engaged in nationalistic activities to promote an independent Korea free from Japanese colonial domination. Irish, Polish, and Jewish immigrants actively sought the establishment of independent homelands, too. During the First World War, German immigrants supported their mother country, while Greek immigrants joined their compatriots in struggle against Turkish Ottoman rule. In patriotically identifying with Japan, the Japanese were no different from these other immigrant groups.

In another sense, however, Issei patriotism had a unique basis in the Japanese immigrant experience in America.[56] By American naturalization law, the Issei were categorized as "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Denied the right of naturalization, unlike the great majority of other immigrant groups, they were unable to participate in the American political process. Numerous legal and social barriers, moreover, confined them to narrow niches within society. Economically, the Issei were limited to certain occupations; socially, they were residentially segregated and barred from many public and private facilities. The anti-Japanese exclusion movement climaxed with the passage of the 1924 federal Immigration Act, which terminated all Japanese immigration. From the Issei point of view, the enactment of the 1924 act, based on the assumption of racial inferiority and hence undesirablility of the Japanese, signified that America had rejected them on racial grounds.

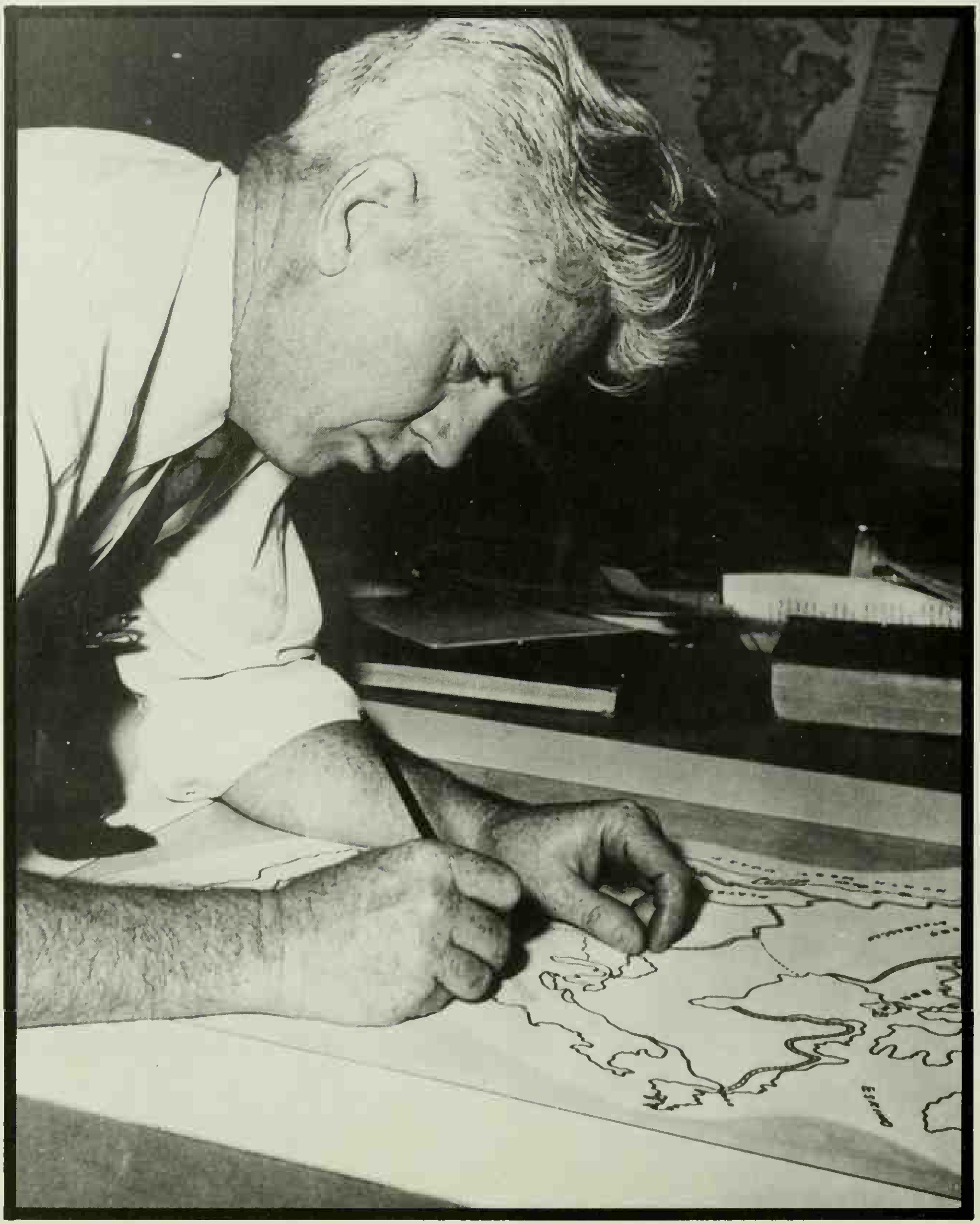
The Issei experience in America left a legacy of disillusionment and bitter resentment. After July 1, 1924, the effective date of the Immigration Act, the Issei no longer saw any future for themselves in this country. Their only conceivable future was that of their American-born children, who were American citizens. Japan entered the world political arena in the aftermath of the Manchurian Incident in 1931. Understandably, during the ensuing decade, the Issei progressively identified with the political fortunes of Japan in the Far East, culminating in their patriotic support of the homeland during the Sino-Japanese War. Underlying that process was the preceding American rejection of the Issei. They had never been a part of the American body politic and knew that they never could be. As political pariahs, they had nothing in America with which to identify politically, a void that necessarily strengthened their patriotic identification with their homeland. The majority of Issei did not believe, or refused to believe, in the possiblity of war between Japan and the United States, at least until the freezing of all Japanese assets in the summer of 1941. Hence their patriotic support of Japan, in their own minds, never contradicted their residency in this country. Anti-Japanese agitators in this country, however, ascribed sinister motives and aims to Issei patriotic activities. American intelligence agents often equated the activities wrongfully with subversion, sabotage, and espionage. Victims of racial oppression can repudiate their oppressors in different ways. Patriotic identification with Japan, thus, was a way by which the Issei psychologically turned away from the America that had rejected them. CHS

See notes beginning on page 310.

Yuji Ichioka is a Research Associate and Adjunct Associate Professor of History, UCLA, and author of The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924 *(New York: The Free Press, 1988).*



This calligraphy by Japanese Foreign Minister Matsuoka Yōsuke commemorated the conference of overseas Japanese held in Tokyo, 1940. The characters read *"Tanshi Hōkoku,"* or "Sincere Patriotism." *Source: Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai,* Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete *(Tokyo, 1941,) photo reproduction courtesy Instructional Media Center, CSU Hayward.*



As anthropology curator at the Los Angeles County Museum of History, Science and Art, Robert M. Ariss was determined to present the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit despite its controversy, especially among the museum's board members. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

"Race Prejudice Is Not Inborn—It Is Learned": THE EXHIBIT CONTROVERSY AT THE LOS ANGELES MUSEUM OF HISTORY, SCIENCE AND ART, 1950-1952

by Howard Shorr

Many excellent studies have been written about race relations in Los Angeles in the period before 1945, but historians have slighted the postwar era.* In fact, the historiography of urban race relations has focused primarily on the American South. Yet, the nation in general underwent a change in consciousness concerning matters of race. In southern California, the 1947 *Mendez v. Westminster School District* case, which prohibited segregated schools, and the beginning of desegregation at swimming pools and in theatres indicated changing racial attitudes and the waning of overt racism. The "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit, 1950-1952, at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art provides a case study of contested ideas on race and a public acknowledgment of changing racial consciousness.

In 1913, the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art (later renamed the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History) was opened to the community.[1] Over the next four decades, it expanded and created many interesting educational programs for the public. But in 1950, a major controversy surrounded the proposed exhibit "Man in Our Changing World," which focused on racial equality. The exhibit created dissension between museum supporters who held liberal views of racial similarities and opponents upset about racial integration and the potential for social disorder. For the next three years, public and private debate over the controversial exhibit raged between these two groups.

The director of the museum, Dr. James Henry Breasted, Jr., conceived the idea for an exhibit depicting American life in the mid-twentieth century.[2] Robert M. Ariss, the museum's Anthropology Curator, eagerly accepted the assignment to organize the exhibit. Deeply affected by Nazi racism, the use of atomic warfare, and the problems of race relations in America, Ariss hoped the exhibit would encourage people to question racial and religious barriers and foster an appreciation of differing cultures.[3] Ariss wanted the exhibit to show that "the relation of race to culture," was not a "rigid causal inter-connection."[4] Rather, he argued, "the relationship is a flexible association of racial and cultural factors. Because of his *Homo sapiens* potentialities, any person of any race, 'pure' or admixed is capable of carrying or advancing any culture of which he is a member."[5] Ariss believed that "race does not in any way determine cultural accomplishment. The factors which control cultural expressions are environmental and traditional."[6]

Ariss organized the "Man in Our Changing World" photomural exhibit around twenty-four panels, each fifteen by twenty feet. He divided the

---

*My deepest appreciation to William Deverell, Lynn Dumenil, Elliott Gorn, Glenda Riley, and Vicki Ruiz for their constructive criticisms and friendships. I would like to acknowledge Robert Ariss, Nancy J. Blomberg, William Mason, and Gretchen Sibley of the Los Angeles Natural History Museum for their insights and suggestions about the conflicts over the "Man In Our Changing World" exhibit. A very special thanks to Martin Ridge for his support and to the Huntington Library for granting me a Haynes-Huntington Summer Fellowship in 1988.

Rose Garden in front of the museum, which was renamed the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History in 1964. This older section of the museum, known as the Rotunda, was completed in 1913. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

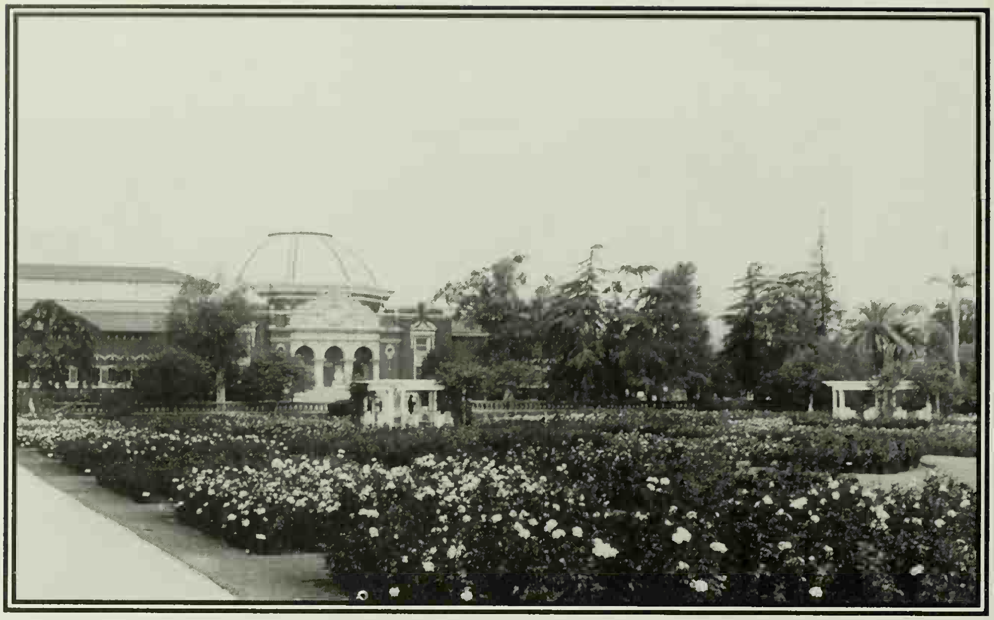


exhibit into biological, psychological, cultural, and social categories. Forming the ideological backdrop to the exhibit, the first section emphasized the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed that ". . . the recognition of inherent dignity and the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world . . . ."[7]

The panels made bold statements regarding such topics as people's blood, heritage, intelligence, and housing. For instance, the section on blood proclaimed, "There is no way of telling a person's race by examining his blood," and, "All human blood is the same."[8] There were assertions that "We do not inherit the skills of our forefathers; we learn them," and "All races are hereditarily capable of equal performance of all human activities."[9] The section regarding race and intelligence was unquestionably among the most controversial. The theme behind this section declared that "Intelligence is a combination of inborn ability and training; it is not determined by race" and "because of unequal opportunities, many people are unable to develop their inborn potentialities."[10] This section compared U.S. Army intelligence test scores of some northern blacks with some southern whites during World War I. The explanatory text declared, "The tests also showed that negroes from certain northern states generally did better than southern white recruits . . . northern negroes who excelled southern negroes and southern whites did so because social and economic opportunities were better where they grew up."[11]

The section on housing was no less forthright: "Job discrimination, social discrimination, limited opportunities and residential restrictions tend to create slum areas and racial tensions. Decent interracial housing helps to reduce tensions and to promote understanding."[12] Other titles of sections were "All of our bodies perform alike," "The meaning of race," "No race has a monopoly on civilization," and "Race prejudice is not inborn—it is learned."[13]

The resulting conflicts over the museum exhibit reflected the changing perceptions of race relations in Los Angeles and the nation during the immediate postwar era. Even before World War II, many professional organizations and scholars opposed racial stereotyping and the concept of racial superiority. For example, in 1938 both the American Anthropological Association and the American Psychological Association denounced Nazi racial theories.[14] In 1940 anthropologist Ruth Benedict condemned racism as "the new Calvinism, which asserts that one group has the stigmata of superiority and the other has those of inferiority. According to racism we know our enemies, not by their possessing wealth we want to take, but by noting their hereditary anatomy."[15] In 1950, ten social scientists wrote *The UNESCO Statement on Race* that declared, "The biological fact of race and the myth of 'race' should be distinguished; for all practical social purposes 'race' is not so much a biological phenomenon as a social myth. The myth of 'race' has created an enormous amount of human and social damage. In recent years it has taken a heavy toll in human lives and caused untold suffering."[16] An emerging social and scientific consensus, striking at the basic rationale of racism, was a major force in the changing ideas of post-World War II America.[17]

Another factor that shaped postwar ideas about race specifically in Los Angeles was domestic racial violence during the war. Events such as the Sleepy Lagoon Affair and the Zoot Suit Riots, which had pitted whites against Mexican Americans, and the forced removal of Japanese Americans to relocation camps had aggravated racial tension and discrimination in the city.[18] People feared that racial incidents such as these occurring after World War I and during the second war would be repeated after 1945. Los Angeles County Supervisor John Anson Ford warned that "if our law enforcement officers will speak frankly they will tell you that they are in constant state of anxiety lest some untoward incidents shall start flames of murderous passions that will repeat the outbreaks in Detroit and Harlem."[19]

Nationwide, the fear of more racial violence led to the creation of human relations and intercultural committees dealing with race relations in the mid- and late-1940s. These organizations stressed the need for education in interracial understanding and a consideration of the moral factors that deprived many minorities of their normal rights and privileges. By 1949, more than 1,300 human relations committees or organizations in fifty-one cities and twenty-one states were working to improve race relations.[20]

Race is a crucial factor in understanding Los Angeles. Indians, Spaniards, Mexicans, whites, Chinese, Japanese, blacks, and other groups have altered the social landscape of the city for centuries. Like other American communities, north and south, Los Angeles had segregated neighborhoods into the mid-twentieth century.[21] After playing a major role in American military forces during World War II, minorities actively sought improvements in their civil and human rights and pushed for an end to discrimination in housing and employment in the city.

In Los Angeles housing, nevertheless, restrictive covenants remained commonplace. A cornerstone of such segregation was article 34 of the Code of

The post-war economic boom in southern California brought prosperity and rapid growth to the Los Angeles area, but at the same time it created tensions between certain social and ethnic groups. *Courtesy Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

Ethics of the National Association of Real Estate Boards that stated, "A realtor should never be instrumental in introducing into a neighborhood a character of property or occupancy, members of any race or nationality, or any individuals whose presence will clearly be detrimental to property values in that neighborhood."[22] Some people in Los Angeles believed that if minorities purchased homes in restricted areas there would be a greater chance of racial problems and a decline in the academic quality of the public schools.[23]

Minority families also endured physical and mental harrassment while searching for housing in post-war Los Angeles. Some could not purchase dwellings because of deed restrictions, while other families who bought property had animal blood or paint poured over the sides of their homes. In some areas, white homeowners banded together to "buy out" their new minority neighbors.

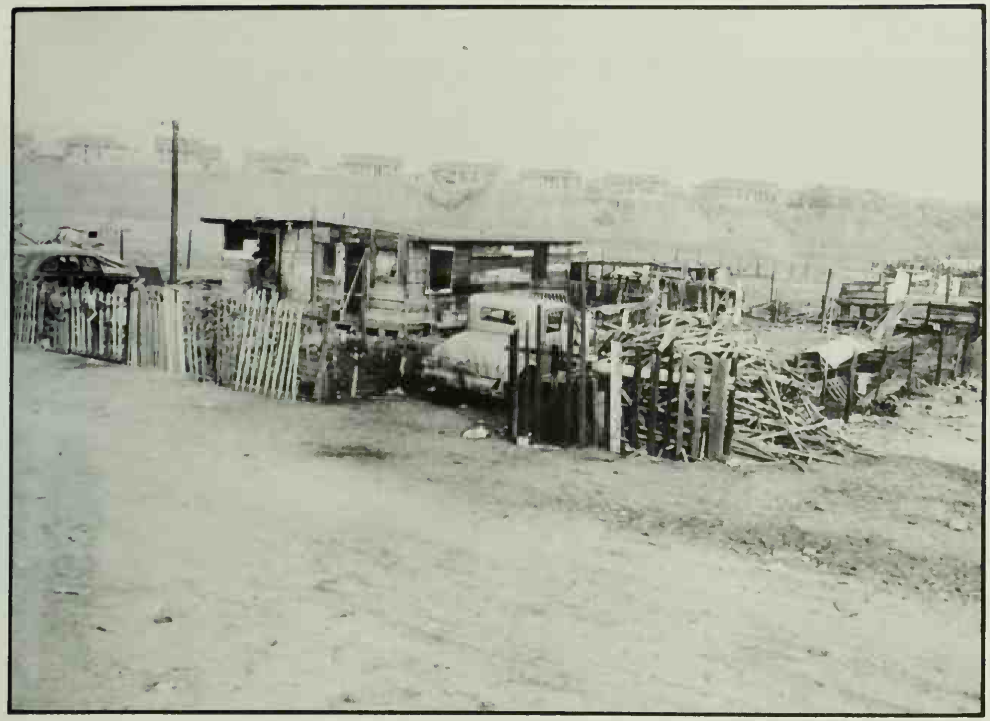
A black family was jailed in 1945 for the offense of moving into a home in one of the areas in Los Angeles where non-Caucasians were forbidden to live according to a private compact of individual property owners, although the family was later released from the Los Angeles County Jail by the California Supreme Court. In another case, a Mexican American woman was not allowed to purchase a house in El Monte in 1945 because of a deed restriction that prohibited Mexicans from "owning or occupying property." Complicating the problem of minority housing, many Japanese Americans returning from relocation camps moved into temporary settlements in greater Los Angeles. Some Japanese Americans with housing had more than one family living in their home in the early post-war era.[24]

Nor did the construction of public housing assist minorities in integrating into the community. In discussing federally funded public housing, historian Kenneth Jackson has argued that the result "if not the intent . . . was to segregate the races, to concentrate the disadvantaged in inner cities, and to reinforce the image of suburbia as a place of refuge . . . [from] the problems of race, crime, and poverty."[25] In any case, only three public housing projects in Los Angeles were built in the late 1940s, two of which were white only and the third of which was reserved exclusively for Mexican Americans.[26]

Unemployment and employment discrimination were also critical problems in post-war Los Angeles and throughout California. According to the Governor's Conference on Employment in 1949, "the chief factor among various causes of such employment is the existence of widespread discrimination in employment because of race, religion, national origin, or ancestry."[27] "Unemployment among minority groups," the conference concluded, "is approaching the crisis stage in some areas."[28] Also, some job applications routinely required applicants to disclose their racial, religious, and ancestral backgrounds.[29]

In the face of its legacy of tension, Los Angeles achieved some progress in the area of race relations after World War II. The County of Los Angeles Joint Committee for Interracial Progress (later renamed the Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission) was created in 1944 to promote interracial understanding. Citizens wrote to the committee complaining about discrimination in myriad areas.[30] Members of the committee advocated social change, and at the same time, Mexican American, Japanese American, and black civil rights organizations also made their presence felt. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled restrictive covenants unconstitutional; the ban on interracial marriages ended in California in 1949; and the Alien Land Law, which had particularly hindered property ownership by Japanese immigrants, was struck down in 1952.[31]

With this background of tense race relations in housing and employment and new assertiveness by minority groups, in April 1950, some of the Los Angeles museum's board of governors complained that the proposed exhibit, "Man in Our Changing World" might aggravate racial friction and even cause violence. William H. Schuchardt, president of the board of governors, wrote letters to the mayor of Los Angeles, the Los Angeles County Sheriff, and the executive director of the Los Angeles Housing Authority asking for assurances that racial incidents would not occur as a result of the exhibit.[32] All three officials assured Schuchardt that they viewed the exhibit as a positive concept, and County Sheriff Eugene Biscailuz felt that the exhibit "should be considered as another 'stepping stone' in our American way of life which . . . [tends] to increase our understanding and acceptance of our fellow man regardless of race, creed or color."[33] Scholars and politicians likewise viewed "Man in Our Changing World" in a favorable light. In support of the exhibit, Ralph L. Beals, president of the American Anthropological Association, wrote the director of the museum that "our racial attitudes have so tended to emphasize the very superficial differences and leave out



Minorities who contributed essential skills to the workforce during World War II often found themselves the victims of various forms of discrimination as they sought equality in the late 1940s and early '50s. Barred from most comfortable Los Angeles neighborhoods, they were forced to seek housing in deteriorating slums south and east of downtown or in temporary shack-villages around the periphery of the city, such as "Jimtown," in west Whittier, shown here. *Courtesy Huntington Library.*

the . . . overwhelming preponderance of similarities between different human varieties. . . . We cannot make too frequent efforts to clarify public thinking on these matters, particularly in terms of the problems of the world in which we now live."[34]

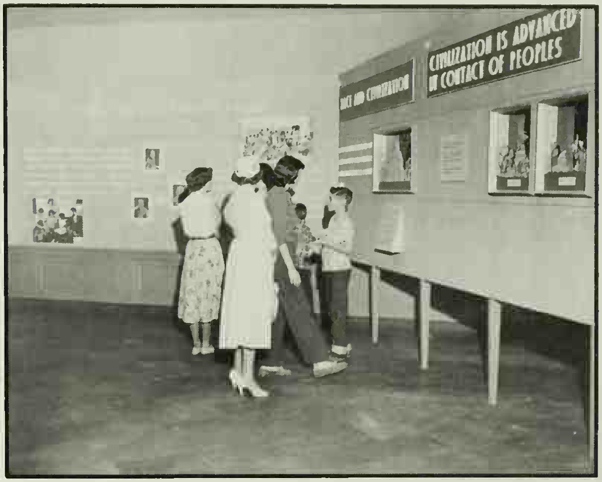
Although the board was far from reassured in 1950, organization of the exhibit continued. However, in September 1951, a whirlwind of conflicts began when the new board president William T. Sesson, Jr., and fellow board member J.R. Pemberton requested that work on "Man in Our Changing World" be stopped because it advocated the "mixing of the races."[35] At the next board of governors meeting in October, Sesson requested that the board's history committee review ". . . the merit of presentation of matter concerned."[36] Two days following the October 16 meeting, T. Dale Gardner, Executive Director of the Los Angeles County Committee on Human Relations, wrote a confidential memorandum regarding the exhibit to John Anson Ford. Gardner argued that Sesson and other board members opposed those parts of the exhibit that displayed open racial mixing, such as "a picture of members of different racial groups participating in actual blood transfusions," and one of "a picture of boys of different ethnic backgrounds with their arms around each others shoulders."[37] Gardner also charged that the board had instructed a top-level administrator of the museum "to rearrange the exhibit so it would be suitable for public presentation."[38] Gardner supported presenting the exhibit and stated that human relations agencies in Los Angeles believed that for the first time "a truly scientific presentation of anthropological and sociological data concerning the races for mankind has been prepared in Los Angeles for presentation to the public. They feel that it would be effective in exploding such myths as 'negro blood,' 'yellow skin,' and the 'Jewish nose.'"[39] Gardner's memorandum concluded by asking if the board of governors had the power to censor the content of the exhibit.[40]

Written and oral evidence indicate that the board of governors collectively opposed opening the exhibit. The new acting director Fred Gehring, however, predicted that if the exhibit were cancelled, the board would be criticized by elements in the community.[41] Robert Ariss, who wanted to save the exhibit, believed that Sesson, Pemberton, and other board members were "Caucasian supremacists" who would do anything to stop the public from viewing the exhibit.[42] He later wrote that "had I not alerted most of my colleagues in the social sciences and many Liberally inclined individuals and institutions at many diverse points, the exhibit would certainly have been withdrawn."[43]

Word of the debate leaked out, for newspaper articles soon appeared questioning the possible closing or changing of the exhibit. An article entitled "Museum Men Defend Race Equality Show" discussed the issue of censorship by the board. Another story, with the emotional headline "Stalin Haunts Museum Fathers," disclosed the news that most of the board members opposed the exhibit.[44] The strongest attack against the board's position, however, appeared in a November 10, 1951, article in the *Los Angeles Daily News* headlined "Museum Board Shies at Pictures of Half-caste." "Members of the board of governors of the Los Angeles County Museum," the story began, "seem to be afraid of pictures. The pictures that inspire the fear depict anthropological aspects of man's history, and his present conduct as a social animal on this planet. The board appears to fear that such photographs will suggest that it is a good idea for races to intermingle."[45]

Scholars and community leaders also sent letters of protest to the museum. One of the leading forces in this protest against modifying the exhibit was Walter Goldschmidt, president of the Southwest Anthropological Association. He wrote a strong letter to Gehring stating that rearranging the exhibit would "destroy its original purpose and meaning" and "in these troublous times it is important that the public be made aware of the concept of race and its limitations as a basis of understanding human behavior and such understanding will help lead the world to peace."[46] Gehring replied that the museum did not wish to modify the original purpose of the exhibit, but "the Board's concern has been that the exhibit be effectively presented from the standpoint of good museum technique."[47] Believing that good museum technique was not the issue, Goldschmidt wrote another forceful letter to Gehring in which he declared that the possible changes at the exhibit are "misinforming the public. As scholars and scientists we wish zealously to guard the kind of message that goes before the public in this community."[48]

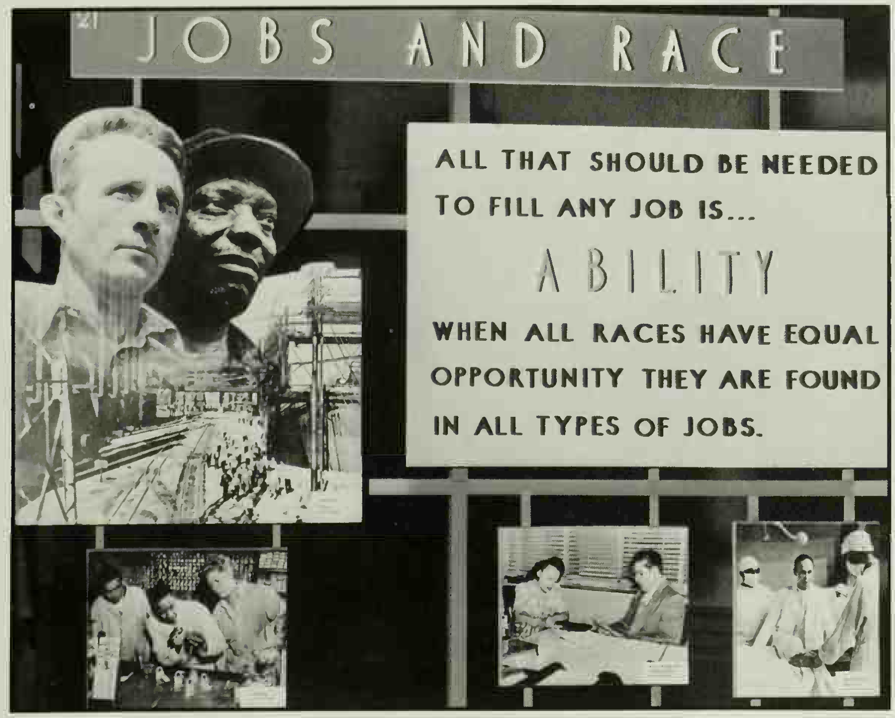
Supporters of racial justice continued to mistrust the board's actions. George L. Thomas, Executive Director of the Los Angeles Conference on Community Relations, warned the new permanent director of the museum, Jean Delacour, that "unfortunately you will be confronted with a serious protest movement among organizations in this area to the proposed changes in the exhibit. The Board of Directors objected to some of the panels, and especially to those which give scientific facts on similarities between peoples of all groups."[49] Early in 1952, Delacour reassured Thomas that he wanted the exhibit to open soon, but "it has to be made a little more striking and attractive."[50]


RACE AND CIVILIZATION
CIVILIZATION IS ADVANCED BY CONTACT OF PEOPLES

When the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit finally opened in June 1952, it proved very popular, drawing little criticism from the thousands of visitors who saw it. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

The members of the museum's board of governors had underestimated the strength of the liberal intellectual consensus. The board finally decided to end the ideological war. On June 7, 1952, "Man in Our Changing World" opened for seven months. But believing the subject and presentation of the exhibit would cause problems, the board installed a telephone in the exhibit room to summon authorities in case of emergencies.[51] The controversial opening of the exhibit was testimony to a successful fight against censorship. Yet without the driving force of Robert Ariss and his contact with scholars, community leaders, and the media, the exhibit would have been cancelled.

"Man in Our Changing World" was popular from the day it opened. *The Los Angeles Review* said, "It seems to liberate our thinking to an extent where differences become interesting rather than frightening."[52] The museum received numerous letters from local citizens. A Boy Scout leader declared "hatreds threaten to divide and destroy the democratic peoples of the world, indeed perhaps to destroy mankind. Such hatreds are fed upon preju-


21
JOBS AND RACE
ALL THAT SHOULD BE NEEDED TO FILL ANY JOB IS...
ABILITY
WHEN ALL RACES HAVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY THEY ARE FOUND IN ALL TYPES OF JOBS.

Illustrations depicting close proximity of blacks and whites, as in this panel from the "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit, were seen as a challenge to white dominance by some critics. *Courtesy Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

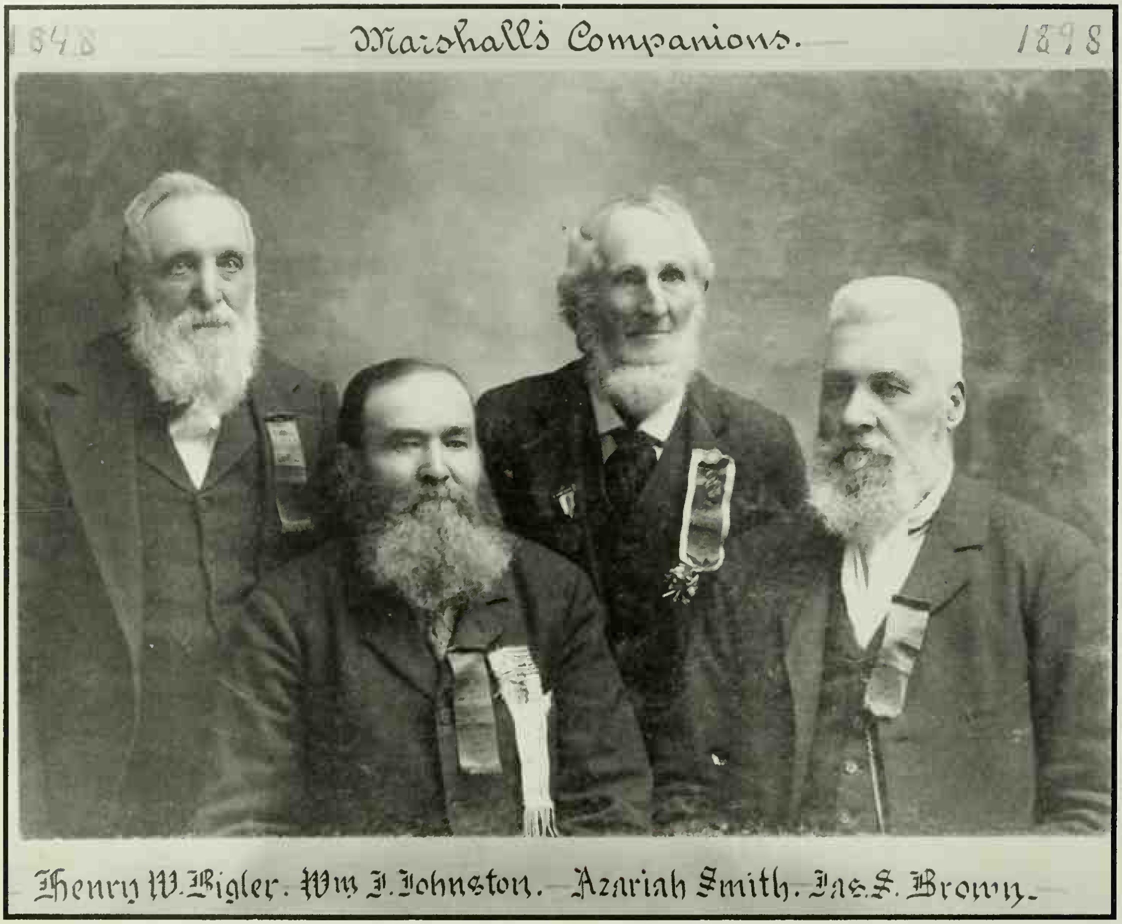
dice and misconceptions about other people. Only by a general dissemination of the facts of the races of man can we combat the falsehood that forms the foundation of discrimination and mistrust."[53] Another person wrote: "In this period of organized bigotry and vocal minority pressure groups, it is more than ever important that educational and instructive effort of the sort presented by 'Man in Our Changing World' should be maintained."[54]

A small percentage of people opposed the exhibit. One letter writer asserted "it is therefore my suggestion that the museum be used to enrich and build culture upon past foundation . . . [rather than encourage] its destruction by teaching the gospel of Karl Marx," and another letter declared that "the entire exhibit was prepared by Atheists and Red Fronts."[55] The museum's 1952 *Annual Report of the Department of History, Science and Art* stated that "the exhibit has attracted wide attention and acclaim since its opening and numerous letters of commendation have been received from educational, community service, church and museum groups."[56] At the conclusion of the exhibit, one newspaper reported that "at times and in some other places, an exhibit keyed to this note might have had difficulties with public acceptance. But, with minor exceptions thousands of men and women, boys and girls, have trooped past its 24 sections saying in effect: 'Yes, of Course.'"[57]

The "Man in Our Changing World" exhibit demonstrated the changing views of race relations and of a new social order emerging in Los Angeles after World War II. The ideological war between the museum's board of governors and elements in the community existed not because of the exhibit but surfaced because of different perceptions of race. The exhibit represented a milestone in race relations in Los Angeles that reflected a new step in attitudes toward racial integration. CHS

See notes beginning on page 311.

Howard Shorr is a history teacher in the Los Angeles public schools. He has written numerous articles about the history of Los Angeles and just completed a two-volume Study Guide to Accompany The Pursuit of Liberty: A History of the American People *by R. Jackson Wilson, et al. (Wadsworth, 1990). Shorr is now working on a new manuscript about race relations and public housing in Los Angeles since World War II.*


1848
Marshall's Companions.
1898
Henry W. Bigler. Wm J. Johnston. Azariah Smith. Jas. S. Brown.

Henry Bigler, left, and the other three survivors of the 1848 discovery of gold, photographed during the fiftieth anniversary celebration in San Francisco. *Courtesy California State Library.*

DOCUMENT

"Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler": Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898 California Golden Jubilee

Edited with an Introduction by
M. Guy Bishop

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

On 24 January 1848 James W. Marshall discovered gold at John A. Sutter's sawmill site along the American River. That day's unexpected find was the spark that ignited the famed California Gold Rush—doubtless one of the major events in mid-nineteenth century California, the United States, and much of the world. The discovery ultimately led four veterans of the Mormon Battalion of Mexican-American War service down a path of some reknown. Of these Mormons, the one whose name came to be most closely associated with the gold discovery was Henry William Bigler.

In the winter of 1848, Henry Bigler was thirty-two years old. He was born in the backwoods of western Virginia in 1815 to a family constantly struggling for whatever material success they found. Along with his immediate kin, Bigler converted to Mormonism in 1837. Within the ensuing decade he witnessed the expulsion of the Mormons from Missouri and then Illinois. In 1846 he enlisted in the Mormon Battalion of the U.S. Army, marching halfway across the continent to southern California to help occupy the province during the Mexican War. At Los Angeles in July 1847, Bigler and most of the other Mormons "mustered out" of the Army.[1]

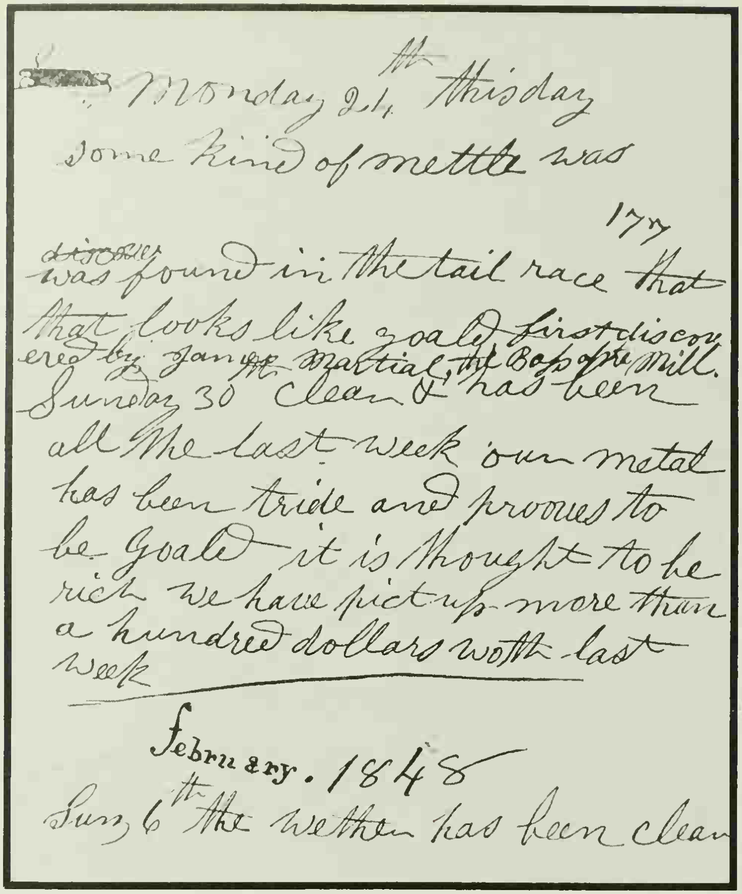
After their discharge, Bigler and several companions started for the Great Basin in search of Brigham Young and the main party of Mormon emigrants, whom they expected to find in the area of northern Utah's Bear River. "We hardly knew what way to strike out," Bigler observed, "for we had no guide, except an old California map with very few rivers or anything else marked on it." Choosing a northerly route that would take them via Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento River, the Mormons began their homeward trek.[2] *For Henry Bigler and several others, it became a trail of destiny.*

They reached Sutter's Fort on 26 August 1847. Pausing only long enough to purchase supplies, get some blacksmith work done, and make plans for the remainder of their eastward journey, the Mormons were soon on their way. (Interestingly, on the very day the battalion veterans stopped at the fort, Sutter entered into a partnership with James W. Marshall, another Mexican-American War veteran. The two men planned to construct a sawmill on the American River.) As the Mormons passed Donner Lake and headed down the eastern slope of the Sierra, they met Captain James Brown, an officer from the battalion who carried a message to them from Mormon church leader Brigham Young. Mormon men without families in the Great Salt Lake Valley were instructed by Young to remain in California to work during the winter.[3] *Consequently, Bigler and some thirty others retraced their steps to Sutter's Fort and sought employment.*

For two weeks Henry Bigler labored with a work crew at Sutter's flouring mill near the fort. Then he was sent in company with Azariah Smith, William Johnson, and Israel Evans, three other Mormon Battalion veterans, to join James Marshall and work at the sawmill site.[4] *Although neither Sutter nor Marshall ever noted why these four were chosen, the selection altered Bigler's life in unimaginable ways.*

One morning in January 1848, Marshall surveyed the progress on the mill's tailrace. His own recollection was printed in Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine *of 1857. "Near the lower end [of the tailrace], . . . upon the rock, about six inches beneath the surface of the water," he said, "I DISCOVERED THE GOLD." But that day and afterward, much confusion surrounded the gold discovery. Marshall was uncertain, for example, exactly on what day it had occurred. Of those present, many later claimed to have been the first to see Marshall's particles of gold. One thing was clear, however, few of the witnesses gave much credence at the time to Marshall's optimistic boast that he had found a gold mine. Such luck seemed very unlikely to these doubtful war veterans. But Henry Bigler gave it enough credibility to make a brief notation in his day book: "This day some kind of mettle was found in the tail of the race that looks like goald."*[5]

This habit of recording his daily life, a practice Bigler had faithfully followed since at least 1846, eventually earned him a lasting place in the annals of California history as the man who dated



Monday 24th this day
some kind of mettle was
177
~~discover~~ was found in the tail race ~~that~~
that looks like goald first discov
ered by James Martial, the Boss of the mill.
Sunday 30 clear & has been
all the last week our metal
has been tride and prooves to
be Goald it is thought to be
rich we have pict up more than
a hundred dollars woth last
week

February. 1848
Sun 6th the wether has been clear

Henry Bigler's diary page from January 24, 1848, noting "mettle. . .that looks like goald." Several years later, his verification of the date served as the official record of Marshall's discovery. *Courtesy The Society of California Pioneers.*

the gold discovery. Fifty years later it also brought him an honored place at the 1898 Golden Jubilee celebration in San Francisco. But his "celebrity" status hadn't come automatically. In 1870, while living at the small northern Utah community of Farmington, Bigler learned of an inaccurate dating of the gold discovery. Realizing that he might appear as a belated glory-seeker by speaking up at this time, he still felt duty-bound to relate what he knew. Quoting extracts from his own 1848 diary, Henry Bigler submitted a letter to the editor of the San Francisco Weekly Bulletin. *Stating that "I was one of the men at work at Coloma at the time the gold was found by Marshall," Bigler went on to give his account for the first time.*[6]

His letter came to the attention of California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft. Realizing the potential significance of Bigler's story, Bancroft quickly made contact with this previously-unknown Mormon. The letter from the historian inaugurated an unlikely relationship between the two which lasted for years. In 1872, Bancroft, then in the midst of preparing a history of California, asked Bigler to contribute his personal reminiscences. These writings, known as the "Diary of a Mormon in California," are now preserved at the University of California's Bancroft Library in Berkeley. As he embarked on a new avocation as a chronicler of history, however, Bigler realized his own literary limitations. Begging the historian Bancroft to overlook his lack of formal education, he pleaded "Dear sir please excuse me for I expect you will laugh or sware [swear] at my awkward way of writing."[7]

This association with Bancroft soon put Henry Bigler in contact with another San Francisco-area historian, John Shertzer Hittell.[8] *Ten years younger than Bigler, Hittell had come to California in 1849 with dreams of striking it rich. However, by 1852 he had abandoned that quest and taken a position with the* Alta California *as a staff writer. Most of the remainder of his life was spent researching and writing about California's history, people, and resources. He served many years as the historian of The Society of California Pioneers, and it was in that capacity that he first became acquainted with Henry Bigler.*

Eventually, Hittell asked Bigler to provide him with a transcription of his important 1848 diary. He saw to it that Bigler's account was published in The Overland Monthly *in 1887. Following Bigler's 1870 letter to the* San Francisco Bulletin, *the later publication of a portion of his diary, and the work by John S. Hittell establishing Monday, 24 January 1848, as the date of the gold find, Bigler's name became linked to the gold discovery.*[9]

Henry Bigler seems to have initiated his own attendance at the 1898 Golden Jubilee celebration at San Francisco through an 1897 letter he sent to Hittell. The following account of the Jubilee, drawn primarily from Bigler's journal, now held by the Archives of the Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Salt Lake City, comprises Bigler's account of the event and his participation therein. His original spelling and grammar remain unchanged. Notations have been used only to provide identification of people and places mentioned.

FEBRUARY 7, 1897
Mr. John S. Hitell, Dear Sir,
You speak of the 24th of Jan. 1898 will be the 50th or SemiCentennial aniversary of the Gold discovery that you suppose the Pioneer Society of San Francisco will then have a grand celebration but that you have little part in managin[g] the affair and may have nothing to say about the celebration but if I feel like making suggestions you would be glad to hear them. I do not know that I have any to make but it seems to me that the Society should have all the survivors of the party who were presant at the time the discovery was made should be at that grand celebration. All I believe have passed away but four.

Respectfully yours,
[signed] Henry W. Bigler[10]

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1897
I received the following letter,
1216 Hyde Street, San Francisco, Dec. 15th 1897
Dear Mr. Bigler. This evening the Celebrating Committee of the Pioneer Society adopted a resolution to invite you to attend the Golden Jubilee of California as an honored guest of the Society which will provide you with first class transporting from and to your home and take charge of your hotel bill from the 22nd till the 31st January 1898 in the city [San Francisco]. You will hear from me again before the middle of January.

Yours truly,
[signed] John S. Hittell[11]

FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1898
Dear Mr. Bigler. To day I sent a telegram anouncing that fifty dollars will be given today to the Express to pay your expenses in making a comfortable trip from St. George to Ogden and also to pay your sleeping birth [berth] in a Pullman car and your meals from Ogden to San Francisco. A letter mailed to you today contains a railroad pass from Ogden to San Francisco and return.

I have a promise that the railroad agent at Ogden will do his best to provide you with a lower birth [berth] in the train which leaves Ogden the night of Thursday the 20th. I expect to meet you on the boat from Oakland about 9 A.M. on the 22d. I will wear a Pioneer badge and a bit of ribbon in button hole on the left lappel of my coat.

Yours sincerely,
[signed] John S. Hittell

The above letter was received several days after it was written but the same day I got the following telegram from Mr. Hittell.

San Francisco, Jan 7th. To Henry W. Bigler Saint George, we express fifty dollars to you. Come in comfort.

[signed] John S. Hittell

and in less than two hours afterward I received the following letter.

San Francisco, Cal. Jan. 7th, 1898. Henry W. Bigler Esq. St. George Utah.
Dear Sir—
The Society of California Pioneers invites you to attend the Golden Jubilee celebration of our State and to accept the hospitality of the Society in San Francisco from the 22d til the 31st of January, 1898. Enclosed find a pass from the S.P.R.R. [Southern Pacific Railroad] Co. for your passage from Ogden to San Francisco and return. We enclose herewith Wells, Fargo & Cos. money order payable at Milford [Utah] for Fifty dollars in coin to pay for your sleeping berth and meels on the way. We have engaged a lower berth for you on the Pullman car which leaves Ogden on the night of Thursday, the 20th inst.

The reception committee will meet you on the Oakland boat on the morning of Saturday, the 22nd, and will wear the badge of the Society. Should you miss seeing them you will go to the Russ House where we have engaged rooms and board for you.

Should you not be able to come, please return the enclosed Railroad pass, and notify the Ticket Agent at Ogden that you will not use the sleeping berth.

Yours truly
(signed) J. I. Spear
Secty[12]

I will here state that there is only 4 living now who were with Marshall at the time he discovered the gold in california, namely Azariah Smith at Manti [Utah], James S. Brown, Salt Lake City, William Johnston of [New] Mexico and myself of St. George and as I have heard since all was written to, to be at the Golden Jubilee at the committees expense.

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 1898
this evening when I went home from the temple[13] my daughter Maude read to me the following telegram[:]

3.43 PM Jan 10th 1898 Salt Lake Utah To Henry W. Bigler St. George. "We have appropriated enough to furnish you a suit of clothes and give you ten or fifteen dollars pocket money besides." George Q. Cannon.[14]

This dispatch grew out of a letter I had written to the First Presidency [a ruling body in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints consisting of the President and two counsellors] before and I feel it is very kind in them to help me to some means outside of their help I mean the Jubilee committee as I am short of money and may need a little something that I could not get for want of money outside of the Committees help.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 13 [really the 14th], 1898

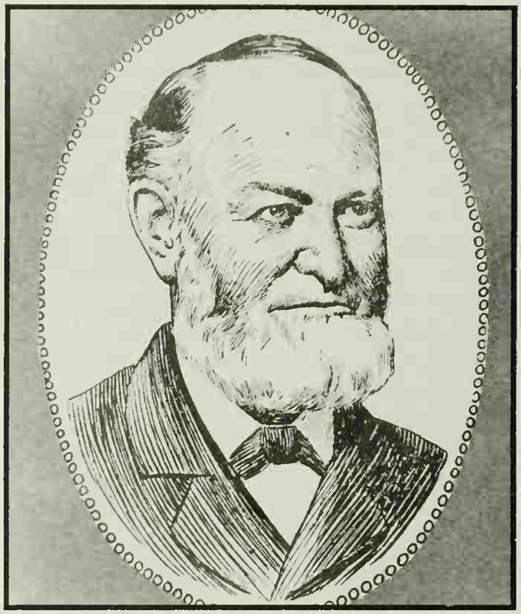
I left home for the Jubilee by private conveyance the weather was cold and snow on the ground was 4 days reaching Milford where [I] took the cars. at Salt Lake City I met with President Cannon who paid me the money to buy me a suit of clothes and the pocket money he spoke about in the telegram. I then went to Farmington [north of Salt Lake City] to see my sister [Hannah Bigler Miller]. Stayed all night with her and visited friends etc. At Farmington I met the other three brethren they were in the cars on their way to Ogden where we all took the cars for San Francisco where we reached on the morning of the 22nd.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 22, 1898

We were met on the Oakland boat by the committee and conducted to the Russ House or hotel where rooms were furnished us each having a seperate room.[15] as soon as we reached Oakland and hardely got out of the cars when a lady whome I never had seen came up to me and said "Mr. Bigler, I am pleased to meet you. I know your history. I have read your journal and I want to pin this Badge on your coat collar." Her name as I afterward learned was Mary M. Greer a relative of Mr. Hittells neither of whome I had ever seen. At the Russ House we were met by reporters and others until late at night. I had taken a severe cold and coughed a good deal and Mr. Hittell went out and got some Liquorish [licorice] and hoarhound candy and gave me.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 23, 1898

Cough is better. Visited all day by parties who wanted to see us.



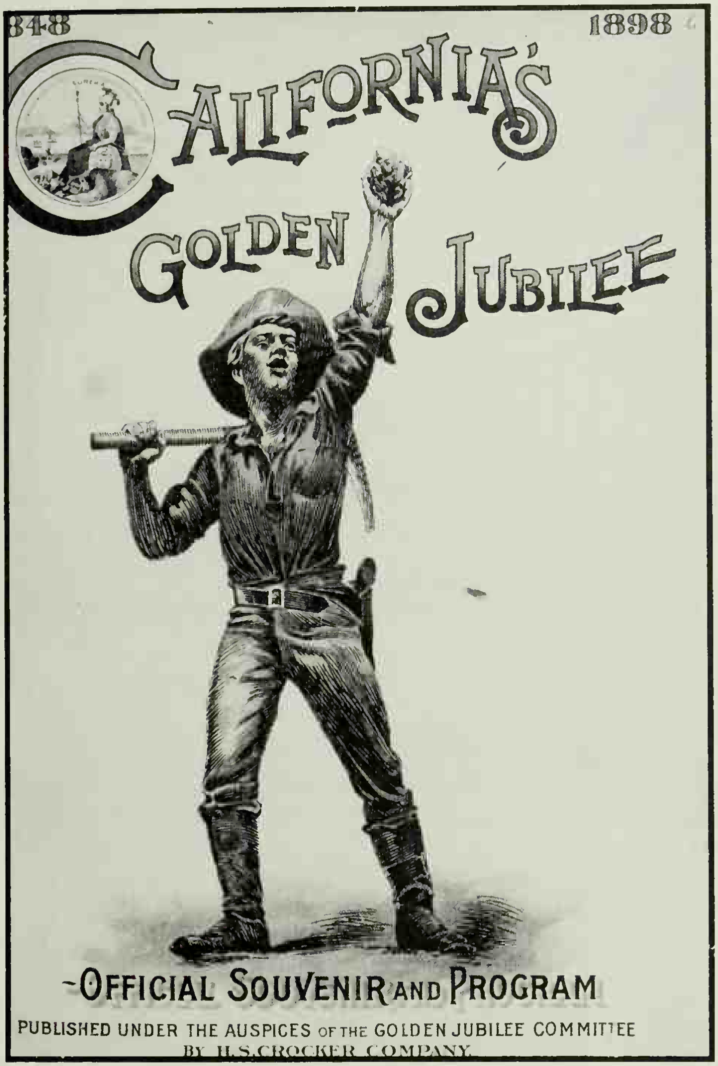
Historian John S. Hittell.
Courtesy California State Library.

MONDAY, JANUARY 24, 1898

the day was cold and disagreeable but for all of that *it is estimated that there was two hundred thousand people present* who joined the procession and crowded the streets to get a sight of the men who were with Marshall at the time he found the gold *many wanted to know which was Mr. Bigler* for it was just fifty years ago since the precious stuff was found and *I being the one that gave the true date of the discovery all wanted to see me.*[16] Carriages was furnished us and we were in the procession until at last I was taken back to the Russ house by Mr. Hittell he seeing it was cold and disagreeable for me to be out. Here I was visited by many among them was my brother in law O. Whipple and wife[17] whome I had not seen for years also his sister Rosetta, they live in Oakland also a Mr. S[illegible] and wife, all took dinner at the hotel with me. When all had gone no one present but ourselves I got the Elders to lay hands on me.[18]

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25, 1898

Feel first rate. Visited by strangers all wanted to see us and especially me.



848 1898

CALIFORNIA'S GOLDEN JUBILEE

OFFICIAL SOUVENIR AND PROGRAM

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE GOLDEN JUBILEE COMMITTEE

BY H.S.CROCKER COMPANY.

Courtesy Huntington Library.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1898
We were visited by many.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 27, 1898
We had some rest, not so many visited us.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 28, 1898
We were taken in a fine carriage to the Golden Gate Park.[19] here we saw [illegible] birds of most all sorts and kinds also the Buffalo, Elk, Moose, Antelope and deer of various kinds among the animals was a grizzly bear 8 years old we were told that weighed over 2000 pounds. this Park is kep[t] by a man by the name of John MecLaren [McLaren] who gave us each a book showing the twenty sixth annual report of the board of the park commissioners of San Francisco for the year ending June 30, 1897. We were taken to the musium where we see allmost everything. We were conducted to all these places by Captain McKinzie.

San Francisco's Russ House, where Henry Bigler stayed as a guest of the Pioneer Society during the Jubilee celebration. *Courtesy California State Library.*

SATURDAY, JANUARY 29, 1898
Captain McKinzie took us to see the Union Ironworks where there are over 2,900 men at work shipbuilding etc.[20] in the afternoon we were taken to Pioneer hall where our likenesses were taken in a group and at night taken to the Miners Pavillion where there was a very large audience. Speeches were made and we were introduced to the crowd and people came to shake hands with us Partook of an excellent supper at the Pavillion it was midnight by the time we got back to the Russ house.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 30, 1898
In the city is a branch of the Church. We met with the Saints and was called upon to speak we did so and then returned to the Russ house where we were met by Hittell and a Mr. Pinkam who gave us means to pay our way back home as our time will be up by tomorrow morning. We were then invited to the Ladies parlor where short speeches were made and a number [illegible] presants and $50 in gold was given each of us by a gentleman by the name of T.J. Parsons of San Francisco.[21] This to us was a surprise and not looked for.

MONDAY, JANUARY 31, 1898
at an early hour Smith and I left for home. Johnston had lost his ticket and could not go. Brown concluded to stay a few days and if the way opened he would lecture and preach. I afterward learned that Johnstons ticket was found on the street and he got it all right.

EDITOR'S POSTSCRIPT

Henry William Bigler died at St. George, Utah, in November 1900. His California acquaintances still remembered him at that time. Notices of the pioneer's passing were published in newspapers from Sacramento to Los Angeles. And Salt Lake City's Deseret Evening News *lauded Bigler as "one of the notable characters in the history of Western America."*[22] *For Bigler, the 1898 San Francisco Golden Jubilee was his moment of recognition as a figure of some importance in California's past. For, in his own words, "all wanted to know which was Mr. Bigler."* CHS

See notes beginning on page 312.

M. Guy Bishop is Head of Research Services, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. He has recently completed the manuscript of a book-length biography of Henry William Bigler.

Pioneer Hall, San Francisco, headquarters of the Society of California Pioneers, which played a prominent role in organizing the Golden Jubilee celebration of 1898. *Courtesy California State Library.*

"Lively and fresh....This unique panoramic history is an absolute delight to read."
—*Howard R. Lamar*

Cowboys of the Americas

Richard W. Slatta

An engrossing, vividly illustrated look at what life was actually like for the working cowboy. Richard W. Slatta takes the reader along with the cowboy to roundups and trail drives, horse races, campfires, saloons, and brothels.

He also reveals the harsh reality of frontier racial conflict and Indian wars; and he discusses the changes that overtook the cowboy as farmers, immigrants, and technology pushed across the plains, leaving the cowboy image alive only in myth and popular culture. 100 b/w + 35 color illus. $35.00

Now available in paperback

Pacific Visions

California Scientists and the Environment, 1850-1915

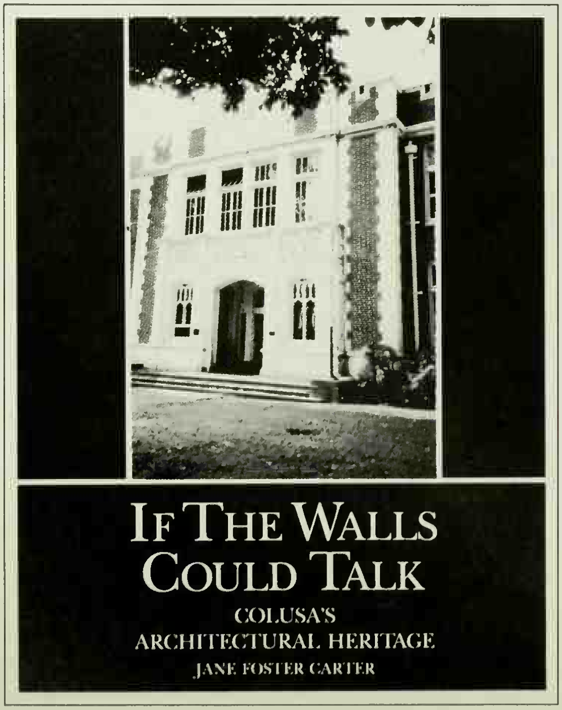
Michael L. Smith

"**A well-written and entertaining** account of the role of the scientific community in the environmental history of California."—Raymond Dassmann, *California History*

"The book calls to mind Kevin Starr's seminal study, *Americans and the California Dream*; both books have as much to do with California's cultural and philosophical histories—the state's ethics, aesthetics, and attitudes toward life—as with science."—Richard Dillon, *Sierra*

"**Anyone seeking to understand the roots of California's current environmental controversies...would do well to read this history**....*Pacific Visions* finds provocative ways of showing that many of the conflicts and choices first revealed by California's pioneer scientists are still before us."—John Christensen, *San Francisco Chronicle* $12.95

At fine bookstores, or order from
Yale University Press
Dept. 464, 92A Yale Station
New Haven, CT 06520



IF THE WALLS COULD TALK
COLUSA'S ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE
JANE FOSTER CARTER

Delightful to read, **If The Walls Could Talk** was written from scholarly research of 325 existing nineteenth-and-early-twentieth-century buildings and sites in the historic California city of Colusa located on the Sacramento River.

Author Jane Foster Carter won the California Historical Society's 1989 Award of Merit for Historic Preservation and the California Preservation Foundation's 1990 Design Award for this book, which captures the historic resources of Colusa in beautiful contemporary photographs and provides historical and biographical notes about the owners and occupants, the architects and builders.

Highly recommended for all architectural historians, preservationists and planners. Hardcover limited edition available for $40.00 (plus $3.00 postage and handling and $2.50 tax) from the **California Historical Society**, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109 or the **City of Colusa**, 425 Webster Street, Colusa, CA 95932.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Taking in the view along the southern California coast in a "Kissel-Kar," 1914. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century.

By John F. Sears. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, xiv, 243 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West Seen Through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age.

By J. Valerie Fifer. (Chester, Connecticut: The Globe Pequot Press, 1988, xii, 472 pp., $29.95 cloth.)

Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948.

By Michael Vinson. (Dallas, Texas: Southern Methodist University, 1989, viii, 42 pp.)

Reviewed by Daniel W. Markwyn, *Professor of History at Sonoma State University.*

Acquisition of California and the Southwest in 1848 challenged Anglo-Americans to incorporate fully the conquered provinces into their culture and their market system. When Richard Henry Dana had written before the Mexican War about the possibilities in California if it were "in the hands of an enterprising people," he had written a lament. Now his words became a call to action. Some who answered the call chose the travel and tourist industries as the means of extending Anglo-American hegemony, especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These three books, quite different in purpose, scope, and format, show how entrepreneurs, tourists, and travelers promoted "Americanization" of the West.

John F. Sears, in *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century,* contends that tourism helped America invent itself "as a culture." Nineteenth-century Americans traveled to "sacred places" like Niagara Falls, where awe or curiosity encouraged reflection on what it meant to be an American. Sears's focus is broader than either California or the West, but his analysis of early nineteenth-century responses to Niagara Falls, Mammoth Cave, and Mount Auburn Cemetery heightens our understanding of the primary "sacred places" in the West: Yosemite and Yellowstone. According to Sears, an increasing belief in the redemptive power of landscape through tourism broadened support for the establishment as parks of both Yosemite in 1864 and Yellowstone in 1872. Moreover, Sears asserts that Yosemite was not just another park in an established tradition. Instead, its creation marked a profound change in "the history of American tourism," for by the 1850s, tourism was both "cultural activity" and established industry. Thus Yosemite provided immediate opportunities, not only for visitors seeking confirmation of American identity in its grandeur, but for those who brought them there in increasing numbers. No sooner had the Mariposa Battalion and the Indians it sought to punish left the valley than entrepreneurs like James Mason Hutchings entered it, fully aware of its commercial potential. And the game began, systematically and rapidly, but with a corporate approach to the commerical possibilities instead of the individualistic one characteristic of tourist attractions farther east.

Valerie Fifer's *American Progress* is a big book intent on explaining "The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth-Century West seen through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age." Fifer, a geographer, is much interested in the marketing and consequent transformation of the American West. Her central figure is George Crofutt, a restless "traveling man," Colorado pioneer, and leader in the rapidly growing western guidebook industry. Although Crofutt drops from sight for pages and chapters at a time, his frequent absences do not weaken the book, for Fifer's main subject is incorporation of the West into American consciousness and into the American and world market systems. Incorporation meant competition, and Crofutt and other entrepreneurs, large and small, competed vigorously for traveler and tourist dollars. Fifer writes vividly of that competition, and her careful analysis of the struggle between California and Colorado for those dollars provides a fresh comparative perspective on the "boom of the eighties" in southern California.

Fifer supports her conclusions with a wealth of fascinating detail. We learn, for instance, of the heavily-advertised and competitive "kite-shaped" and "balloon" routes that carried tourists through southern California on "All Day For a Dollar" rail trips designed to reveal the variety of the natural and cultural landscapes. A rich collection of photographs, maps, and reproductions of advertising ephemera fill the book, providing visual documentation of Fifer's thesis that the incorporation of the West into the world market represented one of the "most rapid and spectacular regional transformations the world has ever seen." That "spectacular" transformation had been guided in its early days by those like Crofutt, who saw a chance to attract capital into the West by providing careful and detailed descriptions of the land and its opportunities to travelers and investors. By the end of the century, however, corporations were increasingly in charge, as railroads distributed reams of free materials and the international Baedeker Company included the West in its first *Baedeker Guide to the United States.*

The term "sacred place" does not appear in *American Progress,* but the books of Sears and Fifer complement each other. Whether Americans sought solace in sublime natural settings or better jobs and profits in the "new country," they had to reach their destinations and they had to eat, drink, and gaze along the way. And that traveling, eating, drinking, and looking meant commercial opportunity to writers of guidebooks and sellers of goods.

Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948, a catalog Michael Vinson prepared for a show at the De Golyer Library at Southern Methodist University, brings tourists into the twentieth century. Divided into five sections, the catalog provides brief and clearly written introductions to each section, as well as a listing of the materials comprising the exhibit. Those materials range from sales catalogs in Section I, "Select Your Car," to narrative accounts of early automobile travel in Section V, "We Motored West." Sections II, III, and IV center on "It Won't Start!", "How Do We Get There?", and "Let Someone Else Drive!" Both colored and black-and-white plates illustrate each of the sections, and the whole is presented in a handsome wrapper. The introductions are very informative. Vinson writes, for example, of highway associations organized by automobile manufacturers attempting to maintain that connection between commerce and tourism cultivated in those earlier days described by Sears and Fifer. Although *Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West* is an exhibition catalog adrift from its exhibition, it is well worth a careful look. The plates, the introductions, and the listing of the often scarce materials included in the exhibit make clear how much twentieth-century motoring tourists contributed to the incorporation of the West.

Each of these books informs us about travel, tourism, growth, and commerce in California and the West. The varied peoples who built the transportation systems, or who were displaced, ignored, or consigned to stock roles in the "Wild West" by the process of growth and tourism, remain largely unrecognized in the books, but not entirely so.

Each book is nicely put together and well-documented, with useful notes and, in the case of Fifer, a comprehensive bibliography. Unhappily, endnotes, rather than footnotes, appear in Sears and Fifer, but this seems to be the rule today. Although Earl Pomeroy's *In Search of the Golden West* remains indispensable to the student of western tourism, these three recent publications should not be overlooked by anyone interested in travel, tourism, or the Americanization of California and the West.

The Golden State: California History and Government.

By Andrew Rolle and John S. Gaines (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc., 3rd ed., 1990, xii, 328 pp., $21.95 cloth, $15.95 paper.)

Readings in California Civilization.

By Howard A. DeWitt. (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 2nd ed., 1989, vii, 272 pp., $22.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Donald H. Pflueger, *Professor Emeritus, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, and Member, California Historical Resources Commission.*

The third edition of Andrew Rolle and John S. Gaines's popular secondary text coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of its first edition, and it is better than ever. It is less detailed, but no less well-written, than Rolle's incomparable *California: A History.*

The first thing a reader notices is the photography, from the colored cover scene of the magnificent redwoods to dozens of new black-and-whites scattered throughout the text, carefully selected to capture the imagination. Each of the 12 chapters is followed by Study Suggestions, which include key phrases and terms, major personalities, and important geographic place names, as well as a short bibliography.

The text itself follows traditional lines for the first half of the volume, then come some new organizational patterns with such intriguing chapter titles as "East Meets West," "The Necessities of Life," and "California as Symbol and Myth." Since the book is also designed to meet the state requirements for the teaching of California government, the following chapters are "Consensus to Confrontation: From Warren to Deukmejian," "State Government in California," and "Politics, Usual and Unusual." The chapter on the framework of government would only be marginally adequate were it to stand alone, but the two chapters on either side give it both substance and dynamism.

In some respects the authors saved the best for last. Chapter 12, entitled "All That Glitters," touches on things that all contemporary Californians can identify with—movies, sports, amusement parks, and tourist attractions—without neglecting cultural and educational institutions or the environmental theme. The text ends with a provocative essay on "Mass Society's Challenges," at once frightening and promising. It lays it on the line that today's students have options in determining California's future, including new responsibilities their parents never had.

The Golden State is comprehensive on that which is significant, exceptionally well-written, accurate, concise, balanced, and destined to be even more popular with secondary students than its two earlier editions.

Howard A. DeWitt's collection of readings is no doubt intended to supplement a standard textbook in California history for use primarily by secondary and community college students. The selections range from the Indians to the Beach Boys.

There are neither Chapters nor Parts, but rather Issues. In each of eight Issues the number of readings ranges from two to seven, all thought-provoking and highly controversial. Each Issue has an introductory statement by DeWitt and a worksheet for students.

The author felt no obligation to present both sides of an issue, hence the selections bring out the case against Father Serra's canonization and, conversely, the suggestion that

Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson of Los Angeles in the 1920s. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Cesar Chavez receive the Nobel Peace Prize. The term "farm fascism" is used with no positive counterpart. Conspirators, exploiters, and villains abound; the heroes are the likes of labor leaders and civil right activists. Praise is heaped on Helen Gahagan Douglas, W. Byron Rumford, Navy-enlisted blacks, Filipino lettuce pickers, IWW types, and feminist liberal Mabel Craft Deering. Oddly, the fate of Japanese Americans during World War II is skipped over. Equally strange, the Sacramento scene gets little attention, as does southern California, though San Diego is mentioned for its high suicide rate and Los Angeles as the home turf of Sister Aimee and surfers. The locus for most issues is the San Francisco Bay Area, the mining camps, and the Central Valley agricultural region.

The term "California Civilization" conjures up a broad spectrum of topics beyond the quest for social and economic justice. Besides the winning of battles in that arena, there is all too little material presented in the book to evoke community or statewide pride. The arts and cultural attainments are ignored. The selections tend to concentrate on the sordid aspects of our past; these, certainly, need to be known, but they should be counterbalanced by subjects of a positive nature. The resolution of conflict does make more interesting reading than what emerges from compromise and cooperation, not to mention individual achievements that benefit all Californians. Except for the time span involved, this reading matter tends to be one-dimensional, the pursuit of a sixties-era protest agenda.

Admittedly, too much California history has been written to stress scenic wonders, the romance of our Hispanic days, the legends of the Gold Rush, the halcyon days of the early twentieth century, and the dreamy and futuristic qualities that set us apart from the rest of the nation. Nonetheless, it is possible to go overboard with debunking by citing case after case of human greed, exploitation of labor, racial strife, and the rape of our environment. This ultimately could contribute to a sense of victimization, helplessness, indifference, and civic apathy.

Before adopting this or any similar text, teachers need to reflect on their own philosophy of education, and know the maturity of their students in terms of what will foster positive community participation or, conversely, create cynicism. They need to review what is or is not given in class, then decide just what it is that students should carry with them in knowledge and attitudes when they leave the classroom. This volume may, or may not, fill the bill.

Headlands: The Marin Coast at the Golden Gate.

By Miles DeCoster, et al. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989, $39.95 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Richard H. Dillon, *Professor of History, Fromm Institute, University of San Francisco, and author of* High Steel.

The subtitle makes the subject matter of this extra-illustrated book clear to potential, but distant, readers. The Marin Headlands have been little-known until recent years because they comprised an off-limits Army reservation, plus the private property of Portuguese (Azorean) dairy ranchers. Once the habitat of the Coast Artillery's long "rifles" (cannon) and unique disappearing guns—meant to keep the Imperial Japanese Navy at bay—the promontory in post-World-War-II days became a nest of Nike missile sites. When the forts were eventually phased out as obsolete, the peninsula was integrated into the National Park Service's Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA).

Besides the obvious hiking, botanizing, and photographing opportunities of its open country, the Headlands section of GGNRA hosts the Marine Mammal Center, which rescues distressed seals and sea lions; a youth hostel; the Headlands Institute (an environmental educational center akin to the Yosemite Institute); the Headlands Center for the Arts, which sponsored this volume; and, for birders, perhaps the best natural observatory for migrating raptors—red-tailed hawks, ospreys, and peregrine falcons—in the country.

But this book is really an excellent introduction to, and overview of, the 15,000 acres of semi-wilderness just across the "Gate" from "Frisco," not the institutions that it holds. For all of its aging gun emplacements, it is, at first blush, a "barren" and lonely moorland, woefully short of trees. Like Devon's Dartmoor, however, familiarity breeds the opposite of contempt; the landscape really grows on you. Even though it can be shrouded in dense sea fog, or blasted by the prevailing westerlies, you are surrounded by the Pacific and its San Francisco and Richardson bay extensions. Salt water is never far away. And the mis-named Pacific, almost never passive, has a far more dramatic shore than, say, Cape Cod. There are not only seascapes, cloud formations, and sunsets, but the excitement of great combers rolling offshore and surf exploding into spray on cliffs, "stacks," rocks, coves, and beaches.

DeCoster, the book's compiler-designer, gets top billing, but it is a cooperative effort, and Paul Metcalf actually wrote the brief text of human and natural history. Larry Sultan and Mike Mandel searched Defense Department and National Archives files for historical photographs of the forts (Baker, Barry, and Cronkhite). Mark Klett signed on to photograph the Headlands today, often the specific sites shown in the Army's old pictures of batteries, barbettes, and casemates under construction.

Wisely, the compilers sought the aid of local experts, like naturalist Harold Gilliam, military historian Bud Halsey, geologist Clyde Wahrhaftig, park historian Gordon Chappell, and long-time Sausalito residents Gene Poole and Jack Tracy. Wonderful bonuses are the interviews with Army vets who served at Fort Barry, and the linking of documentary photos of the batteries' construction (ca. 1938) with the present-day views via informal shapshots by, and of, World War II service men and women.

Both text and photo-selection are impressionistic, but fit the point of view of the album very well. The complete lack of accent and diacritical marks on Spanish words is less annoying than an occasional off-hand (or "half-astute") opinion on the area's history, such as accusing (twice) Capt. William A. Richardson of swindling and graft, without explanation, much less substantiation, of the charge. Copyediting, as usual these days, is not so hot: Sausalito is said to mean both little "yellow" and willow thicket; "*Ranchero*" is used when "*rancho*" is meant; Battery Spencer is occasionally "Spenser"; Fort Ross's *Fuerte de los Rusos* becomes "Fuerto de los Russos;" Governor Pablo Solá is "De Sola," etc.

There is a brief bibliography, but no index, to this pretty good book. As to why such a peculiarly Bay Area book was published in Albuquerque and not Berkeley or Palo Alto—*¿Quién sabe?*

Picturing California: A Century of Photographic Genius.

Edited by Therese Heyman, with an essay by Bill Barich. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books/Oakland Museum, 1989, 152 pp., $35.00 cloth, $19.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Peter E. Palmquist, *historian of California photography, Arcata.*

Once again The Oakland Museum is to be commended for its ongoing interest and commitment to exhibiting fine California photography, especially so, in this sesquicentennial year of the medium. This accompanying exhibition catalog provides us with a fine and lasting record of this notable event.

While one may quibble with *Picturing California's* photograph selection, the images are largely representative of the California genre. Image pairing, such as Karl Struss's "In The Southland, Mt. Baldy, California"(p. 48), with Alice Burr's "Unitled" (p. 49), provide the viewer ample opportunity to compare differences of photographic vision within the same or similar subject contexts. I was especially pleased to see so many vintage nineteenth-century photographs reproduced in full color.

I also enjoyed Bill Barich's free ranging essay, "Acts of Attention." Despite taking a number of artistic liberties with the facts, he has woven a charmingly warm look at the myth and substance of California. "Everything worth photographing is in California," wrote Edward Weston at his most myopic. Barich wisely asks: "Where else is geography so wedded to fantasy?"

Other topics Barich examines include pictorialism (mainly Anne Brigman), photojournalism (Dorothea Lange and Robert Frank), urban documentation (Robert Adams), and so on through Edward Weston and Ansel Adams to the newer crop of California landscape photographers such as Richard Misrach.

Nor does Barich neglect California kitsch of our most recent time: "A palm tree isn't just part of a desert ecology anymore; it's a piece of furniture for a stage-set, trucked to L.A. from a farm somewhere, and deposited on the grounds of a Sheraton Hotel that's under construction."

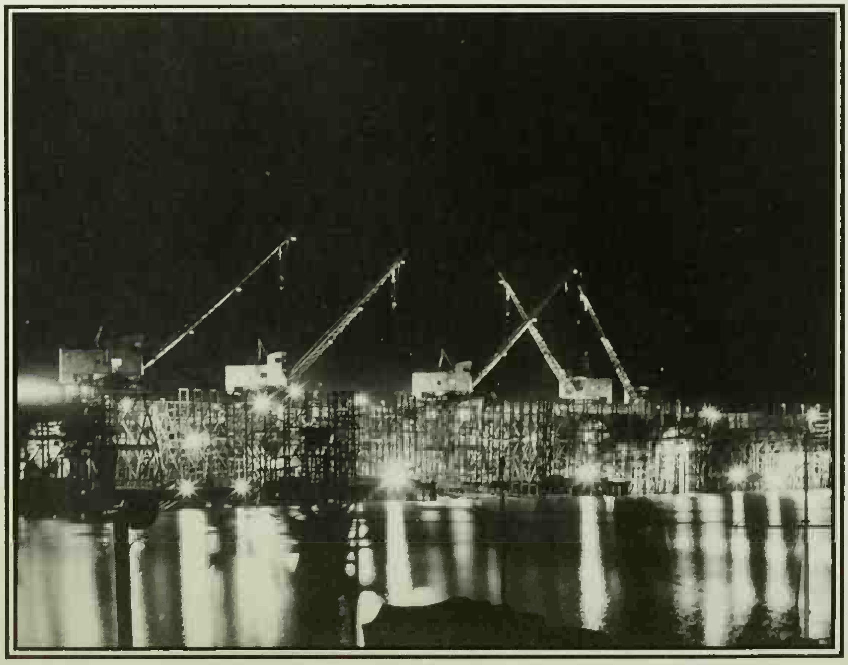
The book also radiates fine technical quality—good paper, printing, and design. Overall it is a fine addition to anyone's California bookshelf.

Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West.

By Mark S. Foster. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989, xiv, 358 pp. $29.95, cloth.)

Reviewed by Gerald D. Nash, *Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Mexico and author of* World War II and the West: Reshaping the Economy.

The annals of California history are replete with pioneers and heroes. But in the minds of many who are interested in the history of the Golden State, such individuals peopled earlier eras—ranging from sixteenth-century explorers to gold miners and overland migrants of the nineteenth century. That a corporate age such as the twentieth century might also spawn figures larger than life is a perception that has not yet



At his Richmond, California, shipyard, industrialist Henry J. Kaiser and his thousands of workers built hundreds of Liberty Ships that helped the United States to victory in World War II. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

imbedded itself very deeply into the popular image of California's past. Yet as the twentieth century draws to a close, we are becoming more aware that individuals only recently considered as contemporaries have now, by sheer passage of time, been transformed into historic personages. Such is the case with Henry J. Kaiser. Of course, not all readers of this fine biography of Kaiser by Mark Foster will share the author's vision of him as a heroic giant. Kaiser is as controversial in death as he was in life. But few can deny his enormous impact on the American West—and particularly on California. It was he who made important contributions to California's economy during World War II and for a quarter of a century thereafter, in shipbuilding, aluminum, steel, and housing. And the paths that he blazed in the field of health care created significant precedents for all the nation. Thus, while the significance of Kaiser's activities can be viewed from various perspectives, he is not one whose importance can be easily overlooked.

That point is convincingly demonstrated in this comprehensive biography that Foster wrote with the family's support. He was among the first to have access to the Kaiser Papers, which are now at the Bancroft Library, although the family pruned some personal items. Foster also exploited many manuscript collections of Kaiser's contemporaries, and used important archival records of wartime agencies, most in the National Archives. The result is a well-written and thoroughly researched volume, the first comprehensive work on Kaiser that does him justice.

In sixteen well-crafted chapters Foster skillfully leads his readers into the hectic and active life style of his subject. He carefully details the German background of Kaiser's forebears, and chronicles his somewhat uneventful youth in upstate New York. Kaiser was not one to confine himself to a single career. He began his career as a stock boy in a dry goods store, but by the time he was sixteen his restless energy and his family's poverty led him to seek his fortunes as a salesman for a photography studio. Four years later he established his own business in the field and was on his way as a young, prospering entrepreneur. Within a few years he discerned greater opportunities elsewhere, however. Foster details his entry into the road construction business by the time of the First World War. Soon thereafter he became involved with even greater construction projects such as water works and dams. With his selection as one of the Six Companies chosen to build Hoover Dam, he established himself as one of America's premier contractors. But Foster devotes most attention in this book to Kaiser's ventures in shipbuilding, steel, aluminum, and aircraft during the Second World War. The last third of the study details Kaiser's activities in automobiles, home building, and development of Hawaii. Foster also describes the health care programs in an interesting style, and concludes the biography with a sympathetic account of Kaiser's final years.

This is a positive portrait of Kaiser. Foster places him in the first rank of American business leaders in the twentieth-century West, and as one of California's premier industrialists. The essence of Kaiser's genius was not only his practicality, but his vision, and his absolute faith in human ingenuity. If he could not satisfy carping ideologues of a later day because of his faith in capitalism, if he failed to impress bureaucratic technocrats who faulted him for unorthodox management techniques, perhaps he understood better than they that the spark of human creativity was created not by elaborate economic systems or ponderous bureaucracies but by imaginative individuals.

Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867-1868.

Edited by Harriet Elinor Smith, Richard Bucci, and Lin Salamo. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1990, xxvii, 672 pp., $39.95.)

Reviewed by Gary Scharnhorst, *Professor of English and American Studies, University of New Mexico, Co-editor of* American Literary Realism, *and Editor of* Bret Harte's California.

This volume is both a pleasure to read and a delight to review. While Mark Twain addressed few of these 150-plus personal and business letters to California correspondents, and while he wrote few of them during his abbreviated return to San Francisco in 1868, he repeatedly reminisces in them about his friends on the coast and the years he lived there. "I think that much of my conduct on the Pacific Coast was not of a character to recommend me to the repectful regard of a high eastern civilization," he confesses to his prospective father-in-law Jervis Langdon in December 1868, "but it was not considered blameworthy there, perhaps."

These letters, nearly forty of them previously unpublished, cover the period between Twain's arrival in New York City from the West in January 1867, through the celebrated *Quaker City* excursion to Europe and the Holy Land in the summer and fall of that year and his subsequent courtship of the fair Olivia Langdon, and his lecture tour throughout the northeastern and midwestern states in the winter of 1868. These two years were lively ones in Twain's career—"Am pretty well known, now—intend to be better known," he writes his mother shortly after his return from Europe. Moreover, these letters have been fully and painstakingly annotated by the editors. In fact, the letters comprise only about a third of these pages, with the notes, appendices, editorial apparatus, and nearly ninety illustrations filling out the book. It is an impressive achievement, a definitive edition that richly deserves its imprimatur from the Center for Scholarly Editions of the Modern Language Association. It will be a standard reference for decades to come.

Of course, the letters are also remarkably entertaining, by turns rollicking and bawdy, poignant and sentimental. In the summer of 1868, for example, Twain facetiously writes an old friend, the proprietor of a New York rubber-goods store, to order "one dozen Odorless Rubber Cundrums [i.e., condoms] —I don't mind them being odorless—I can supply the odor myself." At virtually the same moment, he is writing to Livy Langdon, who has recently declined his first proposal of marriage, that he "would be less than a man if I went on in my old careless way while you were praying for me." Written in a distinctly different voice than the other letters in this volume, Twain's love letters to Livy record, if not exactly a drama of conversion, at least an amusing drama of self-deception. Like Tom Sawyer, who joins the Cadets of Temperance for a week or two, Twain resolves in late November 1867, at the age of 32, to "touch no more spirituous liquors after this day (though I have made no promises)." He admits to Livy that he is even "afraid that you'll stop me from smoking, some day." Though assailed by religious doubt, he pledges to become a Christian, buy into a newspaper, and settle in one city to prove his worth to the genteel Langdons. His effusive letters to Livy during the first months of their courtship, however crude and unpolished the prose, are a touching counterpoint to his dark fulminations later on the damned human race. In all, *Mark Twain's Letters* is scholarship at its best—charming and readable texts, informative and accessible commentary, all at a reasonable price.

"I think that much of my conduct on the Pacific Coast was not of a character to recommend me to the respectful regard of a high eastern civilization." (Mark Twain to his prospective father-in-law, December 1868.) *Courtesy California State Library.*

The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827.

Edited by George R. Brooks. (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1989, 259 pp., $8.50 paper.)

Reviewed by Gerald Thompson, *Professor of History at the University of Toledo and author of* Edward F. Beale and the American West.

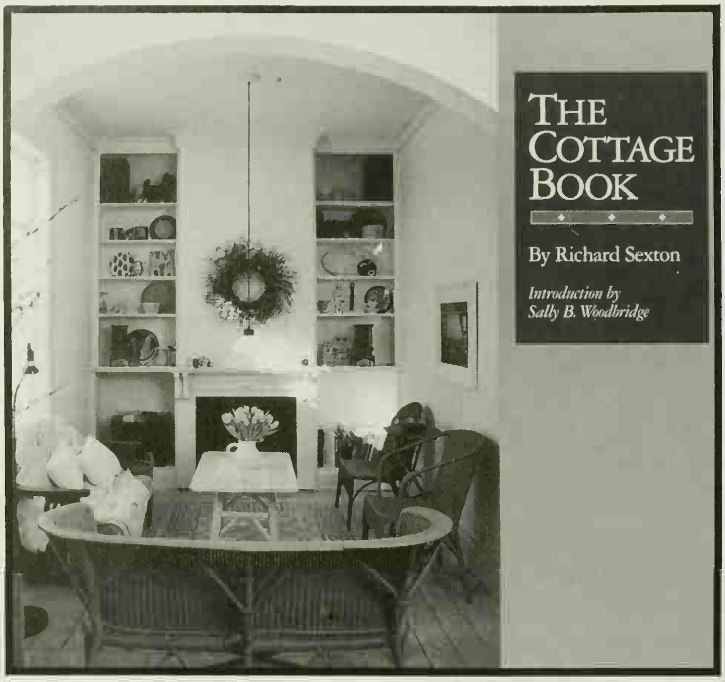
According to this book's back cover, "Jedediah S. Smith was to western exploration what Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Edison were to the world of invention—a legendary figure kiting into the unknown, a lighter of the dark." Despite the tortured metaphor, this reviewer is reluctant to place Smith in the same category with the great inventors, or even with explorers such as Coronado, Lewis and Clark, and John C. Frémont. Nevertheless he was an important historical figure, and Jedediah Smith's career deserves the attention of everyone interested in the American West.

First published in 1977 by the Arthur H. Clark Co., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith* makes widely available a previously unknown journal of the mountain man, covering his expedition in 1826 to California and his return the following year to the Great Salt Lake. For decades, scholars of western exploration and the fur trade have understood the significance of this journey—it was the first overland trek to California by an American—but the broader importance of Smith's trip, and indeed his entire career, remains a matter of debate.

In his introduction, George R. Brooks points out that Smith's pathbreaking travels were forgotten in the decades after his death in 1832, and not until this century did historians begin to recognize the premier role Smith had played as a western trailblazer. The resurrection of Smith's historical reputation was in large measure the work of Dale Morgan's important biography, *Jedediah S. Smith and the Opening of the West* (1953). But it seems to me that the historical pendulum has now swung too far in the opposite direction and Smith's accomplishments have been emphasized a bit too much. For example, the route that he took to southern California in 1826 never received heavy traffic from nineteenth-century American pioneers, although the western end of Smith's trail did become incorporated into the Old Spanish Trail and E. F. Beale's wagon road. When Smith left California in the spring of 1827 to return to the Great Salt Lake, he negotiated the Sierra Nevada via Ebbetts Pass, then headed due east across the desert desolation of central Nevada. This took Smith and his two companions some 100 to 180 miles south of the Humboldt River, where later emigrants would follow the California Trail. Smith's greatest contribution to western trailblazing came two years before the Southwest Expedition, when Crow Indians in Wyoming pointed out a passage around the southern end of the Wind River Mountains. His "discovery" of South Pass (previously used by the returning Astorians as well as thousands of unnamed Indians) provided a key traverse across the Continental Divide and foreshadowed future travel over the Oregon Trail.

In truth, Smith's historical importance lies not so much in discovery, as in the journals and maps he produced regarding his expeditions. The editor of this volume makes it clear that Smith recognized that he could profit from publishing his exploits. James O. Pattie, of course, had achieved notable success in this regard, but Jedediah Smith could never equal Pattie in telling the tall yarns so desired by eastern readers; consequently his journals, unlike Pattie's *Personal Narrative*, stand as valuable historical documents for geographers, historians, and anthropologists. When, for example, Smith details his encounter with the Mojave Indians, the remarks compare favorably with the observation of professional anthropologists a century later. Furthermore, his description of life at the San Gabriel Mission and at San Diego add much to our knowledge of southern California in the 1820s.

Overall, this book makes a significant contribution to the history of exploration in the early nineteenth century. George Brooks's editing of *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith* is excellent: he has attempted to locate precisely Smith's path to and from California, and his introduction provides useful background information. However, the most important aspect of this publication is Smith's own words. Throughout the journal, one gains a sense that Smith was a true leader of men, but a leader who was serious about his business and far removed from the romantic image of the mountain man.



The interior of this California Italianate cottage illustrates "the cottage form at its most quintessential. . . . The living area is a particularly fine example of the coziness that cottage scale provides." *From* The Cottage Book, *by Richard Sexton, introduction by Sally B. Woodbridge, published by Chronicle Books, 1990. Courtesy Chronicle Books.*

The Cottage Book

By Richard Sexton. (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1989, 119pp., $28.95 cloth, $16.95 paper.)

Reviewed by Anne Bloomfield, *consultant in architectural history and member, San Francisco Landmarks Preservation Advisory Board.*

Architectural photographer Richard Sexton has given us a small size coffee table book. The photographs are beautiful, the colors impressive; they might be so many layouts for *Architectural Digest.* The text consists mostly of long photo captions.

Sexton emphasizes modern adaptations of small living spaces, every one picture-perfect. Four of the book's eight sections treat historical cottages in San Francisco; one appropriates houseboats to the type; and one looks elsewhere in the Bay Area. Another section features Maybeck houses in the Berkeley hills, works that this reviewer cannot accept as "cottages." The last section explores recent cottages by architects Jeremy Kotas and Donald MacDonald. In a preface Sexton defines a "cottage" as a single-story dwelling with 150 to 1500 square feet, but he also demands "simplicity of form, rustic charm, and delicate sensitivity to site" (p. 5). For him, "cottage" is a term of endearment and a state of mind.

The book provides little historical information about the cottages. Where owners knew accurate history, Sexton is accurate, as in crediting Col. Charles Taylor for developing Cottage Row in 1882 (p 13). Elsewhere, Sexton passes on disprovable rumor, as when he states that a house on Macondray Lane "was originally built for sailors around 1890" (p. 23), but historic photos show this part of the lane totally destroyed in the 1906 fire. Also on Macondray, he ignores another illustration's true legend: here lived the "patrician radical" Anita Whitney. He also misplaces Carville, the beachfront community of abandoned streetcars-turned-habitations.

Sexton does not seem to care about historic preservation. He calls an Italianate house "Elizabethan" (p. 13, 29) and sees board-and-batten siding where there is none. He likes the rearrangement of a building's windows and doors (p. 36) and he heartily approves "the most gussied up refugee shack in the city" (p. 61).

Two longer essays bracket the photographs. Architectural historian Sally Woodbridge's introduction attempts a historical frame for Sexton's wide-ranging notion of "cottage." Donald MacDonald closes the book with an argument for solving the problem of affordable housing by building several small cottages on each available lot.

Visually, the book is a gem. Delightful chapter frontispieces were adapted from a rug design by Charles Sumner Greene. The design appears in its original colors on the title page. Then each chapter begins with a full-page reproduction seen as if through a lens of one of the original colors: aqua, green, tan, or mauve. CHS

California Historical Society
BOOK SALE

The California Historical Society is pleased to offer this selection of books and posters at very special prices:

BOOKS

Backstory: Interviews with Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age by Pat McGilligan (paperbound)	$10.95
Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow (paperbound)	$17.95
Boyhood Days by Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate	$5.95
A Companion to California by James D. Hart (paperbound)	$13.95
Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion by Richard E. Lingenfelter (paperbound)	$13.95
The Diaries and Writing of Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921 edited by John E. Keller (clothbound)	$3.95
Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century by Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh (clothbound)	$23.00
Felipe De Neve: First Governor of California by Edwin A. Beilharz (clothbound)	$10.00
Indians of California: The Changing Image by James J. Rawls (paperbound)	$18.50
Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo by W.W. Robinson (paperbound)	$4.00
The Making of Golden Gate Park 1906-1950 by Raymond Clary (paperbound)	$12.95
Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land by Augusta Fink (paperbound)	$9.95
Place Names of the Sierra Nevada by Peter Browning (paperbound)	$9.95
To the Promised Land by Ken Light (clothbound)	$25.00
Southern California: An Island on the Land by Carey McWilliams (paperbound)	$6.95
Stairway Walks of San Francisco by Adah Bakalinsky (paperbound)	$5.95
Index to the California Historical Society Quarterly:	
Vols. 1-40, 1922-1961	$6.40
Vols. 41-54, 1962-1975	$9.00

POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

After Dark (boxing playbill)	$4.00
San Francisco Wharf woodcut print by Dan Quest	$12.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	$5.00
History of California Women	$5.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory	$10.00

Book and poster supplies are limited. All items are sold on a no-return basis. Please pre-pay all orders.
Postage and handling charges: $1.50 for first item, $.50 for each additional item. California sales tax 6¾ percent.

Send orders to: CHS BOOKS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109
Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.

Additional information is available upon request.

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Arnold, Jeanne E. *Craft Specialization in the Prehistoric Channel Islands, California.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. $26.50 (paperback) ISBN 0-520-09726-2. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Baumgartner, Jerome W. *Rancho Santa Margarita Remembered: An Oral History.* Santa Barbara: Fithian Press, 1989. $17.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-931832-23-3. Order from: Fithian Press; Post Office Box 1525; Santa Barbara, CA 93102.

Bigler, David L., ed. *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith.* Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990. $17.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-87480-346-2. Order from: University of Utah Press; 101 University Services Bldg.; Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

Blackburn, Thomas C., and Travis Hudson. *Time's Flotsam: Overseas Collections of California Indian Material Culture.* $34.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87919-117-1; $24.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87919-116-3. Order from: Ballena Press; 823 Valparaiso Avenue; Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Brilliant, Ashleigh. *The Great Car Craze: How Southern California Collided with the Automobile in the 1920's.* Santa Barbara: Woodbridge Press, 1989. $19.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-88007-172-9. Order from: Woodbridge Press; Post Office Box 6189; Santa Barbara, California 93160

Cunningham, Richard W. *California Indian Watercraft.* San Luis Obispo: EZ Nature Books, 1989. $12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-945092-01-6. Order from: EZ Nature Books; Post Office Box 4206; San Luis Obispo, CA 94303-4206.

Delgado, James P. *To California By Sea: A Maritime History of the California Gold Rush.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1990. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-87249-673-2. Order from: University of South Carolina Press; 1716 College St.; Columbia, South Carolina 29208.

Gemini, Ronald, and Richard Hitchman. *Romualdo Pacheco: Illustrious Californio.* Second edition. Arroyo Grande: Bear Flag Books, 1990. $12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-939919-27-3. Order from: Bear Flag Books; Post Office Box 840; Arroyo Grande, CA 93421-0840.

Gould, Annah Maud. *A Tempestuous Voyage: The Diary of Annah Maud Gould's Trip Aboard the Ship Berlin.* Edited by Laura Penny. Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987. $9.50 (paper) ISBN 1-55613-030-9. Order from: Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Pl.; Bowie, MD 20716.

King, William. *The San Gabriel Valley: Chronicle of An Abundant Land: An Illustrated History.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $27.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-344-8. Order from: Windsor Publications; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Klages, Ellen. *Taking the Waters: A History of Harbin Hot Springs.* Middletown: Harbin Springs Publishing, 1990. $10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-944202-01-2. Order from: Harbin Springs Publishing; Post Office Box 1132; Middletown, CA 95461.

Krieger, Daniel E. *San Luis Obispo County: Looking Backward into the Middle Kingdom.* Revised edition. San Luis Obispo: EZ Nature Books, 1990. $18.95 (paper) ISBN 0-945092-11-3. Order from: EZ Nature Books; Post Office Box 4206; San Luis Obispo, CA 93403-4206

Leland, Dorothy Kupcha. *A Short History of Sacramento.* San Francisco: Don't Call it Frisco Press, 1988. $9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-938530-40-2. Order from: Lexikos Publishing; Post Office Box 296, Lagunitas, CA 94938.

LeMenager, Charles R. *Ramona and Round About: A History of San Diego County's Little Known Back Country.* Ramona: Eagle Peak Pub. Co., 1989. $18.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9611102-1-X; $11.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9611102-2-8. Order from: Eagle Peak Pub. Co.; 15703 Vista Vicente Dr.; Ramona, CA 92065.

Levy, JoAnn. *They Saw the Elephant: Women in the California Gold Rush.* Hamden, Ct.: Shoe String Press, 1990. $27.50 (cloth) ISBN 0-208-02273-2. Order from: Shoe String Press; Post Office Box 4327; Hamden, CT 06514.

McDow, George N. *Booms & Mushrooms: The Saga of Susanville and the McDow Boys from 1910 to 1930.* Susanville: Lahontan Images, 1988. $12.95 (paper) ISBN 0-938373-05-6. Order from: Lahontan Images; Post Office Box 1093; Susanville, CA 96130.

Mather, Ruth E., and Fred E. Boswell. *Gold Camp Desperados: A Study of Violence, Crime and Punishment on the Mining Frontier.* San Jose: History West Publishing Co., 1990. $23.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9625069-0-7. Order from: History West Publishing Co.; Post Office Box 612066; San Jose, CA 95161.

Nasatir, Abraham Phineas, and Gary Elwyn Monell. *British Activities in California and the Pacific Coast of North America to 1860: An Archival Calendar Guide.* San Diego: San Diego State University Press, 1990. $175.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-916304-85-X. Order from: San Diego State University Press; 5189 College Ave.; San Diego, CA 92182.

Parke, Charles R. *Dreams to Dust: A Diary of the California Gold Rush, 1840-1850.* Edited by James E. Davis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989. $33.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-8032-3674-3. Order from: University of Nebraska Press: 901 N. 17th St.; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

The Quake of '89: As Seen by the News Staff of the San Francisco Chronicle. Introduction by Herb Caen; epilogue by Randy Shilts. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1990. $9.95 (paper) ISBN 0-87701-571-1. Order from: Chronicle Books; 275 Fifth St.; San Francisco, CA 94103.

Reynolds, Richard Derby, ed. *Squibob, An Early California Humorist.* San Francisco: Squibob Press, 1989. $15.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-9618577-5-7; $10.95 (paper) ISBN 0-9618577-6-5. Order from: Squibob Press, Inc.; Post Office Box 421523; San Francisco, CA 94142-1523.

Ross, Joseph. *Krotona of Old Hollywood, 1866-1913: Volume 1—In Memory of A.P. Warrington.* Montecito: El Montecito Oaks Press, 1989. $22.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-925943-11-8. Order from: El Montecito Oaks Press Inc.; Post Office Box 5381; Montecito, CA 93150.

Sanchez, Joseph P. *Spanish Bluecoats: The Catalonia Volunteers in Northwestern New Spain, 1767-1810.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990. $30.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-8263-1195-4; $15.95 (paper) ISBN 0-8263-1207-1. Order from: University of New Mexico Press; Journalism Bldg., Suite 220; Albuquerque, NM 87131.

Starr, Kevin, Paul Mills, and Stephen Vincent, eds. *O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations.* San Francisco: Bedford Arts, Publishers, 1989. $100.00 (slipcase) ISBN 0-938491-33-4; $85.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-938491-20-2. Order from: Consortium Book Sales & Distribution; 287 E. Sixth St., Suite 365; St. Paul, MN 55101

Starr, Kevin. *The Rise of Los Angeles as an American Bibliographical Center.* Introduction by Gardner Haskel. Sacramento: California State Library Foundation, 1989. $5.95 (paper) ISBN 0-929722-26-4. Order from: California State Library Foundation: Post Office Box 942837; Sacramento, CA 94237-0001.

Tauber, Everett O. *San Francisco: Vignette of History.* New York: Vantage Press, 1989. $10.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-533-08319-2. Order from: Vantage Press; 516 W. 34th St.; New York, NY 10001.

Vane, Sylvia Brakke, and Lowell John Bean. *California Indians: Primary Resources/ A Guide to Manuscripts, Artifacts, Documents, Serials, Music and Illustrations.* Revised edition. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN 0-87919-118-X; $33.00 (paper) ISBN 0-87919-117-1 (shipping and handling, $2.00). Order from: Ballena Press; 823 Valparaiso Avenue; Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Verardo, Jennie D., and Denzil Verardo. *The Salinas Valley: An Illustrated History.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications Inc., 1989. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN 0-89781-309-X, 5237. Order from: Windsor Publication, Inc.; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Worcester, Don. *A Visit from Father and Other Tales of the Mojave.* College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 1990. $15.95 (paper) ISBN 0-89096-429-7. Order from: Texas A&M University Press; Lewis St.; University Campus; College Station, TX 77843.

Trusted by Californians since 1852.

Wells Fargo comes through.

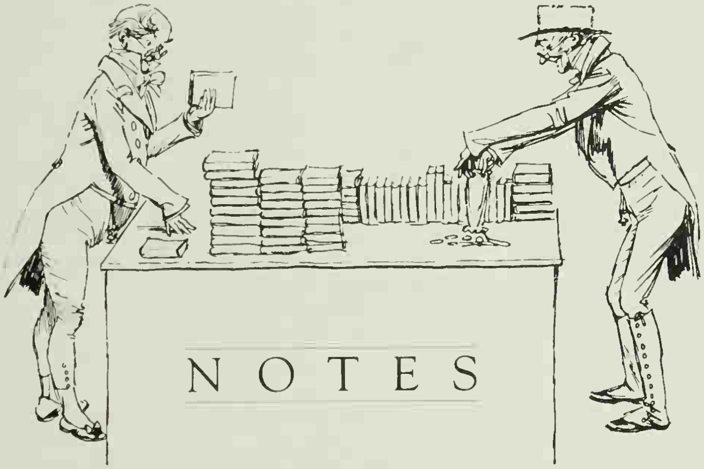
For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word—and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.

© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

WELLS FARGO BANK



MADISON, "Barefooted," pp. 236-249

1. Thomas B. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association [ca. 1875], p. 1, Thomas B. Elliott Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
2. Pasadena *Star News,* August 14, 1949.
3. Charles Nordhoff, *California: For Health, Pleasure, and Residence: A Book for Travellers and Settlers* (New York, 1872), 119, 121, 125-26, 132. For examples of specific references to Nordhoff see Daniel M. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 16 [1873?], Elliott Papers; Harry G. Bennett to family, Nov. 3, 1873, California Colony of Indiana Papers, Pasadena Historical Society, Pasadena, California. For the book's general appeal see Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913,* Maurice H. and Marco R. Newmark, eds. (Boston, 1930), 445, 624.
4. Nordhoff, *California,* 174-81. Quotation on page 178.
5. Oscar Osburn Winther, "The Colony System of Southern California," *Agricultural History* 27 (July 1953): 94-103; Merlin Stonehouse, *John Wesley North and the Reform Frontier* (Minneapolis, 1965), 211-32.
6. Plan of the California Colony of Indiana, File 64, California Colony of Indiana Papers, Pasadena Historical Society.
7. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 2.
8. John H.B. Nowland, *Early Reminiscences of Indianapolis . . .* (Indianapolis, 1870), 415-18; Jacob Piatt Dunn, *Greater Indianapolis: The History, the Industries, the Institutions, and the People of a City of Homes* (2 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 268, 346, 512; Henry Markham Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years* (Los Angeles, 1964), 20; Dun and Bradstreet Credit Ledgers, Indiana, Vol. 69, p. 439 (Baker Library, Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts; microfilm copy, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis). The familial relationship between the Elliotts and Daniel Berry is not clear. Some Pasadena histories indicate that Berry and Thomas Elliott were brothers-in-law, but there is some confusion on this point. It is clear in his correspondence that Berry had a warm, familial relationship with the Elliotts.
9. California Colony of Indiana, Articles of Association, n.d., File 64, California Colony of Indiana Papers. [This document has no date, and it is not possible to be certain that it is the complete list of all subscribers to the colony.] See also California Colony of Indiana, subscribers certificate, July 8, 1873, ibid.; Receipt from Indianapolis Journal Company for California Colony, ibid; Treasurer's Receipt Book, ibid.
10. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Aug. 21, 1873, Elliott Papers.
11. Los Angeles *Daily Star,* October 15, 1873. See also Robert W. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967), 19-23, 40.
12. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 18, 1873, Elliott Papers. See also Berry to J.M. Matthews, Sept. 27, 1873, ibid.
13. Quoted in Hiram A. Reid, *History of Pasadena . . .* (Pasadena, 1895), 123.
14. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 12, 1873, Elliott Papers. See also John E. Baur, *The Health Seekers of Southern California, 1870-1900* (San Marino, California, 1959).
15. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 12, 1873, Elliott Papers.
16. Ibid., Sept. 18, 1873. See also ibid., Oct. 9, 1873.
17. Berry to Helen Elliott, Nov. 7, 1873, ibid. See also ibid., Sept. 24, 1873.
18. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 11, 1873, ibid.
19. Ibid., Sept. 18, 1873.
20. Berry to Helen Elliott, Sept. 23, 1873, ibid.
21. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 16 [1873?], ibid.
22. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 2.
23. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 31, 1873, Elliott Papers.
24. Ibid., Oct. 15, 1873.
25. A copy of the "California Cypher," undated, is in the Elliott Papers. See also Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Sept. 19, 1873, ibid.
26. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 15, 1873, ibid.
27. W.N. Nicholls to J.H. Ruddell, Oct. 2, 1873, California Colony of Indiana Papers.
28. D.C. Bergundthal to Ruddell, Oct. 7, 1873, ibid.
29. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 19, 1873, Elliott Papers. No copy of this circular has been located.
30. Ibid., Oct. 2, 1873.
31. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1873. See also ibid., Sept. 18, 26, 1873.
32. Ibid., Oct. 14, 1873.
33. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1873.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., Sept. 20, 1873.
36. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1873.
37. Thomas F. Croft Diary, Oct. 23, 25, 1873, Pasadena Historical Society.
38. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 4, 1873, Elliott Papers.
39. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1873.
40. California Colony of Indiana, Articles of Association; J.W. Wood, *Pasadena, California: Historical and Personal: A Complete History of the Organization of the Indiana Colony* (n.p., 1917), 50-51.
41. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 22, 1873, Elliott Papers.

NOTES

42. Berry to Helen Elliott, Nov. 24, 1873, ibid.
43. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 20, 1873, ibid.
44. Ibid., Nov. 26, 1873.
45. Ibid., Dec. 20, 1873.
46. Ibid., Nov. 26, 1873.
47. Ibid., Nov. 27, 1873.
48. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott and Calvin Fletcher, Jr., Nov. 29, 1873; Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 6, 14, 1873; J.M. Matthews to Berry, Dec. 1, 1873, all in Elliott Papers.
49. Croft Diary, Dec. 3, 1873.
50. Ibid., Dec. 18, 1873. See also ibid., Dec. 26, 1873.
51. Ibid., Dec. 25, 1873. See also ibid., Dec. 29, 1873; Deed, John S. Griffin to Thomas F. Croft, Dec. 26, 1873, Elliott Papers.
52. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Nov. 26, 1873, Elliott Papers; Croft Diary, Dec. 26, 1873; Dun and Bradstreet Credit Ledgers, Vol. 67, p. 251; Gayle Thornbrough and Paula Corpuz, eds., *The Diary of Calvin Fletcher: Vol. IX, 1865-1866* (Indianapolis, 1983), 267-68.
53. Fletcher to Elliott, Dec. 31, 1873, Elliott Papers.
54. Quoted in Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 126-27.
55. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, n.d. [April, 1874?], Elliott Papers. See also ibid., Jan. 13, April 19, 1874; Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 4, ibid.
56. Jeanne C. Carr, "Pasadena—The Crown of the Valley," *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California* III (1893): 81-82; Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 108-11; Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 4-5, Elliott papers; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years,* 32-33.
57. Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 124, 411; Mary Borgerding, "Judge Benjamin Smith Eaton," *Pasadena Historical Society Newsletter* (June, 1985).
58. Unidentified newspaper clipping, attached to Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 20, 1873, Elliott Papers.
59. Berry to Elliott, Dec. 18, 1873, ibid.
60. Ibid., Feb. 5, 1874.
61. Berry to Helen Elliott, Feb. 15, 1874, ibid.
62. Taliesin Evans, "Orange Grove Culture in California," *Overland Monthly* 12 (March 1874): 235-44; John G. Downey, "More About Orange Culture," *Overland Monthly* 12 (June 1874): 560-62.
63. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott and Fletcher, March 28, 1874, Elliott Papers. See also Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Dec. 20, 1873, Jan. 13, Feb. 5, 1874, ibid.; Berry to L.J. and T.J. Lockhart, April 16, 1874, File 22, Lockhart Letters, Pasadena Historical Society; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years,* 36-37.
64. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Jan. 13, 1874, Elliott Papers.
65. Berry to Helen Elliott, Jan. 20, 1874, ibid.
66. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, May 18, 1874, ibid.
67. Ibid., April 19, 1874.
68. Ibid., May 5, 14, 16, 1874.
69. Berry to Helen Elliott, Jan. 1, 1874, ibid.
70. Ibid., Feb. 15, 1874.
71. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, April 12, 1874, ibid. See also ibid., March 14, April 9, 1874.
72. Berry to L.J. and T.J. Lockhart, April 16, 1874, Lockhart Letters.
73. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, April 12, 15, May 14, 1874, Elliott Papers.
74. Quoted in Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 117.
75. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, n.d. [March, 1874?], Elliott Papers. See also ibid., Feb. 26, March 7, 14, May 16, 31, 1874.
76. Ibid., May 21, 1874.
77. Ibid., June 4, 1874.
78. Fred E. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, [June?], 1874, ibid. See also Daniel M. Berry to Elliott, May 5, 1874, ibid.
79. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, Oct. 30, 1874, ibid.
80. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1874.
81. Ibid., March 14, 1874. It appears that thirteen of the twenty-seven purchasers were from Indiana. Wood, *Pasadena, California,* 50-51.
82. Of 271 people listed in a Pasadena directory for 1883, 62 had Iowa as their state of emigration, 29 Illinois, 26 Massachusetts, and 18 Indiana. R.W.C. Farnsworth, *A Southern California Paradise, Being a Historic and Descriptive Account of Pasadena, San Gabriel, Sierra Madre, and La Canada* (Pasadena, 1883), 127.
83. Ibid., 38; Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 234; Harold D. Carew, *History of Pasadena and the San Gabriel Valley, California* (Chicago, 1930), 303.
84. Elliott, History of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 6, Elliott Papers. See also Helen Raitt and Mary Collier Wayne, eds., *We Three Came West: A True Chronicle* (San Diego, 1974), 87.
85. A.T. Hawley, *The Present Condition, Growth, Progress and Advantages of Los Angeles City and County, Southern California* (Los Angeles, 1876), 87. See also Ludwig Salvator, *Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies: A Flower from the Golden Land,* Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, trans. (Los Angeles, 1929 [originally published in German in 1878]), 158.
86. Los Angeles *Herald,* June 5, 1880, quoted in *Thompson & West's History of Los Angeles County California* (Berkeley, 1959), 130.
87. *Pasadena: Its Climate, Homes, Resources, Etc., Etc.* (Pasadena, 1888), 16. See also *Pasadena and Its Environment* (Pasadena, 1894); Farnsworth, *A Southern California Paradise,* 39, 46; Page, *Pasadena: Its Early Years,* 43-53; Glenn S. Dumke, *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California* (San Marino, California, 1944), 87-92.
88. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land* (New York, 1946), 113-64; Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York, 1985), 46, 166; Kevin Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s* (New York, 1990), 131-36, 368; Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis,* 63-84; Jon Gjerde, "The Seacoast of Iowa: Chain Migration from the Middle West to California, 1880-1930," unpublished paper. I am grateful to Professor Gjerde for sharing a copy of his paper.
89. Berry to Thomas B. Elliott, June 6, 1874, Elliott Papers; Reid, *History of Pasadena,* 111-12; Mary Borgerding, "Calvin Fletcher, Jr." *Pasadena Historical Society Newsletter* (June, 1989).
90. Berry to Donald M. Graham, Sept. 21, 1876, Margaret C. Graham Papers, Huntington Library; Los Angeles *Times,* December 23, 1887.
91. Pasadena *Star News,* August 14, 1949.

RILEY, "Field, Scott, and Divorce," pp. 250-259.

1. Sara Bard Field, Diary, 1913, Wood Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
2. Sara Bard Field, "Notes concerning the letter of Charles Erskine Scott Wood to his son Erskine, written July 22, 1927," 1938, and "Notes regarding her divorce," c. 1960; Albert Ehrgott, letter to "Dear Mr. Wood," January 3, 1913; and Albert Ehrgott, letter to "My dear Mary," May 1, 1913, all in Wood Collection.
3. Field, "Notes regarding her divorce," Wood Collection. Attorney William H. Schnitzer is described in Nelson M. Blake, *The Road to Reno: A History of Divorce*

NOTES

in the United States (New York, 1962), 153-54.

4. Field, Diary and "Notes regarding her divorce," Wood Collection.
5. Albert Field Ehrgott to "My dear Pops (Wood)," July 29, 1918, Albert Ehrgott, letter to "Dear Sir (Wood)," June 25, 1918, and to "Dear Mrs. Sara Bard Field," December 6, 1918, Wood Collection.
6. Amelie Rives, *Shadows of Flames: A Novel* (New York, 1914); and Helen Lojek, "The Southern Lady Gets a Divorce: 'Saner Feminism' in the Novels of Amelie Rives," *Southern Literary Journal* 12 (1979): 47-69; Mari Sandoz, *Old Jules* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1935); and Melody Graulich, "Every Husband's Right: Sex Roles in Mari Sandoz's *Old Jules*," *Western American Literature* 18 (April 1983): 3-20.
7. That the new morality appeared well before the United States' entry into World War I is argued in James R. McGovern, "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manner and Morals," *Journal of American History* 55 (September 1968): 315-33. For further discussion of Progressivism and divorce see William L. O'Neill, *Divorce in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, 1967), especially 254-73.
8. "The Most Difficult Problem of Modern Civilization," *Current Literature* 18 (1910): 59.
9. William Brevda, "Love's Coming-of-Age: The Upton Sinclair-Harry Kemp Divorce Scandal," *North Dakota Quarterly* 51 (1983): 59-77. The court believed that Upton Sinclair was guilty of collusion in the adultery of his wife by condoning her affair with Kemp. Collusion between husband and wife was a legal reason to deny divorces in the state of New York. For a discussion of the effect of media presentations of divorce on public attitudes, see John D. Stevens, "Social Utility of Sensational News: Murder and Divorce in the 1920s," *Journalism Quarterly* 62 (1985): 53-58.
10. Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Women's Emancipation," in Eleanor Rossi, ed., *The Feminist Papers* (New York, 1974), 506-16. See also Alix Kates Shulman, ed., *Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman* (New York, 1972).
11. Charles G. Norris, *Brass: A Novel of Marriage* (New York, 1921), 105, 157-58, 194-97, 319, 421-33. See also Annegret Ogden, "Love and Marriage: Five California Couples," *The Californians* 5 (July/August 1987): 15-19, for insight into Norris's own marriage.
12. Charles Erskine Scott Wood, letter to "My dear Son Erskine," July 22, 1927, Wood Collection. For a discussion of broadening attitudes and a decline in stigma toward divorce, see Blake, *Road to Reno*, 226-29.
13. Alfred Cahen, *Statistical Analysis of American Divorce* (New York, 1932), 21, and Hugh Carter and Paul C. Glick, *Marriage and Divorce: A Social and Economic Study* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1970), 17, 38, 57.
14. Quoted in Blake, *Road to Reno*, 174.
15. Ibid., 175.
16. *Haddock v. Haddock* 201 U.S. 562 (1906).
17. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 317 U.S. 287 (1942).
18. *Lambert v. Lambert* 41 NYS 2d 840 (1943). In 1944, a specialist in constitutional law suggested that the United States Congress establish the minimum requirements to be met by a state so that its divorces would be recognized by other states. See Carl Mason Franklin, "The Dilemma of Migratory Divorces: A Partial Solution Through Federal Legislation," *Oklahoma Law Review* 1 (August 1948): 151-70.
19. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 325 U.S. 226 (1945). See also Thomas R. Powell, "And Repent at Leisure: The Unhappy Lot of Those Whom Nevada Hath Joined Together and North Carolina Hath Put Asunder," *Harvard Law Review* 58 (September 1945): 930-1017, and William G. Ruymann, "The Effect of Nevada Divorce Decrees Out of the State," *Nevada State Bar Journal* 14 (October 1949): 239-55. For an analysis of the effect of these Supreme Court rulings on an individual state (Connecticut) see John S. Gilman, "Extraterritorial Divorce," *Connecticut Bar Journal* 23 (September 1949): 298-314.
20. *Crouch v. Crouch* 169 P, 2d 897 (1946). For an analysis of rulings in other migratory divorce cases see J.H.C. Morris, "Divisible Divorce," *Harvard Law Review* 64 (June 1951): 1287-1303. For the argument that it might be better to remain in one's home state to get a divorce, see R. Dale Vliet, "A Foreseeable End to Migratory Divorces," *Oklahoma Law Review* 10 (November 1957): 432-38.
21. Robert M. Bozeman, "The Supreme Court and Migratory Divorce: A Reexamination of an Old Problem," *American Bar Association Journal* 37 (February 1951): 107-10, 168-71. Some experts maintained that the Capper Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would lead to uniform divorce laws in every state was the solution to these problems. See Delbert L. McLaughlin, "The Migratory Divorce," *Kentucky Law Journal* 38 (May 1950): 600-608.
22. Peter Nash Swisher, "Foreign Migratory Divorces: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Family Law* 21 (1982-83): 9-52.
23. *Williams, et al., v. North Carolina* 317 U.S. 287 (1942). For an example of a recent case in which the home state accepted another state's divorce decree, but reserved jurisdiction over the couple's financial settlement, see *Squitieri v. Squitieri* 481 A.2d 585 (N.J.Super.Ch. 1984). For other discussions of full faith and credit for migratory divorces, see "Full Faith and Credit and the Out of State Divorce," *DePaul Law Review* 4 (Autumn-Winter 1954): 73-79; Henry H. Foster, Jr., "For Better or Worse? Decisions Since *Haddock v. Haddock*," *American Bar Association Journal*, 47 (October 1961): 963-67; Harriet E. Miers, "Full Faith and Credit—Procedural Limitation Bars Sister State's Collateral Attack on Jurisdiction," *Southwestern Law Journal* 22 (October 1968): 662-75; Karl M. Rodman, "Bases of Divorce Jurisdiction," *Illinois Law Review* 39 (March-April 1945): 343-66; George W. Stumberg, "The Migratory Divorce," *Washington Law Review* 33 (Winter 1958): 331-42; and P.N. Swisher, "Foreign Migratory Divorces: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Family Law* 21 (November 1982): 9-52.
24. Howard A. Krom, "California's Divorce Law Reform: An Historical Analysis," *Pacific Law Journal* 1 (January 1970): 156-81. For practical advice to divorce-seekers, see Harry Walter Koch, *California Marriage and Divorce Laws* (San Francisco, 1969). For advice to attorneys see Charles W. Johnson, "The Family Law Act: A Guide to the Practitioner," *Pacific Law Journal* 1 (January 1970): 147-55.
25. For changes in divorce rate see Michael Wheeler, *No-Fault Divorce* (Boston, 1974), 30-31, 155-56 and Walter D. Johnson, *Marital Dissolution and the Adoption of No-Fault Legislation* (Springfield, Illinois, 1975), 22-31. For the effect of law on divorce rate, see Dorothy M. Stetson and Gerald C. Wright, Jr., "The Effects of Laws on Divorce in the American States," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 37 (August 1975): 537-47.
26. Grace Ganz Blumberg, "New Models of

NOTES

Marriage and Divorce: Significant Legal Developments in the Last Decade," in Kingsley Davis and Amyra Grossbard-Schechtman, eds., *Contemporary Marriage: Comparative Perspectives on a Changing Institution* (New York, 1985), 349-72, and Alexandra Peers, "Differences in Divorce Laws Prompting Some People to Shop for the Best State," *Wall Street Journal*, April 14, 1988, 31.

27. Kenneth D. Sell, "Divorce Advertising—One Year After *Bates*," *Family Law Quarterly* 12 (Winter 1979): 275-83 and *International Herald Tribune*, August 11, 1988.
28. Field, "Notes concerning the letter of Charles Erskine Scott Wood," Wood Collection.

ICHIOKA, "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism," pp. 260-275

1. There is one general essay on Japanese Americans during the Great Depression: Roger Daniels, "Japanese America, 1930-1941: An Ethnic Community in the Great Depression," *Journal of the West* 24 (1985): 35-49. See also Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States Since 1850* (Seattle, 1988), 155-86. A few studies examine the Nisei reaction to the Sino-Japanese conflict. For example, see Forrest E. La Violette, "The American-born Japanese and the World Crisis," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 7 (1941): 517-27; Forrest E. La Violette, *Americans of Japanese Ancestry: A Study of Assimilation in the American Community* (Toronto, 1945), 143-47; and Robert W. O'Brien, "Reaction of the College Nisei to Japan and Japanese Foreign Policy From the Invasion of Manchuria to Pearl Harbor," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 36 (1945): 19-28. A more recent study, John Modell, *The Economics and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942* (Urbana, 1977), 175-76, briefly treats the same topic. Most historical writings on the thirties concentrate on the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), the principal organization of the Nisei generation. In-house accounts of the JACL are most numerous: Bill Hosokawa, *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* (New York, 1969), 190-219; Bill Hosokawa, *JACL: In Quest for Justice* (New York, 1982), 33-108; and Mike Masaoka, *They Call Me Moses Masaoka* (New York, 1987), 37-54. A few studies look at the JACL critically: Roger Daniels, "The Japanese," in John Higham, ed., *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Baltimore, 1978), 36-63, and Yuji Ichioka, "A Study in Dualism: James Yoshinori Sakamoto and the *Japanese American Courier*, 1928-1942," *Amerasia Journal* 13 (1986-87): 49-81. Bob Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies: The American Counterintelligence and the Japanese Community, 1931-1942," *Amerasia Journal* 6 (1979): 45-75, examines the American government surveillance of the Japanese community. Jere Takahashi, "Japanese American Responses to Race Relations: The Formation of Nisei Perspectives," *Amerasia Journal* 9 (1982): 29-57, analyzes various Nisei prewar responses to racial subordination. John J. Stephan, *Hawaii Under the Rising Sun: Japan's Plans for Conquest After Pearl Harbor* (Honolulu, 1984), 23-40, is the only study that discusses prewar Issei nationalism, but it is confined to Hawaii.
2. For the early background to the Japanese Associations, see Yuji Ichioka, "Japanese Associations and the Japanese Government: A Special Relationship, 1909-1926," *Pacific Historical Review* 46 (1977): 409-37.
3. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 105-23. Unless otherwise noted, all Japanese Foreign Ministry documents used in this study are deposited at the Diplomatic Records Office, Tokyo, Japan.
4. Satō Yūki to Arita Hachirō, June 15, 1939.
5. Kawashimo Nihonjinkai, *Kiroku*, v. 7, Japanese American Research Project Collection, Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA (hereafter JARP). This source is the records of the Walnut Grove Japanese Association.
6. Satō to Arita, June 15, 1939.
7. Takoma Shūhōsha, *Takoma-shi Oyobi Chihō Nihonjinshi* (Tacoma, 1941), 115-17.
8. Yūsa Keizō, *Hanboku Zenshū* (Santa Maria, 1940), 10. Hanboku was the pen name of Yūsa Keizō.
9. *Nichibei Shimbun*, San Francisco, July 9, 1938.
10. Fujioka Shirō, *Beikoku Chūō Nihonjinkaishi* (Los Angeles, 1940), 332-33.
11. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 26-29.
12. *Rafu Shimpō*, Los Angeles, April 4, 1938.
13. Ota Ichirō to Ugaki Kazushige, July 10, 1938.
14. Ibid.
15. Shiozaki Kanzō to Ugaki, July 14, 1938.
16. Ota to Ugaki, August 6, 1938.
17. *Nichibei Shimbun*, August 11, 1938.
18. Ibid., August 18, 1938. For other critical comments, see ibid., August 19-20, 23-25, 30, 1938; *Kashū Mainichi*, Los Angeles, August 19-20, 1938; *Ōfu Nippō*, Sacramento, August 19, 1938; and *Kakushū Jiji*, Denver, Colo., August 20, 1938.
19. *Kashū Mainichi*, August 22, 1938.
20. Ibid., editorials, July 31, August 24, 1937.
21. Ibid., editorials, August 22 to September 29, 1938. Fujii's five-week editorial tirade was titled "Ota Ryōji no Hansei wo Unagasu."
22. *Rafu Shimpō*, January 1, 1938, January 1, 1939, and January 1, 1940.
23. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 38-40.
24. Momii Ikken, *Hokubei Kendō Taikan* (San Francisco, 1939), 635-40.
25. *Rafu Shimpō*, January 16, 1938.
26. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūichinen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1936, 20-28. See also Tomiko Kakegawa, "The Press and Public Opinion in Japan, 1931-1941," in Dorothy Borg and Shumpei Okamoto, eds., *Pearl Harbor as History* (New York, 1973), 533-49.
27. Murayama's articles appeared in the *Shin Sekai Asahi*, San Francisco, during the months of September, October, and November, 1937.
28. Ebina's column was titled "Nozoki Megane" under his byline, Shunjūrō.
29. Suzuki Kamenosuke, *Jihen to Zaibei Dōhō* (Tokyo, 1938).
30. Uno's initial reportage was in the form of a personal narrative that he wrote after his first tour of the battlefront. It appeared in the *Shin Sekai Asahi* from December 26, 1937, to July 14, 1938. His dispatches during his second tour appeared in the *Nichibei Shimbun* from August 16, 1938, to December 28, 1938. In 1939 he also wrote a series, "Let's Face Facts," which appeared in the *Nichibei Shimbun* and *Rafu Shimpō*. It was published in the former from January 12 to June 5, 1939.
31. Yamashita Sōen, *Nichibei wo Tsunagu Mono* (Tokyo, 1938), 138.
32. Azumi Suimei, "Shinshun wo Mukaeru Kokoro," *Nippon to Amerika* 7 (January 1938): 14-16.
33. *Nichibei Shimbun*, December 10, 1937. The prize-winning essays were published by both newspapers in March and April 1938.

34. Fujii Sei purposely used his unedited "Japanesy" English in the belief that it would appeal to Nisei youngsters.
35. Shōyōsei, "Toki no Kage," *Shin Sekai Asahi*, January 27, 1938. Shōyō was the pen name of Abe Toyoji.
36. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 66-77. While on his speaking tour, Shishimoto contributed to the *Nichibei Shimbun*. See Shishimoto Hachirō, "Shina Jihen ni Tsuite Beikokujin ni Uttau," *Nichibei Shimbun*, January 26 to February 5, 1938, and "Zenbei Kōen Angya wo Oe," ibid., April 30 to May 5, 1938. Shishimoto also published a book about his American tour. See Shishimoto Hachirō, *Amerika Ijō Ari* (Tokyo, 1938). Issei readers were familiar with three previous books he had authored: *Kore Demo Beikoku Ka* (Tokyo, 1932), in which he recounted the key events in the anti-Japanese exclusion movement; *Nichibei wa Dōnaru Ka* (Tokyo, 1936), in which he examined future prospects in Japanese-American relations, including possible revisions in the 1924 Immigration Act; and *Nikkei Shimin wo Kataru* (Tokyo, 1936), in which he presented the problems of the Nisei generation, among whom he included his own son, Ichirō.
37. Henry Toshirō Shimanouchi, Interview, Tape no. 67, JARP.
38. His father was Shimanouchi Yoshinobu. He was one of the managing editors of the Los Angeles edition of the *Nichibei Shimbun*, published from 1922 to 1931.
39. *Kashū Mainichi*, March 19, 1938. See also *Rafu Shimpō*, March 19, 1938.
40. Miya S. Kikuchi to Robert A. Wilson, January 13, 1968, in Kikuchi Papers, JARP; Miya Sannomiya, Interview, Tape no. 83 and 84, JARP; and Interview with author, June 1, 1980.
41. Nakamura Kaju, "Shita no Angya wo Owatte," *Nichibei Shimbun*, May 19-20, 22-26, 1938. See also Nakamura Kaju, *Hokubei Shita no Seisen* (Tokyo, 1940).
42. For Matsumoto's background, see *Shin Sekai Asahi*, September 26, 1937, and Bill Hosokawa, "Disquisitions," ibid., July 10, 1938.
43. Oka Shigeki, "Arabya Oyae Shusse Monogatari," *Amerika Shimbun*, February 12, 26, March 5, 1938.
44. Yamada Waka, "Taiheiyōjō no Kokumin Shisetsu Dai-Zadankai," *Shufu no Tomo* (December 1937), 264-71; "Beikoku Ware wo Ryōdo Shinryaku to Yobi," ibid., (January 1938), 210-17; "Beikoku Daitōryō Fujin to Kenkai Suru Ki," ibid., (February 1938), 84-89. See also *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 30-31, 1938.
45. Tengaisei, "Toki no Mondai," *Nichibei Shimbun*, October 18-19, 1938. Tengai was the pen name of Kawashima Isamu.
46. Fukuda Yoshiaki, "Kōgun Imon no Tabi Yori Kaerite," ibid., February 27 to March 2, 4-14, 1939.
47. Gaimushō Jōhōbu, *Shōwa Jūichinen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1936, 81-87, and *Shōwa Jūninen Shitsumu Hōkoku*, December 1937, 55-65. See also Kitayama Setsurō, *Rajio Tōkyō* (Tokyo, 1987), I, 108-34.
48. Yamashita Sōen, *Hōshuku Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen to Kaigai Dōhō* (Tokyo, 1941); Nihon Takushoku Kyōkai, *Kōki Nisen Roppyakunen Zaigai Dōhō Daihyō wo Mukaete* (Tokyo, 1941); and Takumushō, Gaimushō, *Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen Hōshuku Zaigai Dōhō Daihyōsha Kaigi Gijiroku Dai-Ikkai* (Tokyo, 1941).
49. *Rafu Shimpō*, November 10-11, 1940, and *Kashū Mainichi*, November 10-11, 1940.
50. For examples of such essays, see Rafu Shimpōsha, *Kigen Nisen Roppyakunen Hōshuku Kinen Taikan* (Los Angeles, 1940), 29-56.
51. Yūsa, *Hanboku Zenshū*, 10-20.
52. For Matsuoka's early life in the United States, see Miwa Kimitada, *Matsuoka Yōsuke: Sono Hito to Gaikō* (Tokyo, 1971), 20-37, and Matsuoka Yōsuke Denki Kankōkai, *Matsuoka Yōsuke: Sono Hito to Shōgai*, (Tokyo, 1974), 31-52.
53. On April 10, 1933, Matsuoka addressed 5000 Issei in San Francisco at a special welcoming rally. The immigrant press interpreted his appearance as the return of a native son. See *Shin Sekai*, April 12-13, 1933.
54. Kumamoto, "The Search for Spies."
55. Togo Tanaka, "History of J.A.C.L.," n.d., Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
56. Yuji Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First-Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924* (New York, 1988).

SHORR, "Race Prejudice," pp. 276-283.

1. *Terra* 16 (Winter 1978): 3-4.
2. Robert Ariss to Raymonde Frin, August 15, 1954. (In the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.)
3. Interview with Robert Ariss conducted by Howard Shorr, August 24, 1988.
4. Robert Ariss, "Progress and Aims of the Los Angeles County Exhibit Series Introduced by 'Man in Our Changing World,'" November 6, 1952. (Letter in the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.)
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Man in Our Changing World Catalog, Los Angeles County Museum, 1958, 7.
8. Ibid., 11.
9. Ibid., 19.
10. Ibid., 23.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 31.
13. Ibid., 7, 19, 21, 25.
14. Ruth Benedict, *Race: Science and Politics* (New York: Viking Press, 1964), 195-98. See Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue, Volume One, The Depression Decade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), chapter 8, for an interesting summary of the changing views of race in the 1930s.
15. Ibid., 4.
16. UNESCO Statement on Race, in Ashley Montagu's *Statement of Race* (New York, 1951), 15. Three of the scholars involved in creating this statement were Claude Levi-Strauss, E. Franklin Frazier, and Ashley Montagu.
17. See Paul S. Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Lights: American Thought and Culture at the Dawn of the Atomic Age* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).
18. See Mauricio Mazon, *The Zoot Suit Riots: The Psychology of Symbolic Annihilation* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in California: A History of Mexican Americans in California* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1984), 65-68, and Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps: Japanese Americans and World War Two* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971).
19. John Anson Ford, "Remarks at the Seventh School Executives Conference," UCLA, July 18, 1945, 2, John Anson Ford Manuscripts, Box 65, Henry Huntington Library, San Marino, California, hereinafter cited as JAF Manuscripts.
20. Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetton, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1973), 87-91.
21. For a useful summary of segregation of Mexican Americans, Japanese Americans,

NOTES

and blacks in Los Angeles, see Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979); Abraham Hoffman, *Unwanted Mexican-Americans in the Great Depression* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974); Rudolfo Acuna, *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*, third edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Rodger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice, The Anti-Japanese Movement in California, and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); John Modell, *The Economics* and Politics of Racial Accommodation: The Japanese of Los Angeles, 1900-1942 (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1977); Lawrence DeGraaf, "City of the Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1880-1930," *Pacific Historical Review,* 39 (August 1970): 323-52; Gerald Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), chapter 6; and Dorothy W. Baruch, "Sleep Comes Hard," *Nation*, January 27, 1945, 95-96. It should be noted that Jews and other minorities also confronted discrimination in Los Angeles.

22. Milton A. Senn, "Report on Efforts in the Area to Circumvent the United States Supreme Court Decisions on Restrictive Covenants," 3, December 31, 1948, JAF Manuscripts, Box 62.
23. Ibid., 2.
24. The Catholic Interracial Council of Los Angeles to John Anson Ford, January 15, 1946, 1, JAF Manuscripts, Box 65; *Los Angeles Times,* February 17, 1945, JAF Manuscripts, Box 65; and Newall Stenard to John Anson Ford, February 27, 1946. JAF Manuscripts, Box 64.
25. Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 219.
26. Memorandum to the Board of Supervisors and County Counsel of Los Angeles County from the Legal and Civic Action Committee of the Los Angeles Jewish Committee, 1, JAF Manuscripts, Box 64.
27. Governor's Conference on Employment, Division One, Special Problem Groups in the Labor Market, Section Three, Minority Groups—Preliminary Report, 1949, JAF Manuscripts, Box 27.
28. Ibid.
29. "Remove the barriers! The Case for Fair Employment Practice Legislation...In the City of Los Angeles—sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee for Equal Employment Opportunity," JAF Manuscripts, Box 27.
30. See the letters in JAF Manuscripts, Box 65.
31. See Camarillo, *Chicanos in California*, chapter 5; Acuna, *Occupied America*, 284-87; and Lililia Urruatia, "An Offspring of Discontent: The *Asociation Nacional Mexico-Americana*, 1949-1954, *Aztlan* 15 (Spring, 1984): 177-84. For blacks see August Meir and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), chapters 1 and 2; Jesse Thomas Moore, Jr., *A Search for Equality: The National Urban League, 1910-1961* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), chapter 7. For Japanese-Americans, Kevin L. Allen, "The Changing Face of Racism: Japanese-Americans and Politics in California, 1943-1946" (M.A. thesis, University of California, Davis, 1988), 27-83.
32. William H. Schuchart letters to Fletcher Bowren, Eugene Biscailuz, and Howard Holtzendorf, April 4, 1950, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Education Department, Fred Gehring File, Number 20, hereinafter cited as LACM, Gehring File.
33. Eugene Biscailuz to William H. Schuchart, April 18, 1950, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File 20.
34. Ralph Beals to Dr. James H. Breasted, Jr., March 10, 1950, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File 20.
35. Minutes, Board of Governors Meeting, October 16, 1951, 46, LACM, Office of the Director.
36. Ibid., 51.
37. T. Dale Gardner to John Anson Ford, October 18, 1951, 1, JAF Manuscripts, Box 62.
38. Ibid., 2.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid.
41. Fred Gehring to Howard Shorr, telephone interview, October 8, 1988.
42. Interview with Robert Ariss conducted by Howard Shorr, August 24, 1988.
43. Robert Ariss to Raymond Frin, August 15, 1954, in the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.
44. "Museum Men Defend Race Equality Show," *California Sun*, a newspaper of the Graduate Department of Journalism, UCLA, November 8, 1951, and "Stalin Hunts Museum Fathers" Leslie Craypool, *Los Angeles Daily News,* November 20, 1951, LACM, Education Department, Newspaper Clipping File.
45. *Los Angeles Daily News,* November 10, 1951, LACM, Education Department, Newspaper Clipping File.
46. Walter Goldschmidt to Fred Gehring, December 6, 1951, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
47. Fred Gehring to Walter Goldschmidt, December 12, 1951, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
48. Walter Goldschmidt to Fred Gehring, December 20, 1951, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
49. George Thomas to John Delacour, January 29, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
50. Jean Delacour to George Thomas, February 11, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
51. Robert Ariss to William Gemly, June 11, 1952, in the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.
52. *Los Angeles Review* 8 (June 18, 1952), JAF Manuscripts, Box 62.
53. Howard Anderson to Edward de Lacour, August 18, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
54. Margaret Simkins to Board of Directors, November 11, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4.
55. Katherine Thornbury to Director, June 23, 1952, LACM, Education Department, Gehring File Number 4, and Mrs. Doris Milliken to Dr. Delacour and staff, November 7, 1952, in the possession of Robert Ariss, Los Angeles, California.
56. *Semi-Annual Report of the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art,* June 30, 1952, LACM, Education Department.
57. "Los Angeles Show Alters Race Relations," *Christian Science Monitor,* January 19, 1953, 9.

BISHOP, "Henry Bigler," pp. 284-291.

1. Henry William Bigler, Journal (1815-1899), 14, Archives, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah, hereafter LDS Archives. For surveys of Mormon history during the 1830s and 1840s see Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), or James B. Allen

and Glen M. Leonard, *The Story of the Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1976). On Bigler's release from the military, see Henry William Bigler, Autobiography and Journal, Book A, 16 July 1847, Henry William Bigler Collection, Mormon File, The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

2. Bigler, Book A, 21 July 1847.
3. See ibid., 26 August and 8 September 1847; *New Helvetia Diary: A Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848* (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1939), 72.
4. *New Helvetia Diary,* 81.
5. *Hutchings' Illustrated California Magazine* (November 1857), 201; Erwin G. Gudde, *Bigler's Chronicle of the West: The Conquest of California, Discovery of Gold, and Mormon Settlement as Reflected in Henry William Bigler's Diaries* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 86-87; John S. Hittell, James W. Marshall, and Edwin G. Waite, *The Discovery of Gold* (Palo Alto, California: Lewis Osborn, 1968), 24. Years after Marshall's death (1885) and the ensuing publication of Bigler's diary account of the gold discovery, some were still trying to claim a portion of the glory. See for example W.W. Allen and R.B. Avery, *California Gold Book: First Nugget, Its Discovery and Discoverers and Some of the Results Proceeding Therefrom* (San Francisco and Chicago: Donohue & Henneberry, 1893), 5-7, 75, which attempts to place Peter L. Wimmer with James Marshall at the moment of the find and gives his wife, Elizabeth Jane Wimmer, a leading role as well.
6. *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), 31 December 1870. Bigler's letter was reprinted in the *Sacramento Union* of 3 January 1871.
7. Henry William Bigler to Hubert Howe Bancroft, 12 May 1872, C-D 45: 1, Bancroft Library, The University of California, Berkeley.
8. For a biographical sketch of Hittell, see the *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* 11 (1925): 19-20.
9. "Diary of H.W. Bigler in 1847 and 1848," *The Overland Monthly* 10 (July-December 1887): 233-45. Prior to the publication of Bigler's diary many had claimed 19 January as the date of the discovery. It had also been believed that Marshall found a gold nugget in the American River, but Bigler makes it quite clear that it was only some flakes of the mineral. After much effort by the Society of California Pioneers and the Native Sons of the Golden West, the California State Legislature passed a resolution in 1918 designating 24 January as the correct date. See "The Date of Marshall's Discovery of Gold," *Quarterly of the Society of California Pioneers* 1 (1924): 31-34.
10. Henry W. Bigler to John S. Hittell, 7 February 1897, Notebook, Bigler Collection, Huntington Library.
11. Henry William Bigler, Journal (1815-1899), 341, LDS Archives. The entire account by Bigler presented herein can be found in this journal, 341-47. Recently an edition of Azariah Smith's gold discovery journal has been published which includes a slight mention of Smith's experiences at the Golden Jubilee (see *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith* edited by David L. Bigler (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 147-50.
12. John I. Spear served as secretary of the Society of California Pioneers during 1898-99. For a listing of all organization officers from 1850 through 1948, as well as a brief history of the Society, see *The Society of California Pioneers: Centennial Roster, Commemorative Edition,* edited by Walter C. Allen (San Francisco: The Society of California Pioneers, 1948).
13. During the last twenty-three years of his life (1877-1900) Bigler served his church working in the sacred rites of Mormonism at the St. George, Utah, temple. See M. Guy Bishop, "After Sutter's Mill: The Life of Henry Bigler, 1848-1900," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 20 (Spring 1987): 134-35.
14. George Q. Cannon (1827-1901) had been a missionary with Bigler in the Sandwich Islands during the early 1850s. In 1898 he was serving as a counsellor to Wilford Woodruff in the First Presidency of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Since their years together in Hawaii, Bigler and Cannon were fast friends who corresponded often. On George Q. Cannon, see Richard S. Van Wagoner and Steven C. Walker, *A Book of Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1982), 49-56.
15. According to a contemporary publication, The Russ House was a palatial hotel with three hundred rooms, electric lighting, and an elegant dining room. See *San Francisco: The Metropolis of Western America* (San Francisco: Merchantile Illustrating Co., 1899), 187.
16. While it is difficult to assess whether or not Bigler's estimate of the attendance was an exaggeration, the San Francisco *Chronicle* observed the next day that "the streets through which the parade passed were black with sightseers" (25 January 1898). The parade route ran from the foot of Market Street west to Montgomery, north to Kearny, then south on Kearny to Van Ness. See the *California's Golden Jubilee, Official Souvenirs and Program,* copy at the Huntington Library. While it might be easy to assume that Henry Bigler magnified his own importance by believing that many came to see him, the *Chronicle* had featured him in its 23 January story of the Jubilee, headlining the narrative with "H.W. Bigler Tells About the Days of Sutter's Mill at Coloma."
17. The Whipples were related to Bigler's first wife, Cynthia Jane Whipple, who had died in 1874.
18. Bigler is referring to a Mormon practice of faith healing in which holders of the church's Melchizedek Priesthood (Elders) lay their hands upon the head of a sick person and invoke divine blessings to bring about a recovery. Concerning Bigler's health, see also *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith,* 149.
19. On Golden Gate Park at this time see Raymond H. Clary, *The Making of Golden Gate Park, The Early Years: 1865-1906* (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1980), 76, 98-101. Also helpful on the excursion to the Park is *The Gold Discovery Journal of Azariah Smith,* 150.
20. For a contemporary account of the Union Iron Works, see *San Francisco: The Metropolis of Western America,* 33.
21. John F. Pinkham was Marshal of the Society of California Pioneers in 1898 (*Centennial Roster,* 37) and T.J. Parsons was one of the leading organizers of the Golden Jubilee celebration (see the *Chronicle,* 23 January 1898).
22. See the *Los Angeles Evening Express,* 26 November 1900; *Sacramento Union* 27 November 1900; *Deseret Evening News* (Salt Lake City), 26 November 1900.

CHS Donors

The California Historical Society gratefully acknowledges the generous members and donors who have made gifts of $250 or more from July 1, 1989 through June 30, 1990.

$5000 and above

Mr. North Baker, San Francisco
Estate of Miss Geraldine K. Bowman, San Francisco
Mr. James F. Dickason, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Lawrence V. Metcalf, San Francisco
Roma Philbrook Rentz, Lake San Marcos

$1000 - $4,999

Mr. Edward C. Allred, Long Beach
Mr. and Mrs. George D. Basye, Esq., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Dix Boring, San Francisco
Mr. George M. Bowles, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. John Callander, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert B. Carter, Colusa
Mr. & Mrs. Sherman Chickering, San Francisco
Mrs. Ina Cokeley, San Francisco
Mr. Newton A. Cope, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Richard L. Dakin, Kentfield
Mr. & Mrs. A. Barlow Ferguson, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Charles Devoe Field, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald G. Fisher, San Francisco
The Honorable Isabella H. Grant, San Francisco
Mr. Thomas J. Hammer, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Louis H. Heilbron, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Roy E. Hills, Atherton
Ms. Joan Hotchkis, Santa Monica
Mrs. Adaline Howard, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David B. Hudnut, Tiburon
Mr. & Mrs. Frank W. Jameson, San Marino
Mr. George Lindsay, San Francisco
Mrs. Maurice A. Machris, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. James Briggs McClatchy, Tiburon
Ms. Clytie P. Mead, Garden Grove
Mr. and Mrs. Joseph A. Moore, Jr., San Francisco
Mrs. Judith Avery Newkirk, Santa Monica
Dr. & Mrs. Charles A. Noble, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Charles E. Noble, San Francisco
Edith Lamm Piness, Ph.D., Claremont
Mr. B.T. Rocca, Jr., San Francisco
Dr. Albert Shumate, San Francisco
Mr. Alan Sieroty, Los Angeles
W.G. White, Woodside
Mrs. Alice Whitson, Willow Creek
Mr. & Mrs. Edward G. Zelinsky, Tiburon

$500 - $999

Mr. & Mrs. Charles B. Ames, Santa Monica
Mrs. Adolphus Andrews, Jr., San Francisco
Alice O'Neill Avery, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Guilford C. Babcock, San Marino
Mrs. George Hugh Banning, La Jolla
Mr. William F. Bennett, San Mateo
Mrs. Zella E. Bleyhl, Davis
Mr. & Mrs. Johnson S. Bogart, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Andrew E. Bogen, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Phillip S. Boone, San Francisco
Robert and Alice Bridges, San Francisco
David J. Clark, Esq., Larkspur
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas E. Clarke, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William Clayton, Jr., San Marino
Ms. Kay Clegg, Santa Rosa
Mrs. Harding Clegg, Santa Rosa
Mrs. Edith B. Cook, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Harold W. Cookson, San Francisco
Miss Elizabeth Crispin, Mount Shasta
Mr. D. Michael Cullivan, Alameda
Ms. Robyn Darwin, Oakland
Mr. John N. Dayton, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Frank Dickey, Woodside
Mrs. Patrick Anson Doheny, Beverly Hills
Mr. & Mrs. Robert S. Dulin, Bayfield
Mrs. Leonard Firestone, Pebble Beach
Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Fish, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Tully M. Friedman, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Winston R. Fuller, Pasadena
Mrs. Ann W. Gillette, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard N. Goldman, San Francisco
Mr. and Mrs. George Gund, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Haas, San Francisco
Mr. Scott R. Heldfond, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. C.W. Homer, Tiburon
Mr. Preston B. Hotchkis, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. George D. Jagels, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. C. Russell Johnson, Kentfield
Ms. Judith G. Kelly, San Marino
Mr. William Kent III, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. A.M.D. Lampen, San Francisco
Mr. George Livermore, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William L. Lowe, Redwood City

$500-$999 (continued)

Miss Alicia McEvoy, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Donald C. McNear, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Burnett Miller, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. B. Milo Mitchel, Flintridge
Mrs. Judith Beal Nadai, San Francisco
Andrew T. Nadell, M.D., San Francisco
Norman Neuerburg, Ph.D., Los Angeles
Mrs. Russell D. Niles, San Francisco
Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Ph.D., Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. George Otto, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas Pike, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. David J. Pinkham, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. David Potter, Carmel
Jeanne & Chris Redlich, Hillsborough
Mr. Rodney W. Rood, Los Angeles
Mr. William M. Roth, San Francisco
Mr. and Mrs. Edwin A. Seipp, Jr., Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. William N. Shattuck, Newport Beach
Mr. and Mrs. W.J. Shirley, Pasadena
Elizabeth and Eben Smart, Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Roger W. Souza, Suisun
Mr. and Mrs. Ellis M. Stephens, Ross
Stephen L. Taber, Esq., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Daniel G. Volkmann, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. Frank S. Whiting, Arcadia
Mr. & Mrs. Alfred S. Wilsey, San Francisco
Mr. Mark L. Woodbury, Oakland

$250 - $499

Mrs. Harry L. Arnold, Jr., San Francisco
Mary J. Barker, Beverly Hills
Mr. Robert N. Beck, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. Henry P. Berrey, Midpines
Mr. & Mrs. Johan Blokker, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. John T. Boyle, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. John L. Bradley, Hillsborough
Mr. Thomas Anthony Buckley, Los Angeles
Dr. Dewitt K. Burnham, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard F. Cahill, Ross
Mrs. Robert Cahill, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. A. Michael Casey, Ross
Mr. Jon B. Chaney, San Rafael
Mr. & Mrs. Allen L. Chickering, Woodside
Mr. Steven S. Conner, El Cajon

$250-$499 (continued)

Robert Corrigan, Ph.D., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John Craig, Piedmont
Mr. Fillmore Crank, North Hollywood
Mrs. Homer D. Crotty, San Marino
Dr. and Mrs. William N. Davis, Jr., Sacramento
Mr. & Mrs. Walter deMartini, Piedmont
Mr. and Mrs. William H. Doheny, Los Angeles
Mr. & Mrs. Ray Dolby, San Francisco
Mr. Fred Drexler, San Francisco
Mr. Burnham Enersen, San Francisco
Mr. William S. Floyd, Jr., Portola Valley
Dr. John Douglas Forbes, Charlottesville
Mr. Robert Charles Friese, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Robert J. Gallo, Modesto
Mr. & Mrs. James N. Gamble, Pasadena
Mr. Ronald Gillio, Santa Barbara
Mrs. Henry B. Grandin II, Sausalito
Mr. Harold Haber, Jr., San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. George Haberfelde, Pacific Palisades
Mr. David W. Hall, Belvedere
Mr. William R. Hearst, Jr., New York
Mr. & Mrs. Clifford V. Heimbucher, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. William E. Henley, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John W. Higson, Jr., Lafayette
Mr. Kenneth E. Hill, Rancho Santa Fe
Mr. & Mrs. Robin Hood, Aptos
Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Hunter, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Harold J. Hunter, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Hyde, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Raymond L. Kelly, Carmel
Mr. & Mrs. J.L. Kingsley, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Henry N. Kuechler III, Menlo Park
Mr. Stephan C. Leonoudakis, San Francisco
Mr. John S. Livermore, Reno
Mr. Dave Henry Luders, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard B. Madden, Ross
Mrs. Robert A. Magowan, San Francisco
Mr. Milton Marks III, Philadelphia
Mr. & Mrs. Thomas H. May, Oakville
Mr. & Mrs. Eugene A. McCabe, Orinda
Mr. & Mrs. James H. McCarthy, Pasadena
Mrs. Phillip N. McCombs, Berkeley
Mr. & Mrs. J. Frank McGinnis, Hillsborough
Dr. & Mrs. Joseph Messler, Pasadena

$250-$499 (continued)

Mr. & Mrs. John R. Metcalf, San Francisco
Mr. Arch Monson, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Morrison, San Francisco
Mr. Peter Johnson Musto, San Francisco
Mrs. Fred Nason, Beverly Hills
Miss Rose Fox Noll, San Francisco
Mr. Gordon E. Oliver, Virginia City
Judge & Mrs. William H. Orrick, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Cyrus G. Paulus, San Francisco
Ms. D.A. Pearson, San Francisco
Mr. Clair L. Peck, Jr., Los Angeles
Mrs. Grace J. Perkins, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Richard H. Peterson, San Francisco
Miss Mary E. Pike, Santa Monica
Mr. & Mrs. Herbert C. Puffer, Folsom
Mrs. Wanda Rees-Williams, Pasadena
Ms. Hanna Regev, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Salvatore Reina, San Francisco
Mr. Lawrence W. Reinecke, San Francisco
Mrs. John Dowling Relfe, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. John Renshaw, Hillsborough
Martin Ridge, Ph.D., San Gabriel
Mr. Marshall S. Sanders, San Francisco
Dr. & Mrs. Rolf G. Scherman, Greenbrae
Mrs. J.F. Schulz, Santa Rosa
Mr. & Mrs. S. Donald Schwabacher, Atherton
Mr. & Mrs. Albert E. Schwabacher, Woodside
Mr. & Mrs. Frederic Shearer, England
Warren L. Simmons, Napa
Mr. Douglas H. Smith, Laguna Beach
Mr. & Mrs. H. Russell Smith, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. J.P. Solari, San Francisco
Ms. Barbara Solomon, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Emmett G. Solomon, Hillsborough
Mr. & Mrs. William G. Steele, Jr., San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. William I. Struble, Pasadena
Mr. George David Sturges, Pasadena
Mr. & Mrs. Steven L. Swig, San Francisco
Mrs. Joseph Zook Todd, Piedmont
Mrs. Edward R. Valentine, Santa Barbara
Mr. A.W.B. Vincent, San Francisco
Ms. Alice B. Vincilione, Nicasio
Mrs. Brooks Walker, San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. Brooks Walker, Jr., San Francisco
Mr. & Mrs. William D. Wenzlau, San Marino
Mr. & Mrs. Frank A. West, Carmel
Mr. James C. Williams, Ph.D., Cupertino
Mr. Milton Wilson, Lincoln
Mr. & Mrs. Peter Zischke, Orinda

Corporate and Foundation Contributors

$5,000 and above

Anonymous
Odell Fund, San Francisco
The Bernard Osher Foundation, San Francisco
The San Francisco Foundation, San Francisco
The L.J. and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation, Oakland

$1,000-$4,999

S.D. Bechtel, Jr. Foundation, San Francisco
Bixby Ranch Company, Los Angeles
Butterfield & Butterfield, San Francisco
Chronicle Broadcasting Company, San Francisco
Deloitte & Touche, San Francisco
Dolby Laboratories, Inc., San Francisco
The Gap Foundation, San Bruno
Hilton Hotels Corporation, Beverly Hills
Homestake Mining Company, San Francisco
Lane Publishing Co., Sunset Magazine, Menlo Park
Matson Navigation Co., San Francisco
McClatchy Newspapers, Sacramento
Moore Dry Dock Foundation, San Francisco
Mountainview Foundation, Pasadena
Pacific Gas & Electric, San Francisco
San Francisco Chronicle, San Francisco
Security Pacific Foundation, Los Angeles
Unocal Foundation, Los Angeles
Wells Fargo Bank Foundation, San Francisco

$500-$999

ARCO Foundation, Los Angeles
Chevron USA, Inc., San Francisco
Duty Free Shoppers, San Francisco
Los Angeles Dodgers, Inc., Los Angeles
Newhall Land and Farming Company, Valencia
United States Leasing Corp., San Francisco

$250-$499

W. & H.B. Allen Foundation, Belvedere
BankAmerica Foundation, San Francisco
Beaver Insurance Company, San Francisco
Andre Boudin Bakeries, Inc., San Francisco
Dyke Brown Family Trust, Orinda
Malcolm Cravens Foundation, San Francisco
H.S. Crocker, Inc., South San Francisco
IBM Matching Grants Program, Southbury
San Francisco Federal S&L Assoc., San Francisco
Sedgwick James, Memphis

PACIFIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

For more than fifty years, *PHR* has published articles devoted to the history of American expansionism to the Pacific and beyond and the postfrontier developments of the twentieth-century American West.

Recent articles include:

Clio, Clientage, Ethnocentrism, and War: Some Reflections, by Alexander DeConde

A Forum: American Democratization Policy for Occupied Japan: Correcting the Revisionist Version, by Justin Williams, Sr., and *Rejoinders* by John W. Dower and Howard Schonberger

The American West as Metaphysics: A Perspective on Josiah Royce, by Robert Hine

Establishing Administrative 'Standing': The Sierra Club and the Forest Service, 1897-1956 by Susan R. Schrepfer

Chinese Livelihood in Rural California: The Impact of Economic Change, 1860-1880, by Sucheng Chan

Machine-Age Iconography in the American West: The Design of Hoover Dam, by Richard Guy Wilson

---

In addition to articles, *PHR* features historiographical and review essays, notes and documents, reviews of books, and professional news.

Subscriptions: $16 Individuals; $33 Institutions; $11 Students.
Outside the USA, add $4 postage. Send orders to:

University of California Press, Berkeley, CA 94720

The Public Historian

Sponsored by the National Council on Public History

SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE

- **The Field of Public History: Planning the Curriculum** (Vol. 9, No. 3)
- **The National Park Service and Historic Preservation** (Vol. 9, No. 2)
- **Archives and Public History: Issues, Problems and Prospects** (Vol. 8, No. 3)
- **The Debut of Public History in Europe** (Vol. 6, No. 4)
- **Business and History** (Vol. 3, No. 3)
- **Editing, Publishing, and Public History** (Vol. 4, No. 2)
- **Public History and Local History** (Vol. 5, No. 4)
- **Public History: State of the Art** (Vol. 2, No. 1)

Single Copies: $7.00 Individuals, $9.50 Institutions, $4 Students.

Send orders and subscription inquiries to: The Public Historian, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

0 Winter

$7.95

WINTER 1990/91

BURLINGAME PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 9042 02953178 4

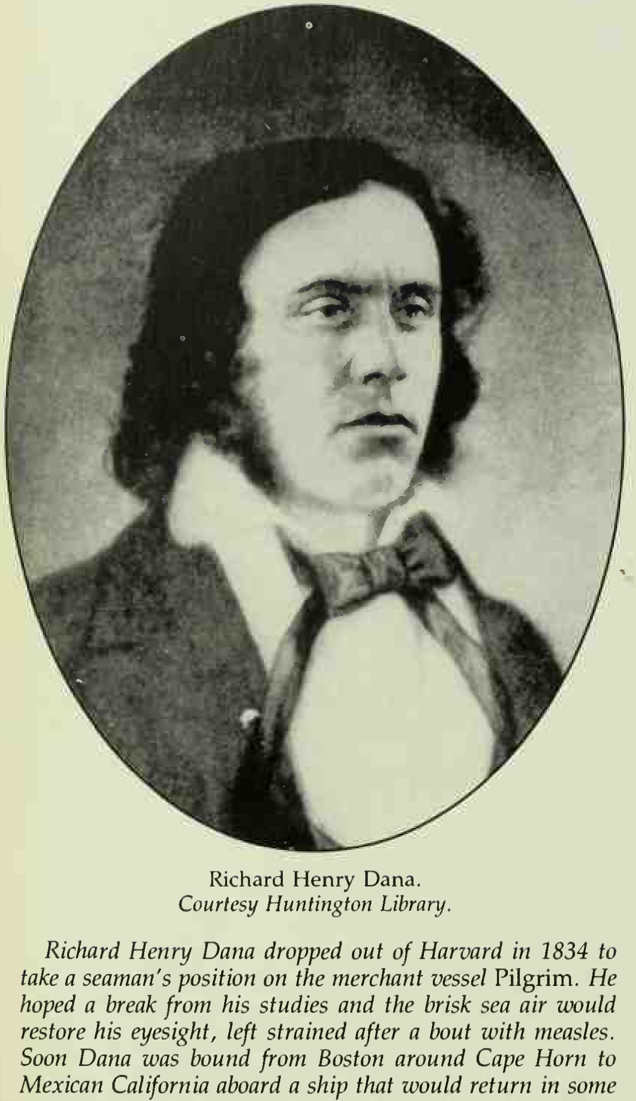
CALIFORNIA HISTORY

BURLINGAME
MAR 21 1991
LIBRARY

Milestones in California History—

Two Years Before the Mast:

Its Significance 150 Years After Publication



Richard Henry Dana.
Courtesy Huntington Library.

Richard Henry Dana dropped out of Harvard in 1834 to take a seaman's position on the merchant vessel Pilgrim. *He hoped a break from his studies and the brisk sea air would restore his eyesight, left strained after a bout with measles. Soon Dana was bound from Boston around Cape Horn to Mexican California aboard a ship that would return in some eighteen months, loaded with a cargo of bullock hides to be manufactured into leather goods. He quickly found his sea legs, regained healthy vision, and gradually mastered the skills of a sailor.*

Back at Harvard in 1838, Dana resumed his studies. But, unable to forget his singular experience with the merchant marine, he began writing Two Years Before the Mast, *based on his seaman's journals. Witness to the tyranny of the captain and the wretched treatment of sailors, and recognizing their lack of recourse, Dana "vowed . . . to redress and relieve the sufferings of that poor class of beings, of whom I then was one." In 1840, the year he was also admitted to the Massachusetts Bar, his book was published. Dana's lifelong fight against social injustice had begun.*

First published anonymously, Two Years Before the Mast *was an immediate success in both England and America and brought Dana wide recognition when its authorship was discovered. A sensational exposé of cruelties perpetuated against merchant sailors in the nineteenth century, its realism stirred consciences and led to reforms in the naval industry. "My book—my great success," he would lament in later years, was "a boy's work, done before I came to the Bar." Yet, by no means the empty scribbling of an upper-class youth on a working-class outing, the book has endured.*

A keen and careful observer, Dana was more than a "muckraker." He described the rigors of sailing, the challenge of navigating the stormy waters of the Horn, and the satisfaction of handling a ship well. Two Years Before the Mast *was the first thorough document of the "hide and tallow" trade, which had begun awakening American interest in California. Glad to escape the shipboard monotony of sailing north and south along the coast, stopping only to collect and load cowhides, Dana volunteered for shore duty at San Diego. For weeks at a time, he and a handful of other sailors remained on land, cleaning, stretching, and drying the heavy, dirty hides that had been skinned by Mexicans and Indians and hauled down to the coast. While living ashore, Dana also observed provincial life in Mexican California. The isolated, treeless mission and pueblo settlements along the coast, such as Santa Barbara, Monterey, and Yerba Buena, seemed desolate and undeveloped to him. Often disdainful of the Mexicans, Dana's account of their "aimless" living influenced the negative American view of Hispanic culture and morals that prevailed in the mid-nineteenth century.*

In 1859, Dana returned to California for a visit after the Mexican War and Gold Rush and was treated as a celebrity. His account of the vast changes that had taken place, entitled "Twenty Four Years After," accompanies contemporary versions of Two Years Before the Mast. *The contrasts he described offer still another portrait of an emerging Americanized California. The mission of San Francisco, which in 1835 had "no trade at all," astounded him now with its one hundred thousand inhabitants. Traveling the coast and searching for landmarks long since dilapidated or disappeared filled him with a solitary, poetic despair. Time, not surprisingly, had sweetened his memory and sentimentalized those harbors and beaches that had once bound him to "the dog's life."*

This 150th anniversary of publication of Two Years Before the Mast *recognizes its importance as an historical American documentary. Dana's assessment of California ("In the hands of an enterprising people, what a country this might be!") also encouraged the United States to find a way to acquire California from Mexico and was thus a prelude to the American conquest. As one of the earliest and most complete descriptions of California before its transformation by the Gold Rush, Dana's "boy's work" ranks among the classics of American literature.*

Marlene Smith-Baranzini
Associate Editor,
California History

On the cover: "Snowstorm in the Sierras," 1876, by William Hahn. *CHS Collection, San Francisco; photographed by Cecile Keefe.*

THE MAGAZINE OF THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

CALIFORNIA HISTORY

VOLUME LXIX No. 4

Winter 1990/91

MICHAEL McCONE
Executive Director

RICHARD J. ORSI
Editor

MARLENE SMITH-BARANZINI
Associate Editor

JAMES J. RAWLS
Reviews Editor

CHARLES N. JOHNSON
Checklist Editor

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Design/Production

Editorial Consultants
GORDON M. BAKKEN
JACQUELINE BARNHART
LONNIE G. BUNCH III
LARRY E. BURGESS
ROBERT W. CHERNY
RICHARD W. ETULAIN
JAMES N. GREGORY
JUDSON A. GRENIER
RICHARD GRISWOLD DEL CASTILLO
ROBERT V. HINE
LANE R. HIRABAYASHI
DAVID HORNBECK
LAWRENCE J. JELINEK
PAUL J. KARLSTROM
HARRY KELSEY
HIM MARK LAI
RUDOLPH M. LAPP
LAWRENCE B. LEE
R. JEFFREY LUSTIG
SANDY LYDON
CLEMENT MEIGHAN
SALLY M. MILLER
IRENE MORAN
GEORGE H. PHILLIPS
LEONARD PITT
MICHAEL SMITH

Editorial Assistants
Corinne Abbott, Michael Campbell, Pamela Challinor, George Johnson, Keith Kennedy, Kay Feallock

332

342

372

320
Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo, 1857-1864
by Gerald McKevitt

332
William James at Stanford
by Linda Simon

342
Hiram W. Johnson: The Old Progressive and New Deal Taxation
by Arlene Lazarowitz

354
The Political Response to Urban Growth: Sacramento and Mayor Marshall R. Beard, 1863-1914
by William E. Mahan

372
The Politics of a Lost Cause: "Seceshers" and Democrats in Southern California During the Civil War
by Ronald C. Woolsey

384
James D. Hart: A Tribute and Remembrance
by James J. Rawls

389
Reviews

398
California Checklist

401
Notes

409
Index

California History is published quarterly by the California Historical Society, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109. Second class postage is paid at San Francisco. Postmaster: send address changes to 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109.
LC 75-640289/ISSN 0612-2897

California History is published with the cooperation and support of California State University, Hayward.

Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education:

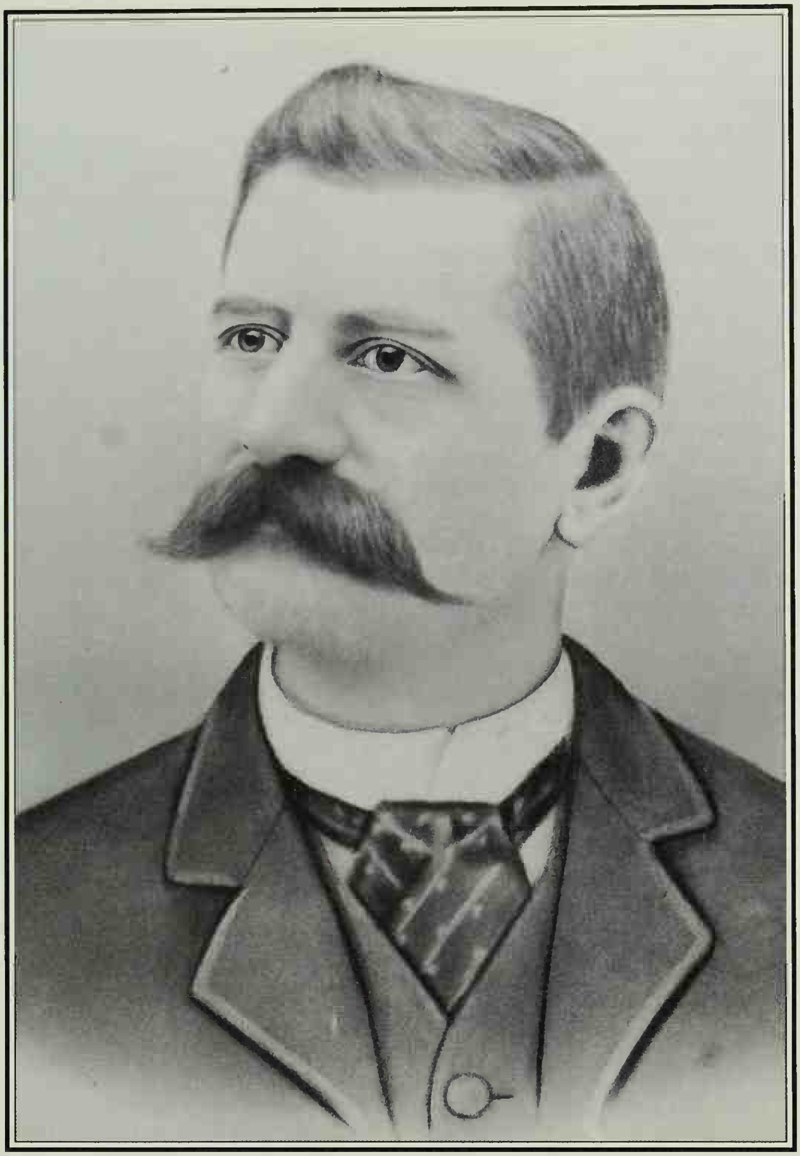
THE DIARY OF JESÚS MARÍA ESTUDILLO, 1857-1864

by Gerald McKevitt

In 1876 Juan Bautista Alvarado, former governor of Mexican California, completed the dictation of his memoirs. Born in Monterey in 1809, the sixty-five-year-old *californio* had in his lifetime witnessed the territory's evolution from a frontier outpost of the Spanish empire to a politically turbulent province of the Republic of Mexico and its final incorporation into the United States.[1] Alvarado disapproved of some of the changes that had transformed his homeland since Yankee annexation, but there was one innovation he lauded: "In my opinion, the improvements in public instruction introduced by the North Americans are of themselves alone great enough for Californians to celebrate enthusiastically the anniversary of the day on which Mexican domination was done away with forever in this state."[2]

One of the few *californios* who was truly literate, Alvarado testified to the increase in educational opportunities that began to occur in California after 1848.[3] "In my youth," Alvarado recalled, "a retired soldier, sometimes an ignorant fellow, was the one who taught the children to read and write."[4] Despite attempted reforms by Governor José María Echeandía in the 1820s and later by Alvarado during his own governorship, formal schooling under Mexico had been characterized by what one scholar describes as "noble intentions and aborted efforts."[5] Annexation increased educational opportunities by laying the foundation of a system of free public education, beginning on the primary level and extending eventually to collegiate studies after the founding of a state university at Berkeley in 1868.

There was, however, one significant aspect of the reform that Alvarado failed to note. Spanish-speakers, who in 1851 constituted an estimated one-fourth of the state's 5,000 to 8,000 school-aged children, did not initially benefit from the educational system upon which he lavished praise.[6] The Mexicans, or *californios*, as they perceived themselves, were not formally excluded from Anglo classrooms—as were segregated Chinese, blacks, and native Americans—but available evidence suggests they did not enjoy immediate and universal access to public instruction.[7] There were several reasons for this. Not only was the state slow to establish schools, but it was also reluctant to accommodate to the particular educational needs of its newly-conquered population, especially in poorer regions of the state and in the south, where most *californios* resided.[8] The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, which had concluded the Mexican War, contained no provision guaranteeing the preservation of the Spanish language in the newly conquered areas of the United States. And even though many youngsters were unable to speak English, bilingual instruction, the common goal of all Spanish-American leaders in the post-conquest era, was explicitly prohibited in early California public education policy. Instead, in 1855 the state Bureau of Public Instruction ordered that English be used as the teaching language in all public institutions. Even in Santa Barbara, where sixty percent of the 1,200 inhabitants spoke only Spanish and where community leaders had for a time managed to retain bilingual instruction in the city's schools, the English-only mandate was universally enforced.[9] Alienated by the perceived insufficiencies of the public school system, many Spanish-speaking parents found parochial schools an attractive



A mature Jesús María Estudillo, shown in this photograph taken sometime after he left Santa Clara College, sports the distinctive moustache he began wearing during his student days. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

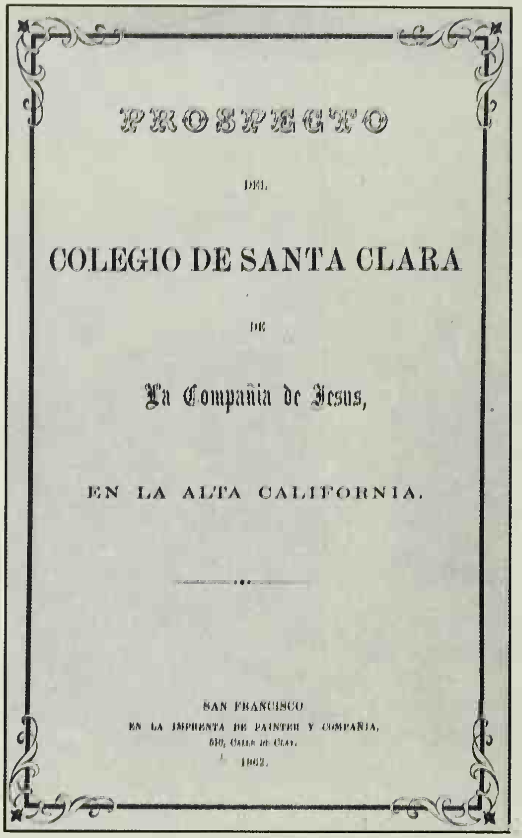
alternative. With acculturation as their ultimate objective, Catholic bishops and educators created primary and secondary schools and colleges that met the needs of the post-conquest *californios.*

One of the few public institutions that actually recruited *californios* and other minority students was the University of California's Fifth Class. Organized in 1871 as a preparatory department of the recently-opened university, the Fifth Class program provided a high school education that helped students prepare for the university entrance examination. It proved highly successful, enrolling more students than the university and funneling many into its classrooms. Opposition and financial problems, however, led to the termination of the Fifth Class two years after it started. With the passing of that short-lived experiment, minority enrollment at the university nearly ceased, and *californios* had to look elsewhere for schooling.[10]

One of their most popular alternatives in the northern part of the state was Santa Clara College (today's Santa Clara University). Founded by immigrant Italian Jesuits in 1851 at Mission Santa Clara, the all-male boarding school enjoyed a wide Hispanic patronage throughout the nineteenth century. The attraction of the college reflected the large number of Spanish-speakers among the local population. In 1851 nearly half of nearby San Jose's 6,664 inhabitants were native Californians or Mexicans.[11] Their presence also illustrated the affinity between Hispanic Catholics and the Catholic Church at mid-century. As Leonard Pitt has observed, during the difficult transition years from Mexican to American rule, the *californio* "found it easier to retain his identity as a Catholic than as a miner, rancher, voter, or naturalized citizen."[12] The value that Catholics placed upon religious instruction reinforced Santa Clara's attractiveness. James Alexander Forbes, himself Jesuit-educated and married to *californiana* Anita María Galindo, enrolled his several Anglo-Hispanic sons in the school. It was "the best there is in California," he informed Santa Barbara merchant José Antonio Aguirre, because the faculty members "are concerned about the religious education of the students, without which there can be no true instruction."[13]

Early enrollment lists at Santa Clara read like a roll call of *californio* history, including such names as Alviso, Argüello, Bandini, Berryessa, Camarillo, Castro, Del Valle, Malarin, Pacheco, Pinero, Suñol, and Vallejo. Even Juan Bautista Alvarado, notwithstanding his high praise of public schooling, enrolled his offspring at this private institution. During its first twenty-five years (1851-1876), Santa Clara enrolled a total of 1,650 students; of those, between 350 and 400 were Spanish-surnamed or Spanish-speaking.[14] In the 1867-1868 academic year, students of Hispanic origin constituted twenty-five percent of the school's total enrollment of 216 students. So important was its tie with that group that the college actively recruited Spanish-speaking students by publishing a Spanish-language edition of its yearly bulletin.[15]

While the bulletin provides clues to the value the college placed on Hispanic enrollments, students' perceptions of the school are more difficult to reconstruct. However, the diaries of one of them, Jesús María Estudillo, have survived. Preserved in the Bancroft Library, Estudillo's extant journals cover three of his six-and-a-half years at the school. Portions of one volume (1862) have been published and edited, but the bulk of his writings remain unpublished and overlooked by historians. Nonetheless, they provided valuable insight into the educational experiences of second-generation *californios* and their attempts to lead a bilingual and bicultural existence.[16] Written during a time of historical crisis for native Californians, they show how an upper-class young man struggled with the challenge of adapting to a new political, economic, cultural, and ethnic order as the state moved from a Hispanic to an Anglo-dominated society. The diaries open a window on evolving *californio* consciousness during that era by revealing how Estudillo coped with such issues as language, religion, gender, acculturation, friendship, and changing daily life. The journals also underscore the role of the Catholic Church in the transition process. The Jesuit college at Santa Clara served as a mediating influence between old and new cultures, while at the same time providing continuity with the *californios'* Hispanic past.



PROSPECTO

DEL

COLEGIO DE SANTA CLARA

DE

La Compañia de Jesus,

EN LA ALTA CALIFORNIA.

SAN FRANCISCO
EN LA IMPRENTA DE PAINTER Y COMPAÑIA,
510, CALLE DE CLAY.
1862.

The front cover of the Spanish edition of the Santa Clara College prospectus, or bulletin, which the college issued to fulfill its commitment to educate *californio* and other Spanish-speaking students in the early decades after the American conquest of the state. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

The sensibilities and events recorded in Estudillo's journal were necessarily those of a relatively privileged, if not always wealthy, upper-class youth. His interests, outlook, and entertainments were those of the ranchero elite to which he belonged. For them, education was an indispensable means of protecting eroding family fortunes and a key to survival in the post-conquest world. Indeed, Jesús María's desire to adjust and accommodate to change marked him as a man of his time. *Californios* of his generation were "only vaguely aware of the Arcadian period and the revolutions and wars that had engrossed their parents," observes Leonard Pitt, but they became "acutely conscious of the consolidation of the new order."[17] Their desire to adapt was often supported and reinforced by parents concerned about their future security. "Study, study as much as you can. Don't waste time," the mother of Napoleon Vallejo urged her son at the college.[18] Estudillo's intense resolve to master the English language and adapt to Anglo customs testified to a determination to find a place in the new dispensation, which Santa Clara facilitated by providing the skills and contacts necessary to make the passage. But the transition was not easy. As his cousin and classmate José Guadalupe Estudillo declared years later to a young nephew, "we deserve some credit for what we have accomplished under terrible disadvantages."[19]

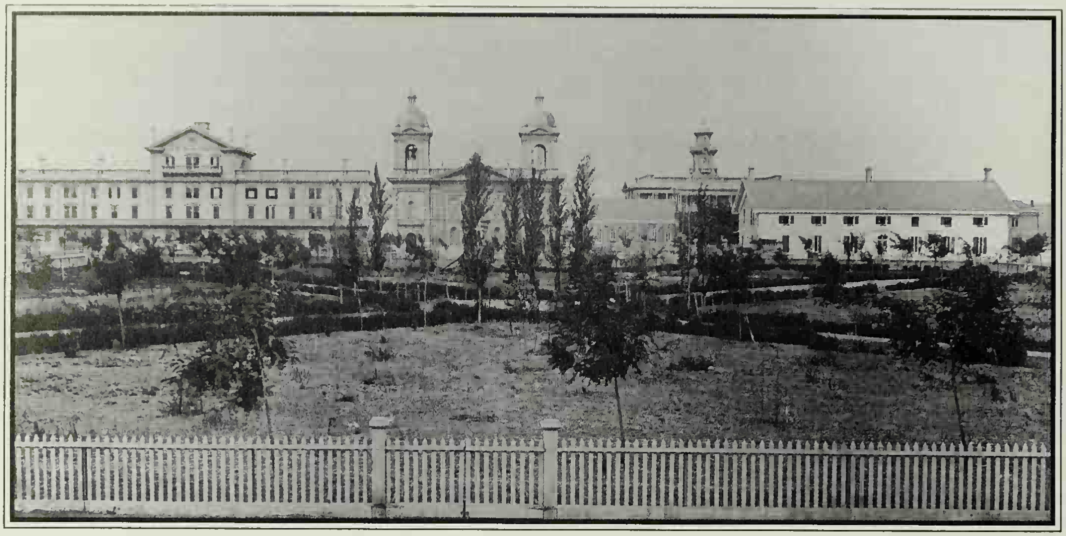
Jesús María was born in 1844 into one of the landholding families that appeared on the northern Mexican frontier in the late colonial period. Although its hold on land and capital was seriously jeopardized by the upheaval that followed in the wake of the Gold Rush, the family retained sufficient funds to send three sons to Santa Clara College. Thirteen-year-old Jesús María enrolled in the preparatory department in 1857. He was joined the following autumn by two older brothers, twenty-two-year-old Luis and twenty-three-year-old Vicente, as well as by José de Guadalupe Estudillo, a cousin from San Diego.

The diarist spent nearly seven years on the campus. Jesús María's first four years were devoted to studying high school level courses in history, geography, French, English, Spanish, mathematics, bookkeeping, and elocution. Collegiate classes in literature, rhetoric, philosophy, English, French, Latin, Greek, astronomy, chemistry, and mineralogy occupied his last three years. Although his studies appear to have been directed toward a bachelor's degree, frequent courses in bookkeeping suggest he anticipated a career in business, as did many of his classmates. For example, James Watson, the son of James Alexander Watson and María Dolores Domínguez of Los Angeles, was sent to Santa Clara "to prepare himself for the commercial world." A year after he left to help manage the family holdings, his brothers, Patrick and Robert, enrolled at the ages of twenty and twenty-two for the same reason. Most *californios*, like Anglos, sought a practical, rather than a classical, college education.[20]

Many *californios* came to Santa Clara hoping to perfect their English, whose growing importance for trade had become evident even before annexation. For example, San Diego merchant Miguel Pedrorena and Mariano G. Vallejo of Sonoma "spoke English fluently by the 1840's."[21] And Romualdo Pacheco of Santa Barbara had sent two sons (one of whom later briefly became governor of the state) to Hawaii for "an Anglo Saxon education."[22] After the conquest, the parents of many Spanish-speaking students were especially eager that their sons "master English and the basic subjects crucial for success and survival in the world that had burst upon them with the coming of the Anglos."[23] John C. Pelton, who taught six hundred children in Gold Rush San Francisco, reported in 1851 that he found Hispanic students "eager to learn English."[24] Both Pedrorena and Vallejo also sent their sons to Santa Clara for that purpose.

Estudillo was sufficiently confident in the new tongue by age thirteen that he wrote his diary in English. His facility was probably due in part to the influence of his Anglo brothers-in-law. Finding "American customs and laws too perplexing and complicated," his father had hired John B. Nugent, an Irish-American, and John Ward to manage his estate and other business affairs. Each man subsequently married one of Jesús María's sisters; a third sister married William Heath Davis, San Francisco merchant and trader.[25] Estudillo's mother insisted that he speak Spanish at home and did not oppose his studying that language at Santa Clara. But she sent him to the college to perfect his English and chided him when letters home revealed insufficient progress in the new tongue.[26]

Some students arrived at the college in the 1850s speaking only Spanish, which was still "the prevailing language" in nearby Monterey and in the southern part of the state.[27] In Santa Barbara a visitor in 1871 recalled hearing political speeches in both Spanish and English that "attracted a large concourse of both sexes and of each race."[28] In response to demand, Spanish language courses were offered at Santa Clara. "Keep him at his Spanish," George Simpton, the port warden of San Francisco, instructed the president of the college when his son enrolled in 1853, "for I think every boy and man in this country should understand Spanish and French."[29] When the college president enrolled the son of William Keith of



This rare photograph of Santa Clara College, by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1866, looks west across the Alameda to the mission church, center, built in 1825. Its Victorian spires were added in the early 1860s, and the original church was destroyed by fire in 1926. To the left is the administration building; to the right, the small Gothic structure is the students' chapel, built in 1856. The adobe building, to which was added an upper story housing the debating hall, dates from the mission period. The single tower in the far background is the Science Hall. In his diary, Estudillo writes about the spectacular views of the valley from the tower. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

Stockton, he discovered that the boy "speaks no English."[30] Jesús María Estudillo's cousin, José Guadalupe Estudillo, the future state treasurer, also spoke only Spanish when he arrived at the college from San Diego in 1858. He once asked his brother-in-law, William Heath Davis, "to overlook all my mistakes in writing because it is [a] very short time since I commenced to learn English."[31] Others whose early training was limited to tutoring at home, came ill-equipped for formal schooling. "Alfredo [Bandini] is well," a Jesuit teacher informed Abel Stearns, the boy's guardian, in 1862, but "very deficient in his preparatory instruction."[32] To accommodate such students, Santa Clara offered some bilingual instruction. Surviving records reveal that in the 1860s and 1870s "Spanish Christian doctrine classes" were held for students whose first language was Spanish. There were also reading and spelling classes for "foreigners." Although most of those enrolled came from northern Mexico, the courses also drew students from nearby Monterey and Santa Cruz.[33] But the majority of students arrived at the college with at least some knowledge of English.

At nearby Notre Dame College, however, which was attended by the sisters of many Santa Clara students, the enrollment of Spanish-speakers was sufficiently large that a separate Spanish-only division was created for them. The greater number of Spanish courses there suggests that as a consequence of their more sheltered upbringing young *californio* women were less exposed to English than were men. So many Spanish-speakers attended Notre Dame that even report cards and bills were printed in Spanish. By the end of the 1850s, the separate "Division of Spanish Young Ladies" was abandoned, and the college began offering instead parallel courses in Spanish and English, but on a larger scale than Santa Clara.[34]

Despite the facility in English that he had acquired at home, Jesús María Estudillo labored to improve his skills during his years at Santa Clara. In fact, his struggle to perfect his speaking ability runs as a theme throughout his journals. At age seventeen he was still keeping count of the number of times during the week he spoke Spanish outside of class, as if it were a fault to be uprooted. Although opportunities to converse abounded, Estudillo proudly recorded on one occasion "Today I did not speak two words in Spanish." That he missed conversing in his native tongue is suggested by an entry eight months later. "This afternoon I had a long conversation with [Juan] Solari, as it is seldom that I speak Spanish to anybody."[35]

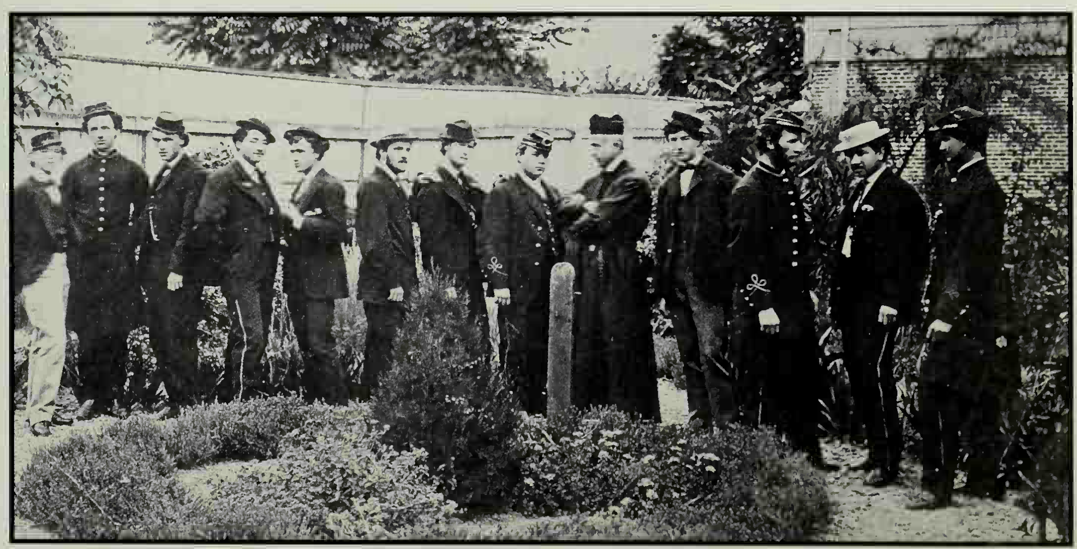
English language mastery was the result of both educational policy and parental mandate. For native Spanish-speakers like Estudillo this meant intensive study of English because all courses, including mathematics, bookkeeping and the sciences, required the frequent writing of compositions. For example, an essay assigned in a geography class in 1861 asked students to describe the terrain over which a transcontinental railroad would pass en route from San Francisco to Jefferson City, Missouri.[36] Jesuit pedagogy also placed a high priority on *eloquentia perfecta*, or the cultivation of style. "Because poise in word and manner and the ability to speak and write correctly reflected a disciplined and educated mind," literary societies, debating, and dramatic activities were promoted in both the curriculum and extracurriculum of the typical Jesuit school.[37] Unlike his classmate Napoleon Vallejo, who was very interested in dramatics, Jesús María declined invitations to participate in theatrical productions, preferring instead to improve his English through elocution and debate.[38]

Estudillo recorded in detail the ups and downs of his linguistic progress. That the experience was sometimes exhilarating was shown by an entry that announced triumphantly, "This evening was the first time I ever composed two lines of poetry."[39] But setbacks and challenges also abounded. After exams in 1861, his grade in English "was almost 'bad,'" he noted "with the greatest regret."[40] "Of my college days, this had been the wretchedest," the angry adolescent confided to his diary a year later.

> No peace has dwelled within this bosom in the whole day since grammar class to the hour of writing these few lines, seven o'clock in the evening. I have wished that I would not have come back [to college] this session, and I declare if I am kept in the same English class after Christmas I will not come back, at least if the same teacher teaches the class."[41]

Estudillo's troubled relationship with his English professor, a New England Jesuit named Edmond Young, was a subject of frequent lament. Piqued by the priest's constant correction of mistakes and his insistence on repetition as a means of learning proper pronunciation, and displeased by the teacher's grades, the sensitive youth bitterly complained "how contemptible he is treating me."[42] Once when he was not called upon to recite in chemistry class, he convinced himself it was because of his inability "to pronounce well."[43] However, unlike Anglo classmates who sometimes rebelled against authority, Estudillo adhered to his cultural upbringing by always maintaining a reverent and respectful attitude toward his teachers.[44]

He was a diligent and competitive student whose application to studies won praise from instructors. In 1862 his superior performances in both history and speech were given special recognition in annual end-of-the-year public exhibitions.[45] That same year he was admitted into the college's prestigious Philhistorian Debating Society, whose purpose was "to promote in its members the knowledge of history and literature by useful discussions, and, by accustoming them to speak with ease and fluency, to prepare them for debates of a higher order."[46]



A group of drama students poses, ca. 1862, with Fr. Edmond Young, whom Estudillo mentions often in his diary. Estudillo might be among the students gathered here, although he preferred debate to theatrical activities. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

Debate topics ran the gamut from history (Were Christian Spaniards justified in driving the Moors from Spain? Was Pepin the Short justified in conquering Italy?) to questions of current interest such as dueling, the carrying of concealed weapons, freedom of the press, capital punishment, and the comparative benefits of private and public education. Although Father Young's exacting corrections occasionally left him "wishing almost never to speak another speech," he persevered in his study of oratory and argumentation.[47] A new level of self-confidence was recorded the day a Dublin-born professor assured him he recited a prose assignment—"The Land I Long to See"—with the feeling of an Irishman."[48] And he was pleased after delivering "a very hard piece" about Columbus when his tutor perceived only "two mistakes of pronounciation [*sic*]."[49] His crowning accomplishment was a long-desired invitation to orate at commencement exercises that year, "my first speech in public," he proudly recorded.[50]

If the challenge of mastering English made college life difficult, other features made the Santa Clara milieu acceptable and even inviting. Its mixed student body provided opportunities for forging friendships with both Anglo and Hispanic classmates. And among its international faculty students found Jesuit and lay mentors who had themselves coped with the challenge of acculturation. The close-knit atmosphere that characterized the small boarding college placed professors and pupils in close familial contact. Estudillo described a Sunday evening when he and a best friend called on a favorite Jesuit professor: "Before supper [Edward] Palmer and I went to Fr. Guerrieri's room and smoked cigars."[51] Another Sunday, he "went out walking with Mr. Pascal," his bookkeeping teacher. They "went to his house and [he] showed me the garden and dranked [*sic*] some wine. Then commencing [*sic*] home [we] called at Mr. Lawrie's [professor of music]. I was introduced to his . . . fine lady. Fr. Accolti was there. . . . Mr. Lawrie gave me some cherries."[52] He reveled in a picnic celebrated by faculty and students before commencement one spring. "We stopped at Cook's grove to hear the speeches of the boys that were going to be graduated" and then traveled by wagon to Parrot's Garden, where "we had a very good dinner made at the restaurant, plenty of wine, champagne, [and of] lager beer we had a barrel."[53] As a *californio*, Estudillo shared the Italian faculty's tolerant appreciation of mild alcoholic drink.

Some aspects of life at the rural college reminded students of the ranchos from which they came. On holidays Estudillo frequently went hunting along the creeks and marshes of the Santa Clara Valley. "We went through the woods and I killed good many rabbits and robbins [*sic*]," he wrote one night after returning from an outing with a friend. "We stayed there about two hours" and cooked our dinner, "two robbins, one rabbit roasted in the fire."[54] Game was sometimes brought home, prepared for supper, and shared with companions in the college dining hall. As he grew older, visits to young women at Notre Dame College replaced hunting as a preferred pastime. Although students were not allowed to keep horses at the college, Estudillo found frequent opportunities to indulge a favorite *californio* recreation. Mastery of riding and horsemanship by youngsters even before they could walk had long impressed foreigner visitors to California, one of whom observed that early training "begot acquisition of riding expertise by the age of ten or twelve."[55] During Estudillo's youth in the 1850s and 1860s, horse racing, with high stakes, remained popular, even though some critical Anglos condemned it as Sabbath-breaking and "the fruits of popery."[56] Like many *californios*, Jesús María lived on horseback and was well known for riding his animals to exhaustion. On one occasion he rented a horse and buggy from a nearby San Jose stable and drove the animal fifteen miles in one hour and twenty minutes on a warm day. He was annoyed when the return trip took him fifteen minutes longer.[57]

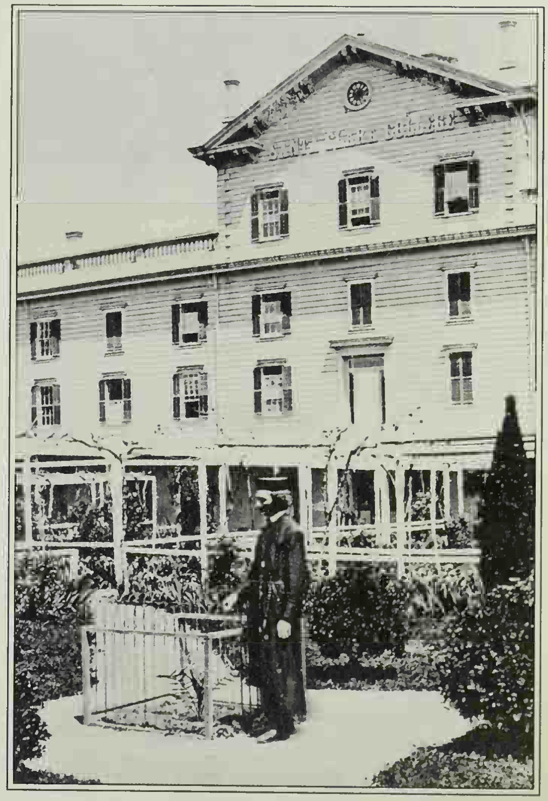
Academics, too, formed links with the past. Skill and knowledge of poetry, which was admired and encouraged in Hispanic California, was fostered at Santa Clara. By thus providing continuity with pre-conquest culture, the Catholic college filled much the same function for young *californios* that the Catholic parish did for European immigrants in nineteenth-century America. It offered "a familiar experience in a strange environment" and thereby helped to facilitate accommodation to a changed world.[58]

Religion forged the strongest bond with *californio* culture. On the carnival days preceding Ash Wednesday, Estudillo and his classmates entertained themselves with traditional *cascarones*, egg shells filled with cologne or colored confetti, which were broken over the heads of unsuspecting acquaintances.[59] He loved horseback riding, but proudly recorded that on Good Friday "in Spanish countries no one is allowed to ride on horse or drive unless it is indispensable to do so."[60] Sermons in Spanish were still heard in the old mission church on campus, and devotional practices promoted by the Italian priests of the college were similar to those of Hispanic California. Public religious processions, once common on the Mexican frontier, but abandoned in most cities after the conquest lest they offend non-Catholics, were still held at the college on feast days such as Corpus Christi and Good Friday. Although it is unclear if the feast of the Virgin of Guadalupe or Mexican Independence were specially honored in Estudillo's day, they were celebrated at the college with picnics and special liturgies later in the century.[61]

Estudillo's diary illustrates a phenomenon noted by sociologists, namely, that the church often served as "the first line of defense" behind which ethnic groups threatened with loss of identification organized themselves to preserve their group identity.[62] As one study of the post-conquest *californios* notes, "they were a ruling class militarily conquered, bereft of national sovereignty and a constitutional framework, and alienated from their land, homes, civil rights, and honor. They had retained little else besides their religion and a thin residue of honorary political influence."[63] It is not surprising that Estudillo's journals reflect the interests of a young man whose self-perception emphasized his Catholic identity. For this scion of a beleaguered upper-class family, religion remained a valued last vestige of an old order that was quickly passing, while also providing continuity and help in coping with the new. Theology is "so necessary to know," he wrote, so that "when you go out in the world you may be able to hold fast to our religion."[64] After attending Saturday morning chapel talks by the president, he declared "he has charmed me . . . by his eloquence and convincing lecture. May his words be not lost."[65] Annual spiritual retreats found Estudillo making "good resolutions for the future" and "reading and meditating in the veyard [vineyard] . . . on hell, the glory of God, and of eternity, eternity, eternity."[66]

Religion also shaped his relations with young women, whose company he pursued with typical adolescent zeal. He frequently recorded having "had a good time with all the girls," usually students from nearby Notre Dame College.[67] A coach trip from Santa Clara to San Jose with María Antonia Argüello was particularly pleasant because "we had the back seat of the stage and we were very close together."[68] The attractiveness of another young woman plunged him into emotional turmoil. "Last night I did not sleep but very little dreaming of H[arriet] C[obb].[69] Estudillo's romantic interests were circumscribed, however, by sectarian concerns. After having a "splendid time" at a spring picnic attended by "many handsome" members of "the fair sex," he revealed that there was one person to whom "I did not speak." The apparent reason: he was Catholic, she was Protestant.[70] Three years later he refused to congratulate a newly-married sister and her husband when they departed for their honeymoon, because the groom was a Boston Protestant and "I knew what my feelings would be."[71]

All things Protestant were found wanting. After attending a commencement at nearby College of the Pacific, he reported "nothing was done worth praising."[72] Resentful of criticisms made of the Church and of Mexico by some of the speakers, he concluded that Methodism was "the lowest, the most contemptible sect on earth."[73] The death of the popular Unitarian preacher, Thomas Starr King, elicited a dismissive journal entry: "Poor fellow, I pity him, a man eloquent undoubtedly," but lacking in "principle."[74] The Masonic order he described as "that accursed society."[75] Estudillo's intolerance of non-Catholics no doubt reflected Catholic attitudes of the day and the influence of his Jesuit mentors. But it also mirrored the antipathy of many *californios* who identified Protestants as "blond-



Fr. Luigi Varsi, an Italian Jesuit, stands beside a young palm seedling in the mission gardens of Santa Clara College. In the background are the grape trellises of the quadrangle, also planted by the Italian Jesuit founders of the college, which included Varsi. Father Varsi was named the sixth president of the college shortly after Estudillo left. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

headed heretics" who had despoiled them of their property and their rightful place in society.[76]

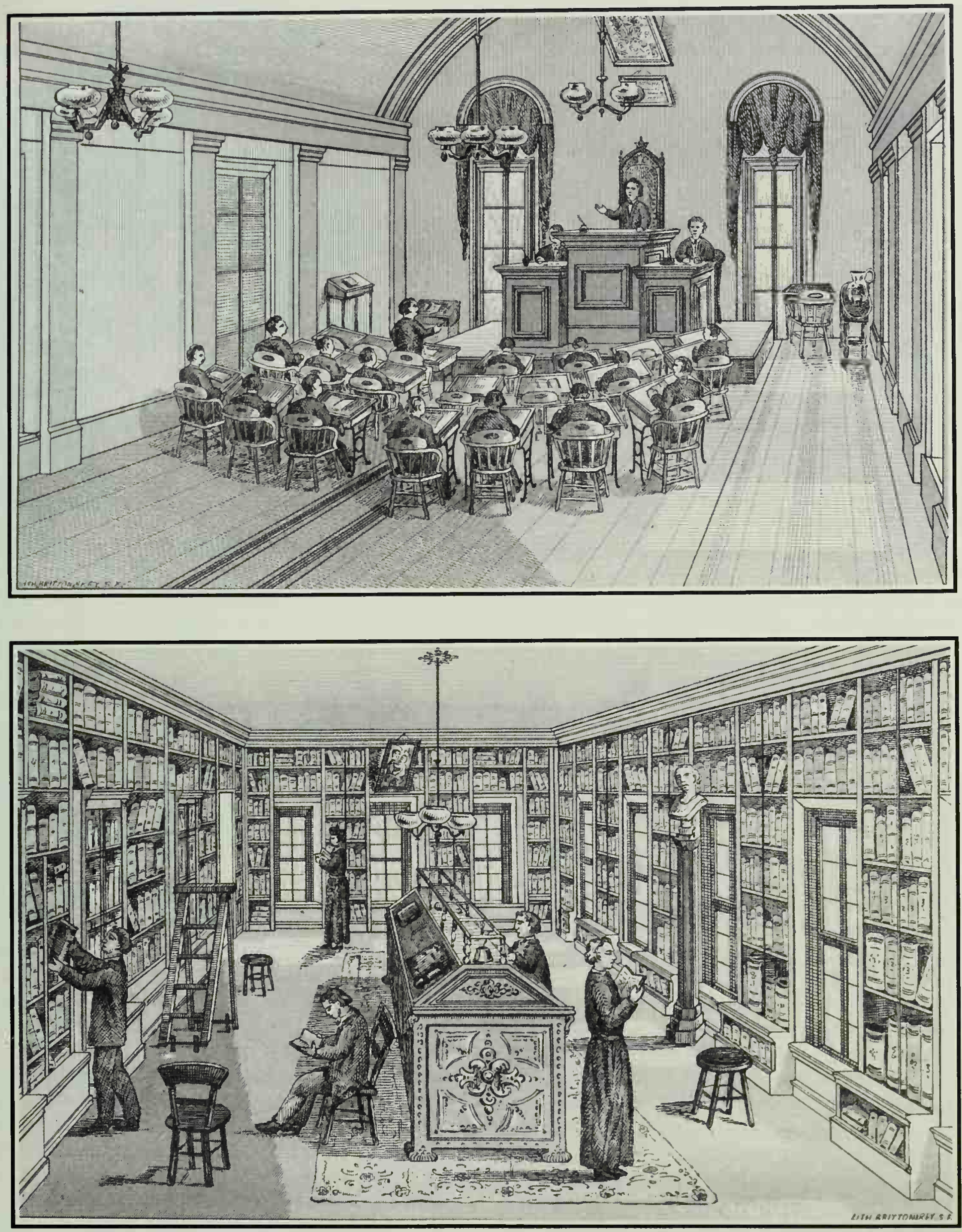
The extent to which Estudillo encountered racial enmity at Santa Clara is unknown. At nearby Notre Dame College, a "state of cold war" raged in the 1850s between *californio* and Anglo students. Raised in home environments that protected them from the world, the Spanish-speaking young women felt "ill at ease" among less restrained "Yanquitas."[77] Because no such sharp contrast in upbringing divided males of the two cultures, that source of conflict was not present at Santa Clara. That there was racial strife between Anglo and Hispanic students is clear, however, from an incident that occurred during Estudillo's second year. In 1859 the student military drill company of the college was temporarily "broken up" because, one student reported, "the American boys did not want to march with the Greasers."[78] Estudillo once overheard a fellow student ask Father Young what the term "greaser" meant. The priest replied, "One that is born in this state, like Estudillo," who happened to be standing nearby. Although highly sensitive to slights, Jesús María recorded "I could not be offended by this comparison of his," because he could have applied it to anyone. Besides, he concluded, the term refers to a person of "greasy" or "copper color," which "I do not think I possess."[79] Like most *californios* of his class and caste, Estudillo was himself sensitive to racial differences and did not identify with Spanish-speakers he considered to be of mixed or "inferior" lineage, such as the lower-class immigrants from Mexico during the Gold Rush era or the laborers who worked on his family's rancho.

The absence of references to racial conflict in the diaries is puzzling. It is perhaps possible to interpret Estudillo's silence as a suppressed protest against the inculturation process and ill-treatment to which he was subjected. But his ostensible testimony suggests that he was relatively well integrated into both the upper-class *californio* and Anglo worlds. Jesús María was "nominated and selected 2nd corporal [of the military drill company] by acclamation" of his fellow cadets.[80] He also enjoyed close friendships with classmates and young women of both Anglo and *californio* background. He was a frequent guest at the Santa Clara home of Luís Argüello, son of California's first Mexican governor; on the other hand, one of his closest friends was Edward Palmer, whose family owned a large sheep ranch at Mission San Jose. Attracted to "good looking young ladies" from both groups, he preferred those who possessed the social graces admired by Hispanic Californians. He liked an American he met at a party because she was "a very accomplished young lady, and perfectly lady-like in her actions," thereby resembling "very much . . . the Spanish character."[81]

The apparent ease with which Estudillo moved in both worlds mirrored his ever-increasing Americanization. An avid reader, he subscribed to several newspapers and magazines and kept careful note of favorite authors, such as Shakespeare, Washington Irving, Theodore Hittell, and Oliver Goldsmith. "I have read with great interest Mr. [Rufus] Choate's lecture on the early British poets of this century," he noted, especially Sir Walter Scott.[82] He was "so enticed" by the Waverly novels "that I fear I will not be able to leave them until I finish them all."[83] Years of training in rhetoric taught him to analyze the literary style of the works he read. By 1864 he had even come to a new-found appreciation of Father Young. "I like his preaching very much," he admitted in his diary.[84] His teachers would have been gratified by a set of "rule[s] that I intend to carry through life," which he drew up in 1864. I shall "study Blair's Rhetoric for an hour or more," he resolved, and to exercise the memory "I shall learn by heart twenty lines of some favorite author, prose or verse." A final resolution was easier to keep: "I shall read some good author for an hour at least, and do this with a great deal of care."[85]

Home life, to which he returned during the summers, was also filled with cross-cultural borrowings. When family and friends entertained in the parlor they played euchre and old maid, popular American card games, as well as a French amusement known as bezique.[86] Evening sing-alongs included Spanish and English selections, such as "La Despedida Militar" and "Annie of the Vale."[87] Traditional Spanish dances had yielded somewhat to French and American steps like the quadrille, the schottische, and the waltz, but the family still held dance parties that continued "until four o'clock in the morning."[88]

Shifts in entertainment reflected more profound changes, including an ever-closer identification with the culture of the United States. After attending a Fourth of July parade and fireworks in San Francisco in 1862, Estudillo confided to his diary: " . . . though not a free born American, [I] feel a little of that spirit which raises and makes every American's heart leap with gladness at the very name of Liberty . . . when paying honor to the Fourth of July."[89] His entries also revealed a weakening of ties with his Hispanic roots. A first-ever trip to San Diego and to the Mexican border that summer proved highly disappointing, even though the region was intimately linked to his family's


LITH. BRITTON & REY S.F.
LITH. BRITTON & REY S.F.

These two lithographs, ca. 1878, depict interior Santa Clara College scenes as they would have appeared in Estudillo's day. Estudillo worked diligently to perfect his English and became an accomplished debater. The debating hall, top, was converted from an adobe mission into a classroom. The well-read Estudillo also undoubtedly spent many hours in the college library, pictured in the lower illustration. *Courtesy Santa Clara University Archives.*

origins and retained many features of Hispanic culture. Although he enjoyed meeting relatives, Jesús María agreed with his sister Lola that San Diego was "too lonesome and degraded" a place to live.[90] "Never in the world could I imagine to myself that such a miserable country could exist. . . . The only thing I found in San Diego to take pleasure in was the amount of game" and hunting.[91] His preference for the Americanized north no doubt reflected his upper-class background. He identified not with the primitive frontier culture of southern California, but with the bustling commercial world of the urbanized north, where his family's economic interest lay and whose values he had now embraced. That same summer he reluctantly began reading a book written in Spanish, remarking "I suppose I would not have read Spanish if it was not that I was so lonesome."[92]

Despite Estudillo's progress in the acquisition of the skills that had led him to Santa Clara, worry over family finances sometimes undermined his ability to concentrate on studies. Anxious about "the great debts we have at present," he frequently considered leaving school.[93]

> After supper I went and sat myself down on the last bench by the corridor of the dormitory and contemplated for a good while what my course in life should follow when out of the College. Sometimes I thought of remaining till I would graduate; at others, I thought of not coming any more after this session and if circumstances would not permit, I would not come back after Christmas.[94]

Although he persevered for two more years, he was plagued by anxiety every semester when tuition payment came due. On more than one occasion he traveled to San Jose to await the delivery of funds from home. "I waited till the stage arrived," he recorded in 1862, "but I was disappointed, nothing was sent."[95] The following year the United States Supreme Court confirmed his family's title to Rancho San Leandro, but squatter counter claims kept them in court, consumed their savings and plunged the clan ever deeper into debt. "The family owes now one hundred and seven thousand dollars at interest," he sadly noted in 1864.[96] The collapse of his brother's investment in mines in Nevada led him to write, "José Ramon, the poor fellow is almost ruined, both in constitution and in health."[97] No longer able to afford schooling, Jesús María, on the eve of his twentieth birthday, withdrew at the end of the spring term. "I will never recall happier and sweeter days than my College time," he wrote.[98] "If at this moment I was asked, 'Would you like to go back to Santa Clara? Here, take five hundred dollars,' I would not hesitate for a moment, but would this very day start; but alas! fare thee well long-loved spot."[99]

Estudillo's failure to graduate was not unusual. Few *californios* remained long enough to take the bachelor's degree; but neither did a majority of all pupils who attended the institution. For most nineteenth-century students, a college diploma was a luxury; education for more utilitarian purposes was a necessity. In other ways, however, Estudillo was atypical. He certainly did not represent the majority of young *californios*. His family's ability to pay $350 in room, board, and tuition at Santa Clara marked it as a member of an elite minority. Even after the advent of United States control of California, "among the poor segment of the populace, both male and female, illiteracy remained the rule."[100] Estudillo's birth into a propertied family only four years before the American conquest had also guaranteed that he was to some extent both bilingual and bicultural even before enrolling at Santa Clara.

Although *californios* found much that was familiar at the college, it is not apparent that the Jesuits deliberately strove to preserve the local culture of those who came to them for schooling. Indeed, the opposite seems to have been the case. Santa Clara, like the church itself, was a "prime mover for acculturation."[101] With the notable exception of religious practice, young *californios*—like the foreign-born faculty itself—were encouraged and helped to adjust to the dominant Anglo-American way of doing things. Parental intentions reinforced that approach, and the subsequent careers of Jesús María Estudillo and many of his contemporaries demonstrated its success.

Lack of data makes generalizations about the young *californios'* vocational pursuits difficult, but some patterns are discernible. The number who became involved in local politics is striking and supports the conclusion that in post-conquest California "a prestigious Spanish surname (especially when combined with a Caucasian face) remained a good entree into public office."[102] Jesús María Estudillo was in 1873 nominated county clerk of Alameda County. His cousin José de Guadalupe Estudillo served as state treasurer of California from 1875 to 1880. Few Hispanic alumni were more politically influential than Reginaldo del Valle. After leaving the college in 1873, he passed the bar, was elected assemblyman and then state senator from Santa Barbara, and served "on countless governmental boards and civil committees until his death in 1938."[103] Careers in business or the professions were not uncommon. Ignacio Malarin became a

Napoleon Vallejo, above, a classmate and contemporary of Estudillo, was the youngest son of a prominent *californio*, General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. After graduation, Napoleon and his wife lived in Oakland and San Francisco. Among his final projects were the study of California history and the completion of an unpublished biography of his famous father. *Courtesy Wolter Collection, Santa Clara University Archives.*

money broker in San Francisco; Plutarco Vallejo was a well-known mining engineer; and Napoleon Vallejo tried his hand at many occupations—farmer, liquor salesman, landscape artist, and finally historian and biographer of his famous father. Ygnacio Villegas worked for many years as telegrapher, bookkeeper, and then as agent for Wells Fargo. Although many *californios*, like Estudillo, were impoverished by losing their estates to squatters, some succeeded where the majority failed. Alfredo Bandini, Gomesindo Pacheco, and Miguel Pedrorena inherited family ranchos, where they lived comfortably. Few were as fortunate as James Watson of the Watson-Domínguez clan. "Befitting his training at Santa Clara College," he became the leading businessman in a family whose southern California holdings were developed into large corporations that today control oil wells, factories, and shopping malls.[104]

Jesús María Estudillo's accomplishments were more modest and probably more representative. After leaving college he briefly studied law, managed for a while the Spanish correspondence of a local hardware firm, and then for the last twenty-five years of his life, served as bookkeeper for the Southern Pacific Railroad. Perhaps nothing better symbolized his assimilation into the mainstream than his marriage. Like an increasing number of *californio* men of his generation, he took an Anglo bride. And this young man, who had refused to talk to Protestant girls and had been angered by his sister's marriage to a non-Catholic, married a Methodist divorcee.[105]

The story of Estudillo and Santa Clara College's other Spanish-speaking students is informative for many reasons. It broadens our understanding of *californio* culture, which has for too long been dominated by accounts of the careers of landowners, politicians, and bandits. Descriptions of the experiences of teenagers in the post-1848 period are especially rare. Estudillo's story also fills a gap in the state's educational history by shedding light on Hispanic schooling—whose full account remains yet to be written—and it underscores the key role that private institutions played in the academic culture of nineteenth-century California. The experience of Santa Clara's Spanish-speakers also reaffirms the importance of religion in the lives of post-conquest *californios*. The popularity of the college reflected the affinity between Hispanic Catholics and the church, "the most sacred institution in the lives of many Mexicans," to use Albert Camarillo's phrase.[106] The college attracted Hispanics both because it was Catholic and because it offered bilingual instruction. Operated by Italian priests who were themselves newcomers to the United States, it also fostered forms of piety familiar to Latin Catholics. A bridge between change and continuity, Santa Clara College thus provided a relatively familiar environment and a safe haven in which young *californios* could make the difficult transition from pre- to post-conquest culture.

See notes beginning on page 401.

Gerald McKevitt is Associate Professor of History at Santa Clara University. He has published on a variety of topics on western history in the Pacific Historical Review, *the* Western Historical Quarterly, *the* Southern California Quarterly, *and other journals. He is now writing a book about Italian Jesuits in the American West.*

William James at Stanford

by Linda Simon

On January 1, 1906, William James was closeted in the compartment of a Santa Fe Railway train, making his way to the Pacific Coast. A few days before, he had left Cambridge, Massachusetts, eagerly anticipating the trip west and a five-month stay at Stanford University. It was not his first trip to the West—he had visited eight years earlier—but it would be his longest stay; and he was to be much more than a visitor this time. In fact, he was to take a position as acting head of Stanford's Philosophy Department, a role that reflected both his own reputation and the precarious state of academic life at the fourteen-year-old university.

Shortly after his arrival at Stanford, James turned sixty-four. He was, in 1906, the foremost philosopher and psychologist in America—"It was James first and no second," said his former student, John Dewey. His *Principles of Psychology* and *Varieties of Religious Experience* had established him as an innovator who was creating, almost single-handedly, an original American philosophy. That philosophy celebrated pluralism and pragmatism, two terms that James made household words in the intellectual households of America.

James, however, was not content with speaking only to academics. His articles in popular journals and his frequent lectures brought his ideas, rendered easily intelligible by lively anecdotes and wit, to a wide audience. For James, being a popularizer was a laudable talent; he looked for that talent in his colleagues and in those students he recommended for teaching positions. Unless they could convey their ideas to those outside of the erudite circles of philosophers, what good were they?

Now James was on leave from Harvard, where he had taught, in one capacity or another, for more than three decades, and where his students included Theodore Roosevelt, Gertrude Stein, John Dewey, and Walter Lippmann. His students hailed him as a modern man for the modern world, vigorous ("strenuous" was a favorite adjective of the day) and eager for new experiences. "To be educated, for him," said one of his students, "was to keep the mind in action, not to fit oneself into a frame."[1] His teaching style was as refreshing for his students as were his ideas. Unlike other professors, who stood at a lectern and read from their notes, James often preferred to sit on his desk or even to lie on the floor if necessary. He was forthright, colloquial, even—said his colleague George Santayana, ever sensitive to lapses in elegance—racy. His very presence was an inspiration. "Is life worth living?" Gertrude Stein asked. "Yes, a thousand times yes when the world still holds such spirits as Prof. James."[2] This "great mind," as she referred to him in her notebooks, was able to respond to her own originality and her need for personal and intellectual liberation. He encouraged her never to "reject anything. Nothing has been proved. If you reject anything, that is the beginning of the end as an intellectual." "Complicate your life as much as you please," he told her, "it has got to simplify."[3]

Joyously confronting the complexities of the twentieth century, James managed to formulate a vision of life that was not threatened by change, impermanence, or indeterminacy. Rare among his contemporaries, he managed to make a fertile transition from the nineteenth century's penchant for wholeness and stability to the twentieth-century world of unpredictability and rapid change. He

Alice and William James, ca. 1905, shortly before James accepted a brief appointment as visiting professor at Stanford University. *Courtesy The Houghton Library, Harvard University, and Alexander James, Glandore, County Cork, Ireland.*

easily relinquished the abiding creeds of his time: the idea of unity and the philosophical rationalism that required an abstract and logical universe. James stood firmly rooted in his own reality, and when old ways of thinking failed him, he changed his mind. Where some of his contemporaries, most notably Henry Adams, lapsed into despondency at a world that seemed hopelessly shattered, James remained high-spirited. He rejected the idea of unity for pluralism: not one, ultimate, transcendental reality, but many possible views of the world, depending on the beholder's eye and mind. James, in many ways a gracious Victorian gentleman, was in fact a revolutionary in his acceptance of new possibilities of vision and action.

In early 1906, he was bringing his message to students at Stanford, but he had been lured not so much by the chance to affect young minds in a new context as by the persistent pleas of David Starr Jordan, the college's president, who hoped that James could help to energize the campus.

When James arrived, Stanford was a young school, just beginning to establish itself as a major institution. It had been founded by Leland and Jane Lathrop Stanford as a memorial to their only son, Leland Stanford, Jr., who had died at fifteen in Italy during a family vacation. Stanford maintained that the idea for the college came to him in a dream shortly after his son's death, in which he saw the boy beside him, speaking to him. When he awoke, his grief seemed suddenly abated: "The children of California shall be our children," he told his wife. She agreed, and as soon as they returned to America, the two set off to visit colleges, seeking advice for their project. Harvard's president, Charles William Eliot, warned them that they needed an endowment of no less than five million dollars. At this news, Eliot reported later, Mrs. Stanford "looked grave," but after a few moments Leland Stanford smiled. "Well, Jane, we could manage that, couldn't we?" he asked.[4] His wife nodded, knowing that they had already set aside thirty million for the school. Within the year an endowment was established, the land granted, and the plans drawn. In 1887, when their son would have been nineteen, Leland Stanford Junior College was on its way to becoming a reality.

Stanford himself did not profess expertise in educational pedagogy, but he knew what he wanted. As former governor of California and president of the Central Pacific and Southern Pacific Railway companies, he had met scores of young college graduates whose professional skills were minimal and whose future contributions to the world of politics and business—the "practical life," as Stanford called it—were doubtful. Seeing the problem as a fault of the colleges, Stanford vowed that his would be different. "If I thought the university was to be only like the others in this country," he declared, "I had better have given the money to some existing institution." Unlike Johns Hopkins or Harvard, both of which he had visited in his search for a model, his school would emphasize professional training. It would be a place, he said, where "every useful art is to be taught: the arts of making shoes and clothes, or printing, carving, telegraphy, stenography, no less but rather more than the arts of music and painting and sculpture. . . ." "It is one of the first objects of the school," Stanford announced, "to teach that labor is respectable and honorable, and that idleness is not."[5]

Only Cornell seemed close to Stanford's ideal for a college, and as he set about recruiting a staff, he went first to Cornell's former president, Andrew D. White. White declined to join the new school, but suggested a Cornell alumnus who, he thought, might be exactly the man for Stanford.

David Starr Jordan was in his sixth year as president of Indiana State University when the Stanfords went to Bloomington in the spring of 1891 to meet him. An internationally respected ichthyologist, Jordan was an attractive and imposing figure. Tall and broad-shouldered, his physical presence gave him an immediate air of authority. He was a gifted and persuasive speaker, combining the manner of a rousing preacher with the brilliance of an innovative educator. Like Stanford, he valued clean living, social responsibility, and hard work. The

Founding Stanford University president, David Starr Jordan, 1908. Jordan's inevitable announcement to close the university after the earthquake led to the Jameses' early, but not reluctant, return to their home in Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

Stanfords knew immediately that Jordan was the man who could infuse the college with a spirit of success. Within ten minutes they offered him the presidency at the munificent salary of $10,000.

Jordan needed just one night, and a brief talk with his wife, to accept the position. There were, to his mind, two risks: first, California was what he euphemistically called "individualistic," but what others might call barbaric. In the 1890s, it as yet lacked the refinements of the great eastern or midwestern states, and boasted a frontier spirit that bordered, at times, on political anarchy. But more worrisome to Jordan was the stipulation that the college would be "personally conducted" by Stanford himself, a businessman, not an educator, a politician rather than a scholar. Despite these shortcomings, though, Jordan believed that he could exert a palpable influence on the destiny of the college, and at the same time, on the direction of his own career.

Recruiting a staff proved more difficult than the new president had anticipated. The wilds of Palo Alto, far from the intellectual centers of the East, far from the ships that could transport faculty to summer respites in Europe, were not attractive to many of those invited to join the fledgling college. Gradually Jordan managed to assemble a faculty of fifteen young men, none over forty, drawn mostly from Indiana State and other midwestern schools. These would be joined by distinguished visiting professors invited for one or two semesters. William James was one; Thorstein Veblen soon followed. When Stanford's doors opened in October 1891, Jordan was ready to inaugurate a new era in higher education.

For the first two years, Leland Stanford's financial interest in the college ensured the welfare of the new faculty and staff. Then, in 1893, Stanford died of apoplexy brought on, Jordan thought, by the rumor of an imminent financial panic. His wife, who had been his quiet, acquiescent partner, dutifully supervising a staff of seventeen servants and managing considerable household expenses, suddenly and uncomfortably faced a crisis.

The panic indeed had arrived, Stanford's estate was unsettled while his will was being probated, and the university fell into financial straits. Jordan convinced his faculty to remain, even with no hope of immediate pay. Jane Stanford reduced her staff to three, and went east, in her husband's private railroad car, to sell her jewels. When the estate finally was settled, and the university once again on solid financial footing, Jane, relieved, insisted on expansion by erecting new buildings, as if each were a memorial to her dead son and husband. Many faculty members, unfortunately, were not enthusiastic about her emphasis on the physical plant, rather than on their salaries. Jane's interest in the quality of teaching, however, came through her support of visiting professors. It was Jane Stanford, according to Jordan, who especially urged that James be invited to the college.[6]

Jane Stanford, ca. 1905. Following her husband's death in 1893, Mrs. Stanford worked diligently to maintain the university, including attracting visiting scholars such as James to the campus. Mrs. Stanford died in Honolulu, a year before James arrived to teach. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

The negotiations had begun early in 1899, a few months after James had met Jordan during his California visit of 1898. James was flattered: he liked Jordan, and he had liked Stanford. "I have been trying," he replied to Jordan, "ever since I came home, to make my wife consent to our sending my 17-year-old boy there for his first 2—I have ended by knocking it down to his first *one*—college year." There was much to offer a young man, James thought: "I saw potentialities of patriotism in California that I have never known before. The relation of man to that wonderful nature there is so direct. She has been waiting for him all these years and there she stands responsive—the bride, and he the bridegroom. I can imagine a perfect passion!"[7]

But his wife Alice would not allow their son to go. And as for James, he, too, decided to remain at home. He was in fragile health, he explained, too old to take on a rigorous teaching position, too tired to move, too eager to retire and devote himself to writing.

Jordan, however, would not give up. For the next few years he repeated his invitation, complicating the indecision that James felt about ending his teaching career. So strongly did James want the freedom to write that he informed Harvard in 1904 of his plan to resign. President Eliot, a James family friend, refused to accept the resignation. Throughout that year, James's diary reveals his vacillation: leave, stay, resign, don't resign. At the same time, he never flatly refused Jordan, wondering if he might, indeed, go to California for a year, or a term, or perhaps not at all.

In the summer of 1904, he warned Jordan that if he did come to Stanford, it would be on his own terms. He would teach no more than three or four hours a week, no more than four or five months, and would not come for less than $3000. That sum, in relation to college faculty salaries nationwide, was staggering, as both Jordan and James knew. But James knew who he was, and Jordan was willing to make any accommodations to get him to the campus.

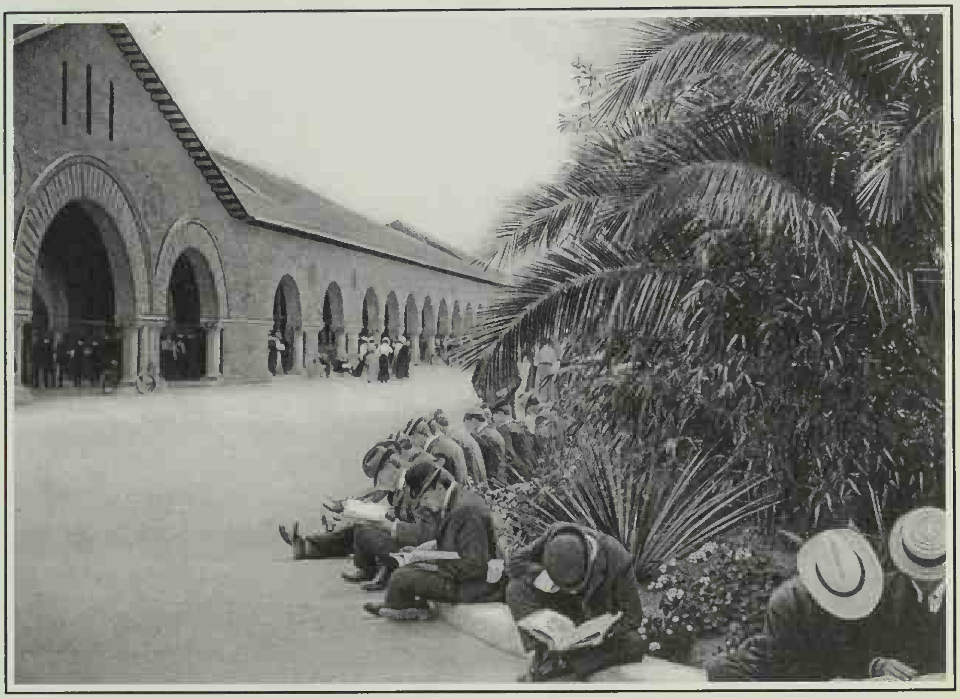
At the same time that he was negotiating with James, Jordan sent a questionnaire to several important universities: Yale, Columbia, Cornell, the University of Chicago, the University of California at Berkeley, and Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. What were faculty salaries and other compensation, he asked the colleges' presidents? Were these salaries adequate to meet faculty needs? What fringe benefits were offered—pensions, for example, or sabbaticals? Most professors, even of James's stature, Jordan found out, earned three or four thousand dollars a year. Only at the University of Chicago, founded by John D. Rockefeller, could the head of a department earn up to $7000, and then for a year's worth of work.

Yet on January 9, 1905, James received a telegram from Jordan offering not $3000, but $5000. James agreed to accept "under certain conditions": first, that he come only in the spring, and even then, he might arrive a week late. He would leave immediately after the semester. He would teach only three hours a week, offering the same introduction to philosophy course that he was giving at Harvard. "This seems a very small amount of service to offer for 5000 dollars," he wrote to Jordan. "But if you can stand it I can; and if you say so, I will regard the affair as settled—subject to interference 'by the act of God or the public enemy.' "[8]

"All very beautiful and promising," James wrote in his diary on January 8, 1906, when he finally arrived in Palo Alto. Then, in the only other entry for the day, he added, "Feel lonely and scared."[9] James missed his wife, who would not be coming for several weeks. He wrote to her almost daily, but she was not there to manage the trivia of his life, protect him from intrusion, and act as his buffer against the assaults of the world. Alice James willingly took on these roles for her husband and their four children, and to all who knew her she seemed content as the mainstay of the family. Bolstered by Alice's faith in him, James found a self-confidence that he could not always muster when he was alone. Despite what George Santayana described as his "brisk . . . intensely masculine" appearance, James, Santayana thought, was deeply insecure. His initial feelings on the California campus reflect this insecurity: although he had taught for many decades, although he had given the same course at Harvard, James doubted his ability to teach at Stanford. And he was, quite simply, scared.

He was also homesick. California was vast and sunny, but somehow empty. "Multiply the Irving Street [Cambridge] circle by 100 or 1000," he wrote to his wife, "throw in the crudest business block, composed mainly of telegraf [*sic*] poles, and you have all California. As for any *past*, you can listen and actually hear the historic silence. It is startling."[10] Within a few weeks, however, despite Alice's absence, James's spirits began to rise. Whether he put into practice the psychological theories that he long had expounded (such as, act cheerful and you will feel cheerful), or whether the work of teaching distracted him from loneliness, his letters, as the month wore on, were less despondent. By early February, in fact, he seemed confident and happy. First of all, Alice was due to come in mid-month; second, his teaching was a success.

After his first lecture to some 450 students and



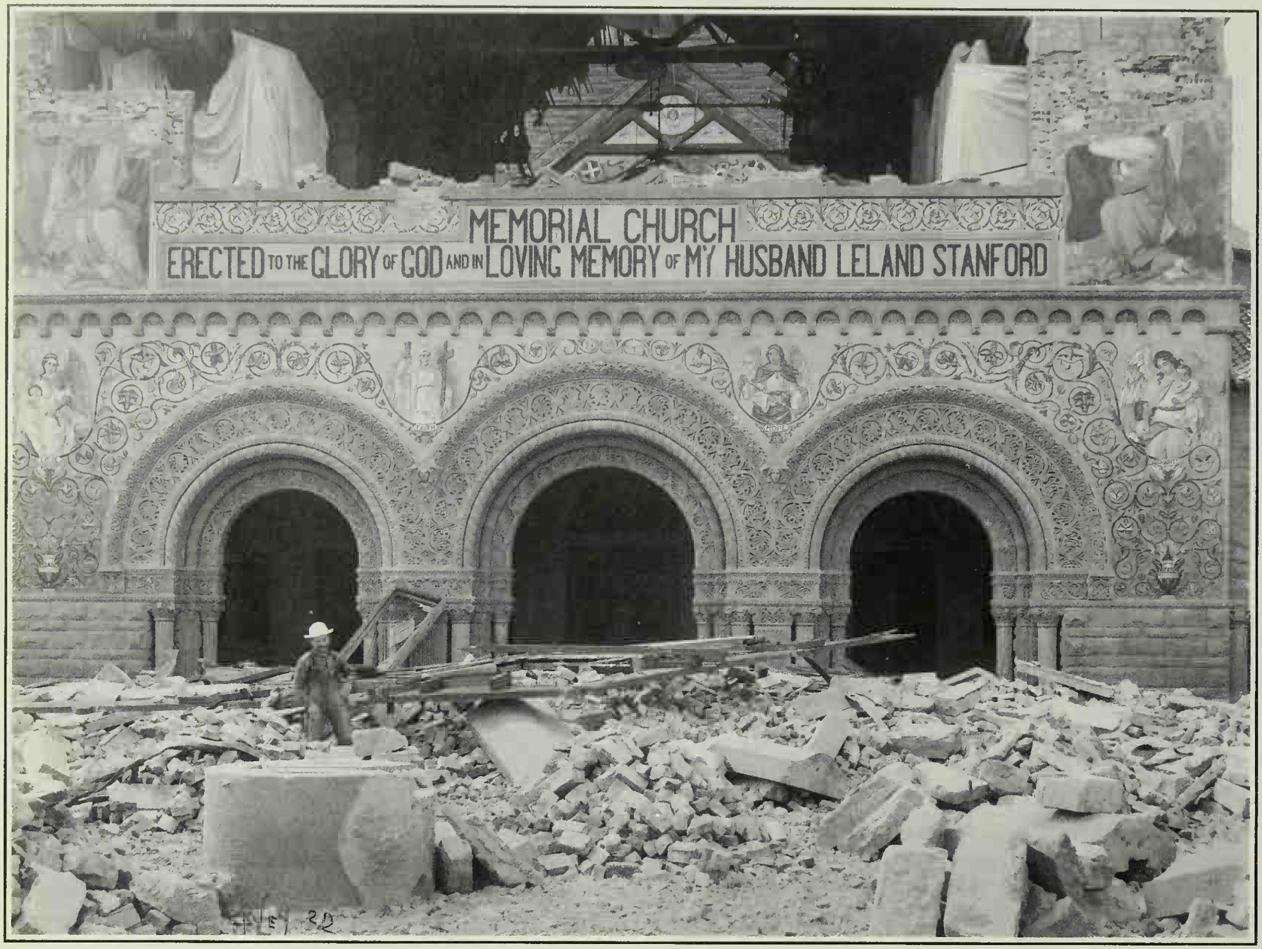
Stanford students studying near the quadrangle, sometime between 1891 and 1902. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

visitors, he reported to his brother Henry: "I take great pains, prepare a printed syllabus, very fully; and really feel for the first time in my life, as if I were lecturing *well*."[11] To fellow philosopher Theodore Flournoy, he extolled "this extraordinary little University," its setting, architecture, and climate. "There couldn't be imagined a better environment for an intellectual man to teach and work in, for 8 or 9 months in the year," he added, "if he were free to spend 3 or 4 months in the crowded centres of civilization. . . ." It was clear to James even by February, however, that there were deep and gnawing problems that could undermine all the potential that he saw in Stanford. "The whole thing *might* be utopian," he wrote to Flournoy; "it *is* only half utopian."[12]

The problem was not the students, although they were different from those he taught at Harvard: simpler, more rustic, yet at the same time, he said, more wholesome. They were puzzled by Philosophy 1A and complained in their "quiz classes," conducted by James's assistant, that James was talking above their heads. They did not know what he meant by such terms as "hypothesis," "analogy," "concept," "abstract," and "concrete." "It's hard to aim too low!" James commented.[13] In first planning the course, he had thought that he was speaking directly to receptive young minds and liberating them from the shackles of their preconceptions. Now he was learning that these students seemed to have no preconceptions, and he had to meet the challenge.

He did so by simplifying the already simplified presentation that formed the basis for Philosophy 1A. His concern was not to induct students into the rarefied atmosphere of past philosophies, but to help them to live in the modern world. Philosophy, he told them, should not be concerned with details, but with bringing "*air* into mind." His course, he said, reaching for a local metaphor, would break up their "caked prejudices—like air and water into adobe soil."[14] To James, the adobe soil was monism and rationalism; the air and water, pluralism.

For James, the idea of one, unified, predetermined world, emanating from a supreme Good and an all-knowing consciousness, contradicted lived experience. "Of our world," he wrote in his syllabus notes for Philosophy 1A, "change seems an essential ingredient. It has a history. There are novelties, struggles, losses, gains. But the world of the Absolute is represented as unchanging, eternal, or 'out of time,' and is foreign to our powers either of apprehension or of appreciation."[15] He wanted a world that he could affect, and he urged his students to think of life "as something really


MEMORIAL CHURCH
ERECTED TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND IN LOVING MEMORY OF MY HUSBAND LELAND STANFORD

Stanford Memorial Church, after the April 1906 earthquake. The façade of Mrs. Stanford's grandiose monument to her husband's memory, completed in 1903, stands amid its own rubble. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

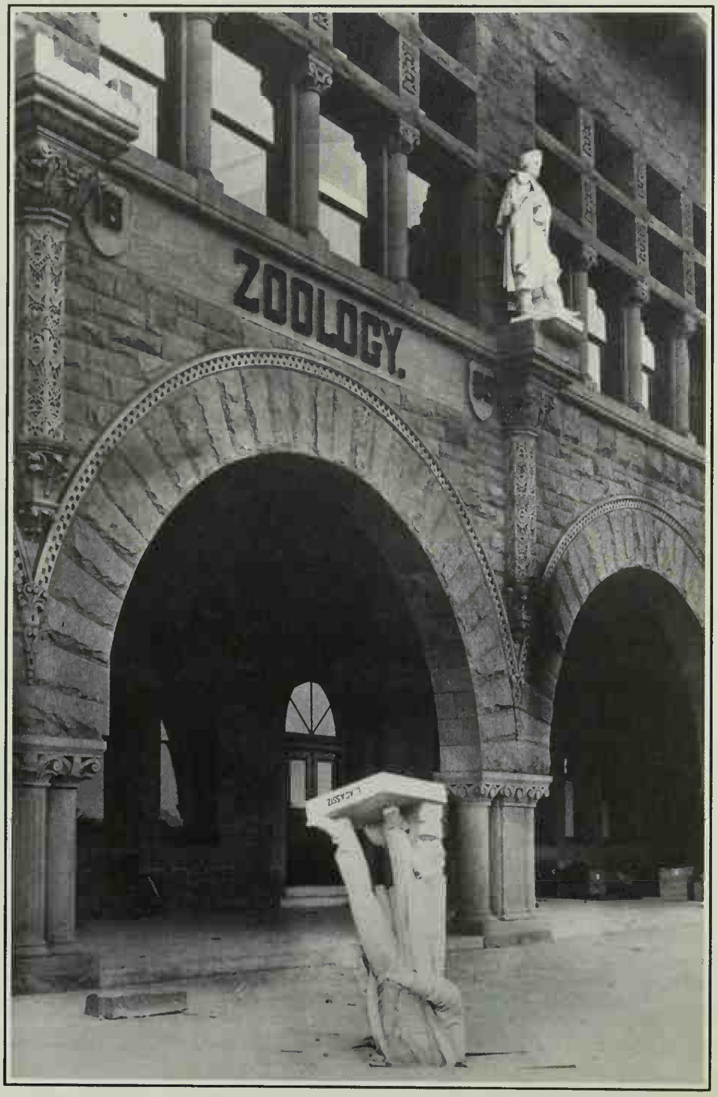
dramatic, with work done, and things decided here and now."[16]

James himself enjoyed a challenge, and he saw at Stanford some essential work to be done if the university were to flourish. Stanford's abiding problem, he confided to friends, colleagues, and Jordan, was its demoralized faculty. Stanford, he wrote to Flournoy, "might . . . easily build up something very distinguished. Instead of which, they pay small sums to young men who chafe at not being able to travel, and whose wives get worn out with domestic drudgery. . . ." "My coming here," he admitted, "is an exception."[17]

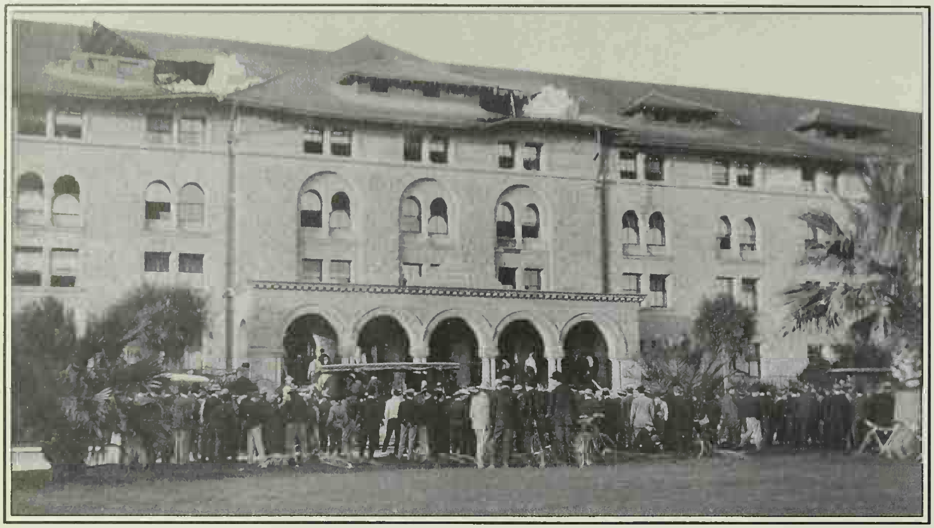
But how could he inspire necessary changes? Speaking privately to Jordan was no solution: as president, Jordan still had to confront a board of trustees that had been selected by Jane Stanford. Even after Jane's death in 1905, their views on university policy remained unaltered. Something earth-shattering needed to occur to awaken the trustees, James decided; and on April 18, 1906, it happened.

At 5:13 on that Wednesday morning Jordan was awakened by several enormous jolts. As he jumped out of bed and ran toward his son's room, the house shook violently and objects from tables, bureaus, and bookcases began to fly through the air. In his home nearby, William James already was awake when suddenly his room began to sway. He gripped the edge of his bed, but the swaying became fiercer, throwing him to the floor. As his bureau crashed beside him, he heard the immense din of furniture falling in other rooms and buildings crumbling outside. It was an earthquake, he realized with great excitement, and it seemed to him, he later wrote to his brother Henry, "absolutely as a permanent Entity that had been holding back its activity all these months, and on this exquisite early morning saying 'nun geht's los!' Now *give* it to them!"[18] James was exhilarated. "*Go* it," he nearly cried, "and go it *stronger*!"[19]

At nine on the seismographic scale, the quake was strong indeed. In forty-eight seconds, much of Stanford had been demolished. The church tower, the Memorial Arch, construction sites at the library and gymnasium, the powerhouse smokestack were now piles of rubble. A statue of Louis Agassiz, the Harvard zoologist who once had taught James and argued against Darwinian evolution, was up-ended, its head buried in a cement sidewalk; "from the abstract into the concrete," someone quipped.[20] Only two of Stanford's fifteen red-tiled, sandstone buildings were left standing; losses were estimated at between three and four million dollars.



The 1906 earthquake's destruction at Stanford was both vast and curious, as illustrated in this photograph of the science building, from which a statue of zoologist Louis Agassiz plunged to the ground. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*



Two Stanford students were killed by falling debris during the 1906 catastrophe. In this photograph, taken shortly after the earthquake, students gather outside the men's dormitory to watch ambulances and medical teams at work. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

Later in the morning Jordan announced what everyone already knew: Stanford would close. While many students and instructors organized relief work in Palo Alto and San Francisco, James chose to use his "idle day" to engage in a project of his own, finally setting down his thoughts about Stanford for Horace Davis, a member of the Board of Trustees who had asked James for his impressions of the university. Perhaps inspired by the physical upheaval around him, James was sharp and blunt.

He was shocked, James wrote to Davis, to find "that there is an amount of disbelief in the wisdom of the governing powers of the University that threatens to ruin everything." While students seemed loyal to the school, faculty most decidedly were not. Nothing persuaded James that the faculty saw anything "morally and intellectually superior" in Stanford; he had "no sense of a distinctive Stanford spirit." Although the faculty often had been asked to make sacrifices on behalf of the school, they were given little in return. Instead, James noted, the trustees "let vague hopes of better pay be aroused, and be annually doomed to disappointment. They inspire, in short, no positive grounds for trust as to the wisdom of their intentions, or their active good will towards the needs of the instructors' lives." And, James added, "I have even heard doubts expressed as to whether they do not actually trade on hopes which they have no serious intention of gratifying."

James was careful to single Jordan out as someone for whom the faculty felt both affection and respect, "but not so the general policy of the institution." Now, with Jane Stanford dead, and especially after the earthquake that destroyed so much evidence of her policies, the trustees, James urged, could make a "radically new departure." And they must act quickly. "Instructors have told me," he confided, "that they have given up all hope for Stanford, and will go elsewhere at the first invitation." If that happened, James said, the university would lose some first-rate teachers and scholars. He advocated nothing less than "*a complete revolution as to the policy of the Campus.*" "I believe," he concluded, " . . . that this earthquake has given the providential 'psychological moment'. . . . San Francisco will probably soon astonish the world by the spirit with which she rises, all the finer, from the earthquake. Why not make of the earthquake the emphatic dividing line between the older or more embryonic, and the newer and more maturely organized Stanford?"[21]

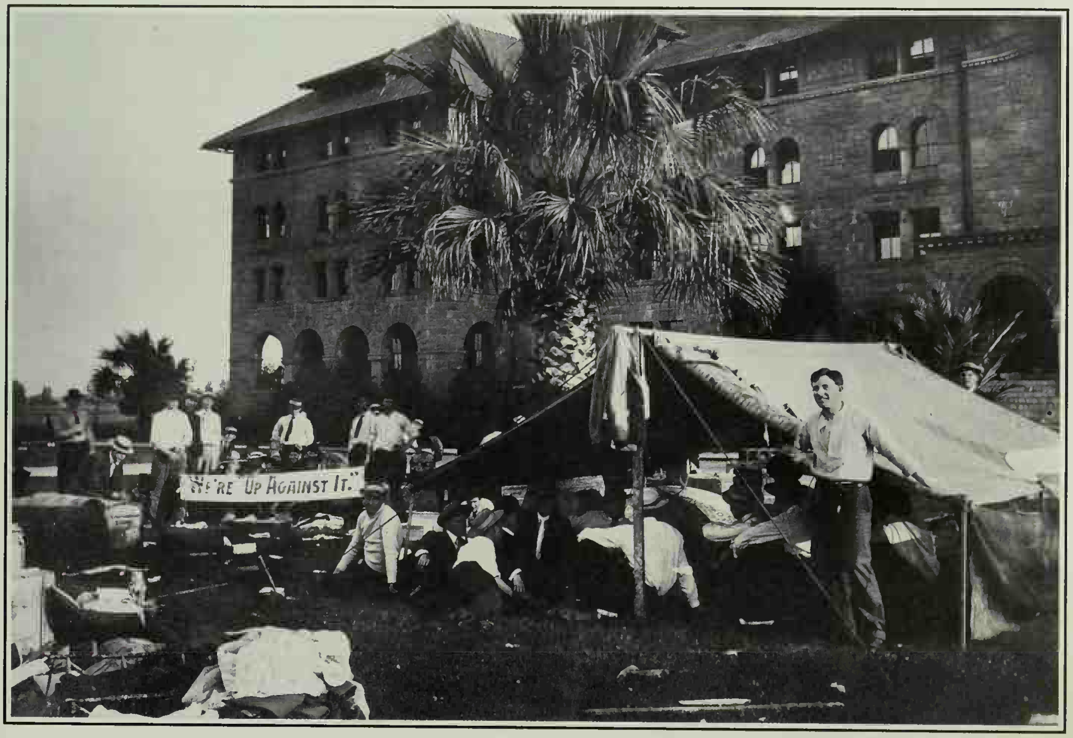
James's letter to Davis proved to be his farewell message to the university. Jordan decided that Stanford would remain closed for the rest of the semester, allowing James to leave much earlier than he expected. Before he left for home, though, he satisfied his curiosity and took one of the few trains running to San Francisco. There, he found great destruction, but also calm and practical efforts at confronting the disaster. He was buoyed by the attitude of the stalwart Californians. "Everyone at San Francisco seemed in a good hearty frame of mind," he wrote to Henry. "There was work for every moment of the day and a kind of uplift in the sense of a 'common lot' that took away the sense of loneliness that (I imagine) gives the sharpest edge to the more usual kind of misfortune that may befall a man. . . . If such a disaster had to happen, somehow, it couldn't have chosen a better place than San Francisco (where everyone knew about camping, and was familiar with the creation of civilization out of the bare ground) and at 5:30 in the morning where few fires were lighted and every one, after a good sleep, was in bed."[22]

Experiencing the earthquake and its aftermath seemed to confirm for James much of what he had theorized throughout his life. "In general," he said, "this experience only rubs in what I have always known, that in battles, sieges, and other great calamities, the pathos and agony is in general solely felt by those at a distance, and although physical pain is suffered most by its immediate victims, those at the *scene of the action* have no *sentimental* suffering whatever."[23] The excitement, he thought, was "almost joyous" and fostered a warm sense of community.

Still, James was glad to be leaving even so thrilling a context as post-quake Stanford. He and Alice managed to make arrangements to leave the next week, and by the beginning of May he was well-settled into his Irving Street home in Cambridge. "I wouldn't have missed this Stanford experience for anything," he wrote from his own desk, "burdensome as it has been, because it has been so *vivid*."[24] CHS

See notes beginning on page 403.

Linda Simon, Director of the Writing Center at Harvard University, is a biographer whose subjects have included Alice B. Toklas, Thornton Wilder, and Lady Margaret Beaufort. Her essays and reviews have appeared in many scholarly and literary journals.


"WE'RE UP AGAINST IT."

After the 1906 earthquake, many Stanford students moved their belongings and camped outside for several days until they could arrange to leave the university, which President Jordan ordered closed in the hours following the disaster. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries.*

HIRAM W. JOHNSON:

The Old Progressive and New Deal Taxation

by Arlene Lazarowitz

About a dozen of the western and midwestern Progressives who came to Washington at the height of the Progressive reform movement remained in Congress during the Depression years. The New Deal gave this informal group, known as "Insurgents," a new opportunity to work toward restoring a balance between the public good and private gain, and to continue their labors against private economic power that remained unrestrained by government.[1] In 1935, ten of the twenty-five Senate Republicans were Progressive supporters of the New Deal. They had long wanted to use the tax system to redress the maldistribution of American wealth, but lacked practical political opportunities until the Roosevelt administration turned its attention in 1934 and 1935 to taxation, attention that eventually culminated in the Revenue Act of 1935, known by its foes as the "Wealth Tax Act." Until recently, the subject of these old Progressives and New Deal taxation policies received little attention from historians.[2]

Hiram W. Johnson, the determined, dynamic, hard-working, contentious, vigorously independent, obstinate, self-righteous, moralistic Progressive Republican senator from California played a major role in what he perceived as a battle against the monied interests and in the campaign for tax reform. One historian's recent assertion that Johnson's claim to fame during the New Deal was his "vitriolic attacks" is without foundation.[3] He helped to focus attention on the need for tax reform and to move the tax legislation of 1935 through the Senate.

Although Johnson was not pleased with Roosevelt's methods and timing in introducing tax legislation in the summer of 1935, he voted for the measure and was pleased with the outcome. Indeed, he was prominent among those senators who circulated a "round robin" promising to remain in session until the bill passed. The tax package gave the Progressives some, although not all, of what they wanted in graduated income taxes. It also signaled a victory in their battle to preserve small, competitive enterprises. But for Johnson, the legislation also meant the beginning of a rift between the Democratic president and the Republican senator that would soon burst into open hostilities. Even though the Democratic administration had done much to ensure that the California Republican would have no opposition in his 1934 reelection campaign, Johnson now began to question the motives, influence, and power of a president for whom he held such high hopes at the start of his first administration. The bitter acrimony that would develop between them was a direct product of the Supreme Court "packing" issue and Johnson's leadership of the intransigent isolationists, as well as a stroke Johnson suffered in 1936. But the split can be seen earlier, on the the tax issue. Roosevelt has perplexed historians with his unwillingness to discuss, verbally or in writing, his full thoughts on issues. Johnson wrote candid, if sometimes self-congratulatory and self-serving, letters to his sons that vividly describe his feelings on the tax matter and toward Roosevelt.

United States Senator Hiram W. Johnson among the columns of the national Capitol Building in Washington, D.C., 1919. In the 1920s and 1930s, the dynamic, contentious, vigorously independent Progressive Republican from California played a major role in what he perceived as a battle against the "monied interests" and in favor of tax reform. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

While he was governor of California, Hiram Johnson signed the legislative bill enacting the infamous Alien Land Law in 1913. Amended, extended, and made more stringent by popular initiative and legislative action in the 1920s, the "Webb Act," as it was called, prohibited ownership of real estate by aliens ineligible for citizenship. Aimed primarily at driving Japanese American farmers from the land, the law reflected the anti-Asian bias of many Californians in that era. Not until 1952 was the law finally struck down as unconstitutional by the state supreme court. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

A prominent Republican politician, Johnson won some national recognition as Theodore Roosevelt's running mate in the 1912 "Bull Moose" campaign. But he was best remembered as the two-term governor of California who successfully remodeled the state's political structure by taking power away from corrupt political machines and taming the excesses of the Southern Pacific Railroad.[4] Elected to the United States Senate in 1916, Johnson carried to Washington an ideological fight against the special interests that he continued until his death in 1945.

The World War I years brought the issues to the forefront for him. Although he voted in the Senate for a declaration of war, he knew that the war would hinder the advancement of Progressive era socio-economic reforms. Not only would the funds and national attention that had been directed at social improvements be diverted to the war effort, but vast fortunes would be made by some war materials suppliers, while other citizens would suffer. Johnson's demand for legislation to reduce the huge war profits of Dupont Powder Works, Bethlehem Steel, and United States Steel got nowhere. His proposal for an eighty percent war profits tax ran into violent opposition and was defeated by a vote of 62 to 17.[5] Some of his fellow senators were, in Johnson's eyes, "dollar patriots, who so vociferously shout for the blood of the land but who nevertheless believe war to be a period when great profits should be made by a few."[6] It disgusted him that those who urged caution and hesitation in defending property rights on the issue of a war profits tax had not been cautious and hesitant in calling for war. In an emotional speech to the Senate, he asked, "wait, what; for what?" As he perceived it, his fellow senators had "not hesitated to break hearts and to break bodies and to send men up against the gun and scatter them to the four corners of the earth."[7] For Johnson, it was an uncomplicated matter: those "who coin the blood of war" and "who make swollen war profits" should pay for the cost of the war. For this old Progressive, the war spelled the end of the "old individualistic democracy of the past."[8] In the 1930s, Johnson would direct his attention against those who continued to amass wealth during the Depression while the majority were destitute. He was consistently distrustful of business, whose "code" he described during the war as "to lie, to misrepresent, to take false positions and bear false witness, to cheat, to defraud, to hurt and harm and ruin, when profitable."[9]

Johnson became part of an independent and often sanctimonious group of insurgent Progressives who opposed concentrations of economic and political power. He had a reputation for throwing himself passionately into any cause he believed in or against anything he hated. He made strong friends and enemies, engendered deep loyalties

Hiram Johnson outside the National Capitol with William E. Borah, the fellow Insurgent Progressive senator and sometimes Johnson ally from Idaho. The two disagreed, however, over issues of personality, World War I peace policy, and leadership of reform movements. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

and bitter hatreds. He was emotional, sensitive, temperamental, and known for flashes of anger, but he was also courageous, incorruptible, and public-spirited. He prided himself on being among "the outlanders, pariahs, outcasts," the price he believed necessary to be a courageous champion of the public good.[10] In later years, the nervousness and irritability would erupt as a litany of physical ailments that he often recounted to his sons. Yet the old Progressive zeal for protecting the people against the special interests never dimmed in Johnson.

The sharp personal conflicts, extraordinary individualism, ambition, competitiveness, and intolerance of opposition that was characteristic of some of the Progressives was unmistakable in Johnson.[11] He had few friends in the Senate, even among his fellow Progressives. In fact, he counted some of them, including Senator William Borah of Idaho, with whom he broke over the issue of a separate treaty with Germany at the end of World War I, among his enemies. There was an element of jealousy here. Johnson believed that, as his own popularity and prestige declined, Borah's increased to the point where he had become "the biggest figure in the Senate, by far." He later noted Borah's "egregious vanity and overwhelming conceit." Above all, he blamed Borah for not assuming responsibility for leading the reform movements of the 1920s.[12] It is likely that the maverick Johnson would not have followed the leadership of any Progressive. The one major exception was his twenty-two-year relationship and friendship with Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, an equally self-righteous, individualistic, ambitious, and irascible westerner. The fact that Wheeler was a Democrat made little difference. Together they battled

Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, shown here in 1924 with his wife at their suburban Washington, D.C., home, remained Johnson's long-standing friend in adversity and a co-agitant against favors for the wealthy. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

against special favors for the wealthy throughout the 1920s and in favor of most of the early New Deal programs.[13]

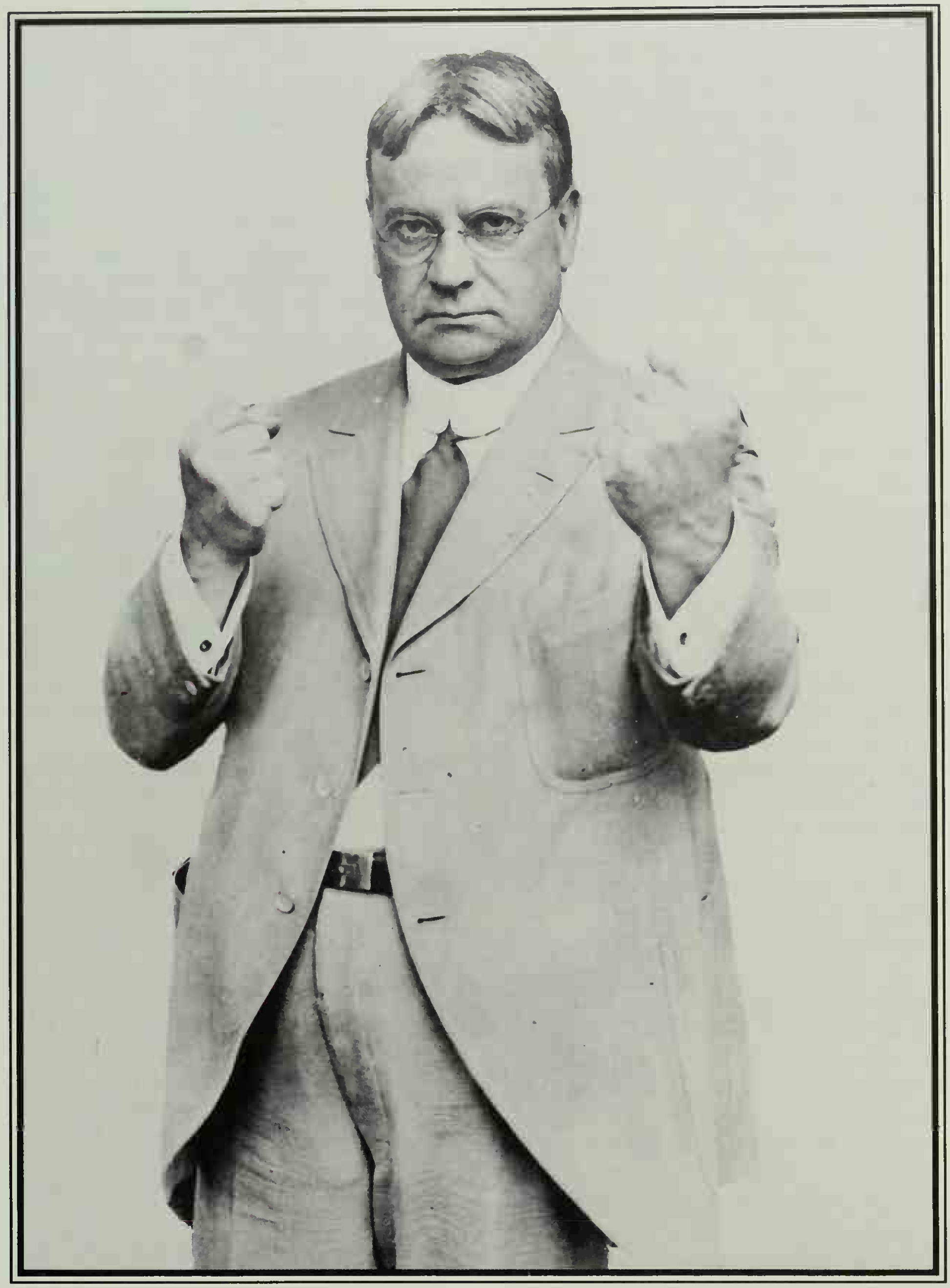
Throughout the 1920s, Johnson railed against a tax system that rewarded the wealthy.[14] The 1921 tax bill, he complained, was "written with a single purpose of mitigating the woes of the very rich, and of making up from the middle class what is lost from letting the very rich escape taxation."[15] But in particular, he directed his anger several years later at Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon's tax plan to lower taxes for the wealthy, which he deemed "the sheerest bunk" designed to reduce taxes for those "most able to pay taxes."[16] He told his fellow Senators that "the first desideratum of the Mellon plan was to aid those incomes which are very high." Johnson engaged in a bit of hyperbole himself when he asserted that the Coolidge administration's propaganda in favor of the plan was such that had "never before been seen in the United States."[17] The Mellon plan proposed cutting the surtax from 50 percent on incomes $200,000 and over to 25 percent on incomes of $100,000 or over. Enacted into law in 1924, the measure set the maximum surtax at 40 percent, and also increased the estate tax and imposed a new gift tax. Despite Johnson's pessimism about his lack of influence, the tax laws of 1921 and 1924, which fell short of Treasury Secretary Mellon's requests, were partly the result of the influence of the insurgent Republicans. Indeed, Johnson constantly supported the rewriting the tax bill had to go through in order to please the Progressives.[18]

As for his fellow Progressives, Johnson was pessimistic. He was uncharitable toward his old adversary, Senator Borah, for supporting the tax reduction plan. He observed that "our fellows here have lived too long in political luxury" and complained that "ease and comfort have them flabby." He was particularly embittered by those "who once call[ed] themselves Progressives . . . who can be corrupted with a breakfast at the White House or an overnight trip upon the [presidential yacht] *Mayflower*." These "fair-weather Progressives" had "little sense of guardianship of the people's rights and no courage either to safeguard or maintain them."[19] Actually, the matter was not that simple. The Progressives had pressed for changes that irritated the Coolidge administration.[20] At the same time, though, Johnson was proud of his association with the "recalcitrants" who were "in a position at any time to raise Cain."

With the onset of the Depression after 1929, Johnson intensified his hostile criticism of New York bankers, upon whom he laid blame for much of the economic distress, and whom he hoped to punish for their activities. It would, he predicted, "allay the present fear and restore the confidence of our people if the whole Wall Street crew is neck and crock thrown into the streets."[21] Senator Johnson's anger at the "crookedness" of big business grew as the Depression worsened. He insisted that "whenever you delve into their hidden practices, it is like exhibiting maggots in turning over an apparently polished stone."[22] Along with other Insurgent Progressives, he became increasingly disenchanted with President Herbert Hoover's handling of the crisis.[23] For a while, Johnson was considered a serious challenge to Hoover for the Republican nomination in 1932, but he concluded that concerted action by the highly individualistic Progressive wing of the party was probably impossible. The campaign would be too costly, he was too old, and Hoover had the power within the party to renominate himself.[24] In 1932, Johnson, loath to back Hoover's reelection bid, promoted the charismatic Democratic standard-bearer and rode the campaign trail for Roosevelt from mid-October to election day. In retaliation, the "Old Guard" Republicans, still irritated with Johnson for his role decades earlier in organizing the Progressive Party in California, made a futile attempt to drive him out of the party.[25]

Johnson saw in Roosevelt a kindred spirit, a fellow enemy of the "Power Trust" who had enemies in the Alfred E. Smith wing of the Democratic Party, which Johnson equated with big business.[26] The opposition of many of these interests to Roosevelt endeared the Democrat to him, since Johnson maintained that business interests believed "in the right to exploit government for their own selfish advantage."[27]

Roosevelt offered Johnson the cabinet post of secretary of the Interior, a job Johnson declined for fear it would compromise the independence he prized "more highly than anything."[28] It is unclear whether Roosevelt wanted to gain political points with the Progressive Republican or whether he wanted him in an important position in his administration.[29] Whatever Roosevelt's motives might have been in cultivating Johnson's goodwill, Johnson was adamant that he would remain independent. He was "delighted to render any assistance . . . and to go forward in behalf of the presidential program," but only as long as it did not violate his own "fundamental ideas." If the



Senator Hiram Johnson, pictured in November 1931 in a characteristic pugnacious pose. This photo was widely published after Johnson made news by advising President Herbert Hoover, who was seen by many as ineffective in solving the problems of the Great Depression, not to run for reelection in 1932. Often referred to in the news media as "the two-fisted progressive Republican" and "the poor candidate" (because he was opposed by "the moneyed interest"), Johnson was at first considered a leading contender for Republican nomination for the presidency in the 1932 election. Johnson decided not to run, however, and instead, when the Republicans nominated Hoover for reelection, the California senator campaigned for the charismatic Democrat, Franklin D. Roosevelt, who seemed to Johnson to embody the old Progressive ideals. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

choice came between "the welfare of the country, on the one hand, and the presidential program or policy upon the other," there would "be no question" as to his choice.[30] Johnson prided himself on being a "bloc of one."[31] Nevertheless, he did leave an early 1933 meeting with Roosevelt, convinced that the president-elect was "genial, kindly, and sympathetic."[32]

Although he was customarily jealous of the freedom of the Senate, Johnson hoped the new president "would have his program ready, present it with a bang, and if he believed in it, shove it through at all hazards."[33] He was not to be disappointed. Shortly after the energetic new president took office in March 1933 and launched his extraordinary series of "Hundred Days" measures, Johnson wrote that there was "something fine in the way he has taken hold of matters." Whether or not the president blundered "in a particular measure or a specific policy" was insignificant. Roosevelt had "the guts to go on and do as he thought he ought to do." He displayed an energy Johnson little suspected and a capacity for work he had never seen. Johnson was effusive. It was impossible for him to describe to his sons "the change in the atmosphere here or the sort of government which now obtains for the moment." With a remarkable sense of optimism and hope in the darkest days of the depression, he prophesied that "we're nearer our philosophy of government than we have ever been in my lifetime in this nation."[34] He wrote Roosevelt that he was proud of the president's achievements and "wholehearted devotion to his great purposes," and promised to do his "small part" to serve.[35]

President Roosevelt had set the tone. Unwilling to wait for president action on taxation, Progressives busily introduced legislation that was invariably defeated by their conservative colleagues on the grounds that the proposals were too radical.[36] They made no secret of their disappointment that the Democrats ignored tax reform. The Depression, they believed, necessitated augmenting consumer purchasing power through a taxation system that redistributed wealth and provided increased revenues to finance federal relief programs without deficit spending.[37]

In the spring of 1934, Johnson voted for an amendment put forward by Republican Senator James Couzens of Michigan that would have increased income taxes by ten percent. When the measure passed the Senate, Johnson's steadfast concern for a more equitable tax system drew the heated wrath of William Randolph Hearst, the wealthy, eccentric publisher of a chain of newspapers, including the San Francisco *Examiner* and four other newspapers in California. In a series of intemperate editorials in April 1934, often printed in bold-faced type that fairly leaped out at the reader, Hearst lambasted the Senate for "passing a measure designed to do nothing less than to tax taxes." He likened it to "bleeding a man for his loss of blood, or shooting him for being shot."[38] A few weeks later, Hearst protested that the Congress had "dedicated itself to the foolhardy proposition of soaking the thrifty" and was guilty of "muddleheadedness . . . in the saddle." Business recovery would be handicapped, Hearst lamented, "as long as the nitwits and ignoramuses are in the majority in Congress." In the fall elections, Hearst called on the people to "replace the economic illiterates in Congress with men of intelligence and integrity who have a genuine understanding of the business and social needs of the United States."[39] Although Johnson believed in the taxation issue, he was, as one historian has noted, "first and foremost a politician."[40] The editorials sent Johnson into a frenzy of anger at Hearst's accusations and of fear for his political future in an election year. He thought Hearst "in a small and rotten business pillorying the best there is in the membership of the Senate upon a matter which we were absolutely right and where he was acting from the most selfish and sordid motives."[41]

Within a few days, Johnson's suspicious nature took over, and he imagined he observed "a policy of suppression" of anything relating to his candidacy in Hearst's San Francisco newspaper, which was usually one of his strongest backers. What use, Johnson wondered, could this be put to "by every lousy interest sheet in California." John Francis Neylan, Hearst's legal advisor and a longtime Johnson friend, tried to mediate the disagreement, trying to reassure the senator that the Hearst press had not altered its policy toward him. Johnson recounted to his son that Neylan advised him to "keep my shirt on."[42] In fact, Johnson had no reason for concern. He ran unopposed in the 1934 campaign. Roosevelt so desired Johnson's support for his programs that he ensured there would be no Democratic Party opposition.[43]

The relationship between Roosevelt and Johnson remained warm until Johnson recoiled at what he perceived as Roosevelt's attempts to increase his power and influence beginning in 1935. In 1933, he had described the president as "kindly, considerate, and generous" toward him. While there was some disagreement over policies, Johnson

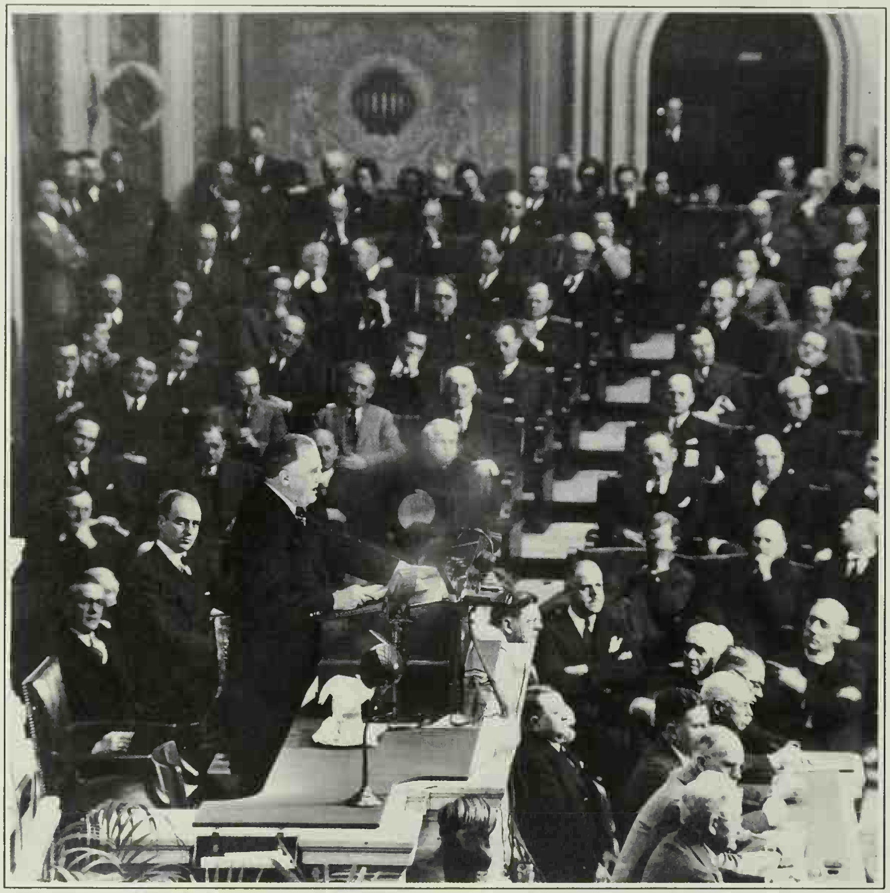
President Franklin D. Roosevelt late in his first year in office. By early 1933, Hiram Johnson felt Roosevelt "had the guts to go on and do as he thought he ought to do." *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

had for the president "the greatest admiration and respect."[44] Johnson and other Progressive senators were often guests at the White House for informal policy and social chats that gave them a chance to present their views. Johnson was present at a White House dinner in May 1935, at which several Insurgent senators impressed on the president the need to take a firm stand on Progressive policies, including taxation.[45]

Yet like other Progressives, Johnson was suspicious of concentrations of power, even in the hands of a liberal president. Added to this was his own innate cynicism. When congressional Democrats made an unsuccessful attempt to augment Roosevelt's presidential powers in 1933, Johnson wrote that he feared the country was "much closer to a sort of dictatorship . . . than we have been during any of our lives."[46] These fears appeared to Johnson to be justified during Roosevelt's first term. Early in 1934, Johnson wrote that Roosevelt was "sitting on top of the world," a position he compared to Woodrow Wilson's triumphant trip to Europe following the end of hostilities in World War I, a time when Johnson worked actively against ratification of the fruits of that trip, the League of Nations. Johnson observed that "thus far, this sort of thing has not occurred with Roosevelt, but it is his future difficulty."[47] Slowly, with his distrustful disposition, Johnson began to detect other worrisome qualities in the president. A year later, he complained that Roosevelt was "not quite sure of himself, and that his plans for the future are wholly nebulous and inchoate."[48] A week later, he regretted that, while he retained his "high regard" for Roosevelt, he feared the government was "in a mess" and he worried about Roosevelt's knowledge of his course.[49] He went on to describe Roosevelt as "an exceeding shrewd and cunning politican with all that attaches to the word in its basest implications."[50] The normally wary side of the Johnson temperament had taken hold. Two months later, Roosevelt sent a major tax proposal to Congress.

Did the Roosevelt administration share the Progressive aim of using the taxing power as a social measure to redistribute wealth and attack monopoly? Much of the tax issue is opaque, with vast differences between the administration's rhetoric and its real intentions. Roosevelt, moreover, was an enigmatic figure, who often gave different impressions to different people. After a private meeting with the president, Johnson once noted that there were "some things that are in his head, which, in small degree, he is disclosing, but the important part of which he keeps undisclosed."[51]

Roosevelt's June 1935 tax proposal to Congress emerged against a background of the Depression, the government's need for additional revenues, complex political pressures, and the real inequities of the existing tax system. With varying degrees of emphasis, historians point to a myriad of specific reasons: the desire of some administration supporters for anti-trust and graduated tax measures; pressure from the Treasury Department for higher overall tax revenues; disapproval by some administration people of big business concentrations; resentment of business criticisms of New Deal programs; Roosevelt's political desire to outmaneuver or even "steal the thunder from the left" of Huey Long's "share-the-wealth" plan; the more class-conscious spirit of 1935 New Deal programs; the Supreme Court's invalidation of the National Recovery Administration; the liberal gains in the 1934 elections; the growing popularity around the country of several radical social justice movements; the alienation of business-oriented presidential advisors like Raymond Moley; Roosevelt's need to offset the Senate Insurgent bloc's protests against his



President Roosevelt delivering his State of the Union address to Congress, January 3, 1935. Although the president assured Congress at this time that he was not considering new taxes that year, his unexpected June 1935 tax proposal called for taxation to be used as a weapon for social policy, encouraging the Insurgent Progressives and stunning conservatives. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

tax policies; and the somewhat improved economic conditions that eased fears that tax hikes might harm the economy.[52]

Roosevelt shocked political observers in June 1935 when he brought forward the tax proposal that Treasury Secretary Henry Morganthau, Jr., had suggested in 1934, and which Roosevelt had then tabled as premature.[53] In his annual message to Congress the previous January, Roosevelt had declared that he "did not consider it advisable at this time to propose any new or additional taxes for the fiscal year 1936."[54] Indeed, even twelve days before delivering the tax message to Congress, he had told reporters that he had not "thought of taxes or looked at taxes for a month."[55]

The June 1935 message, with its call for taxation to be used as a weapon of social policy, was so replete with language long associated with the Insurgent Progressives that it startled conservatives. While basing his argument on the twin principles that government should use taxes to "produce ample revenues without discouraging enterprise" and that "it must distribute the burden of taxes equitably," Roosevelt concentrated his attention on the second principle. To this end, he suggested an inheritance tax to prevent "the perpetuation of great and undesirable concentrations of control in a relatively few individuals over the employment and welfare of many, many others." The corporate tax satisfied the liberal demand that "the vast concentrations of capital should be ready to carry burdens commensurate with their power and advantages." And a higher surtax on individual incomes over $1 million was proper, the president concluded, because these incomes derived partly "because of the opportunities for advantages which Government itself contributes."[56]

Roosevelt's tax message aroused striking opposition by those antagonistic to the notion of using taxation to redistribute wealth and limit corporate size. Indeed, the tax bill was the most divisive congressional issue of Roosevelt's first term.[57] Raymond Moley, a major architect of early New Deal pro-business economic legislation, disliked the tax proposal as "an attempt to put over dubious social reforms in the guise of tax legislation." Indeed, Moley, who had initially helped draft the bill, succeeded in excluding a Treasury proposal for a tax on undistributed corporate profits and for a limit on the range of the corporate income tax.[58]

Yet, for all its strong language, Roosevelt's speech imparted an ambiguous message. It was delivered in June, near the end of the legislative session. Did the president mean it to be a series of suggestions for later enactment, or did he want a tax bill on his desk before the summer recess?[59] In fact, he told Morgenthau that he did not know if he would take the lead in advancing the proposal. The Morgenthau diaries include this interesting conversation between the two men at a luncheon in June: "Mr. President," Morgenthau asked, "just strictly between the two of us, do you or do you not want your Inheritance Tax program passed at this session?" "Strictly between the two of us," Roosevelt replied, "I do not know, I am on an hourly basis and the situation changes almost momentarily."[60] Unsurprisingly, Hiram Johnson, already wary of the use of presidential authority, would speculate that Roosevelt had ulterior motives for surprising Congress with such complex tax legislation at the end of the session.

Other Progressives, however, were more concerned with taking advantage of the opportunity to pass a tax measure in this session. They built upon the teamwork that these individualistic senators had been able to form by the late 1920s.[61] Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., the fervent Wisconsin Progressive, now saw an opportunity to collect enough money to redistribute income truly.[62] At a hastily called luncheon meeting, Johnson, along with LaFollette, Borah, and Senator George W. Norris of Nebraska, devised a plan to use the inheritance and corporate tax issue to test Roosevelt's sincerity, and thus a means of determining whether or not Republican Progressives would support him in the 1936 election.[63] Johnson helped LaFollette, the bill's most ardent supporter, to get twenty-two senators to sign a "round robin," pledging to remain in session until action was taken on the president's tax program. LaFollette was determined to "keep Congress here all summer if necessary." Presumably on behalf of the round robin signers, LaFollette threatened to obstruct passage of an excise tax resolution unless the Senate leadership pledged not to adjourn until a tax bill was passed.[64] The swift response caught the president and the congressional leadership by surprise. In part because of the pressure from these Progressives, Roosevelt met with the congressional leadership and urged them to pass the bill immediately.[65]

This persuasion produced some results. The House Ways and Means Committee recommended an inheritance tax, and the Senate Finance Committee broke precedent to recommend increases in estate and gift taxes.[66] After much political maneuvering and amidst cries that Roosevelt was trying to rush Congress, the 1935 Revenue Act emerged a month after it was introduced in the House, with its overwhelming Democratic majority.

The act, while raising the ire of those with large fortunes, did not include many of the president's original suggestions, such as his proposal for an inheritance tax or his recommendation for a constitutional amendment to eliminate the exemption of interest on state and municipal securities. But the law did satisfy the administration's demand for a graduated corporate tax, a tax on intercorporate dividends, a considerable increase in the estate and gift tax rates, an increase in surtax rates on incomes over $50,000, and a raise on the top surtax rates on individual incomes from 59 to 75 percent. There was certainly enough here to anger those in the higher tax brackets.[67] As Congress tried to rewrite the measure to raise revenue, it emptied the bill of much of its social content without making it an effective means of raising money.[68] Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., a recent student of New Deal taxation, argues energetically that the New Deal tax system did not elevate those at the bottom of the American economy. He contends that the Revenue Act of 1935 made a pretense of using personal income taxation to redistribute wealth, but actually

The U.S. Capitol, 1920. *Courtesy Library of Congress.*

collected too little revenue to supply any significant relief for those with the lowest incomes.[69] The reform is important, however, not solely in what it actually did, but what it portended for the future.[70] And there is little evidence that radical income redistribution was politically possible.

Whatever its shortcomings, the act did represent a philosophical triumph for the Progressives. Schlesinger terms it "the first document of the Second New Deal" because of its explicit commitment to small competitive enterprise.[71] This idea of using tax policy to curtail monopolization and attack the accompanying concentrations of wealth dates back to the Wilson administration. The Progressives were pleased with the president's initiative, which they interpreted to mean that Roosevelt had finally recognized the combination of big business and high finance as the enemy. Yet they were also disturbed by the resultant increase in government power.[72] Hiram Johnson shared these sentiments.

His suspicions of Roosevelt's motives continued to haunt Johnson throughout the deliberations over the 1935 tax plan. Even with his support for the "round robin" and his vote and support for the final measure, he thought the president "really kicked his foot" trying to "bludgeon" the bill "through in two or three days without either preparation or study, or knowledge of detail." Johnson began to have "the feeling of uncertainty concerning him."[73] He felt that if the president persisted, he would doubtless have his way, "but at the cost of a great deal of dissatisfaction, irritation, and grumbling." Johnson's fear of concentrated political power seems the only plausible explanation for his dismay, since Roosevelt had given in to Progressive demands for taxation reform. Although surely not an excuse for Johnson's actions, the oppressively humid Washington summer heat that legislators sought to escape as soon as possible only served to make him more fretful. Johnson, whose letters to his sons are filled with cranky detailed complaints about the Washington climate before efficient air conditioners, griped that "the so-called cooling plant of the Senate chamber had gone cockeyed." Some, he wrote to his son, had "a dirty suspicion that it was inefficiently run in order to put the heat upon the Senate."[74]

From the very beginning of his political career, Hiram Johnson strove to curtail the power of the wealthy. His support for significant New Deal tax measures in 1935 was the logical culmination of this commitment. The debilitating stroke he suffered the following summer, however, altered his personality, accentuating his suspicious side, and heightening the fears of Roosevelt's quest for power that were already present during the tax debate. Johnson's role in backing creative legislation was over. He grew more consistently anti-New Deal than the other Insurgent Progressive senators, and his relationship with Roosevelt soured. He refused repeated requests from the president and his emissaries to campaign for, or at least endorse, Roosevelt's 1936 reelection bid.[75] Roosevelt's resounding 1936 landslide frightened Johnson, who shuddered at the thought of the president using his new mandate to increase his power at the same time that Congress was unwilling to oppose him.[76] In February 1937, Johnson broke dramatically with Roosevelt over the Supreme Court reorganization bill, and he soon became a leader of the Senate isolationists who opposed the country's increasing entanglement in the developing second world war. By the late 1930s, the Roosevelt-Johnson relationship, which had developed from mutual respect to distrust on Johnson's part, was permanently severed. CHS

See notes beginning on page 403.

Arlene Lazarowitz is a lecturer in history at California State University, Long Beach and Fullerton, and author of Years in Exile: The Liberal Democrats, 1950-1959 *(New York: Garland Press, 1988). Her current research projects include a theoretical analysis of presidential political scandals and bureaucratic politics and the U.S. military.*

The Political Response to Urban Growth:

SACRAMENTO AND MAYOR MARSHALL R. BEARD, 1863-1914

by William E. Mahan

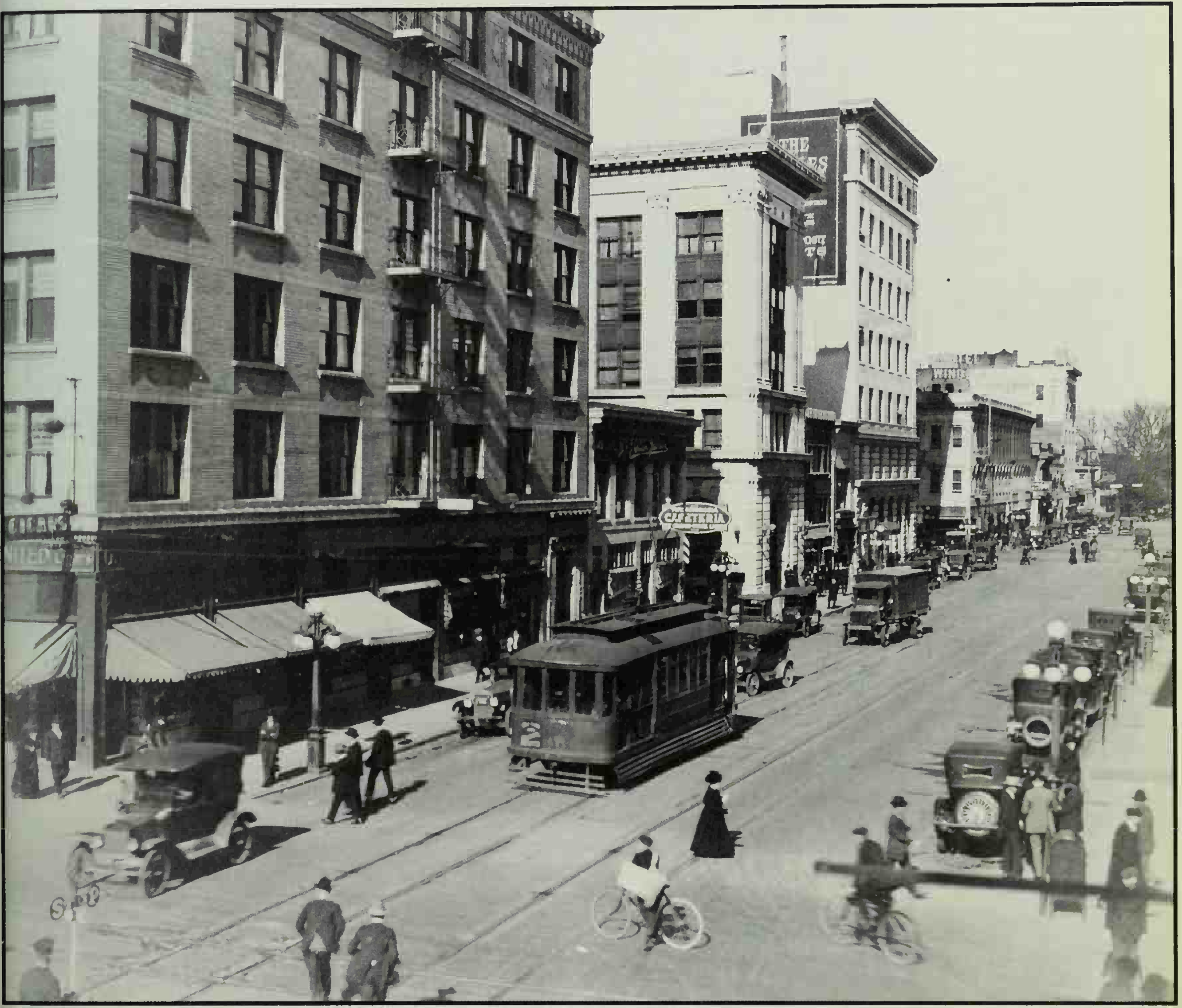
Most Californians live in cities and have become accustomed to the political, economic, and social problems that seem to be an inevitable part of modern city life. But for earlier generations, particularly between the end of the Civil War and the beginning of World War I, the adjustment to city life was much more difficult because urbanites had not yet developed solutions for the unique problems created by the combination of accelerated growth and industrialization. During that period, between 1863 and 1914, California cities made a transition from the rural villages characteristic of early America into modern industrial and commercial cities. The challenges that earlier Californians faced were not simply familiar problems on an increased scale, but the emergence of entirely new problems including alienation, powerlessness, social stratification, and injustice. Their responses have had a profound and lasting effect upon the character of modern California cities.

The urban problem-solvers who emerged by 1914 are frequently lumped together under the label "reformers." Although that term is widely used, historians have vigorously debated the identity, the motives, and the achievements of reformers. Were they native-born males or were immigrants and women also significant? Was their goal simply to find practical solutions for community problems, or were they driven by the fear that they were losing their hard-won social status and political power? Did their achievements include making city government professional and efficient, or did the reformers create an elitist bureaucracy, responsive to powerful special interests?[1]

Some of the urban politicians who emerged during the late nineteenth century abused their power. Reformers liked to label them "bosses," a term that is just as controversial as "reformers." Many historians now argue that strong leaders such as bosses were necessary, "a positive response to the structural weakness of urban government and to the disordered conditions of the industrial city" or "a necessary fixture in the hectic world of American urban politics a century ago."[2] But others would agree with John A. Garraty: "Despite their welfare work and popularity, most bosses were essentially thieves. Efforts to romanticize them as the Robin Hoods of industrial society grossly distort the facts."[3]

The development of Sacramento during the period before World War I offers a useful example of how California's political leaders responded to rapid urban growth. Sacramento's growth generated problems common to all California cities, and it contained a representative variety of conflicting interest groups. But its manageable numbers and compact area (in 1910 less than 50,000 people and 5 square miles) provide the historian with a less tumultuous, more focused view of the participants, their motives, and their achievements than San Francisco or Los Angeles.

If Sacramento is seen as an example of rapid urbanization in California, then Marshall Rowles Beard may be representative of the politicians who emerged to solve urban problems. When he died in 1913, one local paper commented that "In the political life of Sacramento County there is probably no better known man than Marshall R. Beard."[4] He was often charged with being a boss, as were many of the politicians who dominated the growing cities of that era. But with the perspective of time and with more relevant documents readily available for researchers, Marshall Beard appears to be neither crusader nor crook. Instead, he merits a designation that should, perhaps, be more widely applied: public servant.[5]



Modernized Sacramento, 1912, as viewed at the corner of J and 8th streets in 1912. Political leadership, such as that provided by Marshall Beard, was one of the factors enabling the city to make the transition from a rural village (pictured in an 1860s photograph later in this article) to a major urban center. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

Sacramento, J and 6th streets, in the 1860s. When Marshall Beard arrived in 1871, the chaos of the Gold Rush had subsided, but the city remained an important commercial and transportation center, as well as the state capital. Sacramento, however, still bore the marks of its origin as a country village. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

For Sacramentans in 1863, the fevered chaos of the Gold Rush years was but a memory. The thousands of miners, and the thousands who had exploited them, had been mostly transients, just passing through. After the Gold Rush, Sacramento became a service center for Central Valley farmers, a host for the amateurish, part-time state government, and the hub of regional commerce and transportation. Between home, work, market, and church, people walked. Among an intimate club of city leaders, daily face-to-face contacts encouraged close personal relationships. Most of those leaders were native-born white businessmen who shared the same traditional American middle-class values: respectability, thrift, hard work, self-confidence, and optimism. Their government experience was limited to small rural villages. Mark Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Collis P. Huntington, not yet a "Big Four," were examples of that leadership.[6]

In 1863, Sacramento's leaders had adopted a new city charter carefully crafted to give their ideals of equality and economic opportunity the highest priority. The 1863 charter provided for a government by three trustees elected by the voters at-large. The three-year terms were staggered so that one trustee would be elected each year. Each had a separate area of responsibility; one administered the police force, another supervised streets, and the third directed the operation of the water system.[7] Other city needs, like fire-fighting, were met by volunteers.

It was to that relatively prosperous and stable town that Marshall R. Beard migrated from Michigan in 1871. His parents were immigrants from England, but he was born in Detroit on November 20, 1844.[8] He was an experienced accountant and found work immediately with Sacramento's largest book and stationery supplier, the H.S. Crocker Company, located in the heart of the compact business district. In 1876, as evidence of a commitment to his newly adopted home, Beard added his name to the list of registered voters.[9] In 1880 he started his own business, Beard and Company, Books and Stationery, one of nine such shops in Sacramento.[10] Evidently his business prospered; a few years later, he advertised his store as "The Most Complete Stationery House in Sacramento."[11] When the city board of trustees offered him the full-time position of superintendent of city schools in 1886, he seized the opportunity to participate in city leadership and served for two terms.[12]

His interests and abilities were far-ranging. A group of culturally-oriented Sacramentans started *Themis*, an eight-page weekly newspaper featuring literary and political criticism, and Marshall Beard volunteered to serve as business manager from 1889 to 1894.[13] He joined Sacramento's social clubs: the Masons, the Shriners, the Red Men, and the Bohemian Club, and was known as "one of the best story tellers in the city . . . a lover of music and a fine musician himself." His specialty was stringed instruments, and he was reputed to be gifted with "perfect pitch."[14]

While Marshall Beard developed experience as a community leader, he watched the city grow and change. The population steadily increased from 16,283 residents in 1870 to 21,420 in 1880, 26,368 in 1890, 29,282 in 1900, and 44,696 in 1910, primarily as a result of industrialization.[15] For example, when the transcontinental railroad, under construction between 1863 and 1869, made Sacramento its construction headquarters, the city attracted thousands of skilled and unskilled workers. Once the tracks were linked, the Central Pacific Railroad located its largest shops for equipment building, maintenance, and repair near Sacramento's riverfront. From that point, where hundreds of steamboats made regular stops, railroad lines radiated outward, siphoning raw materials, finished products, customers, and workers from every region of northern California into Sacramento.

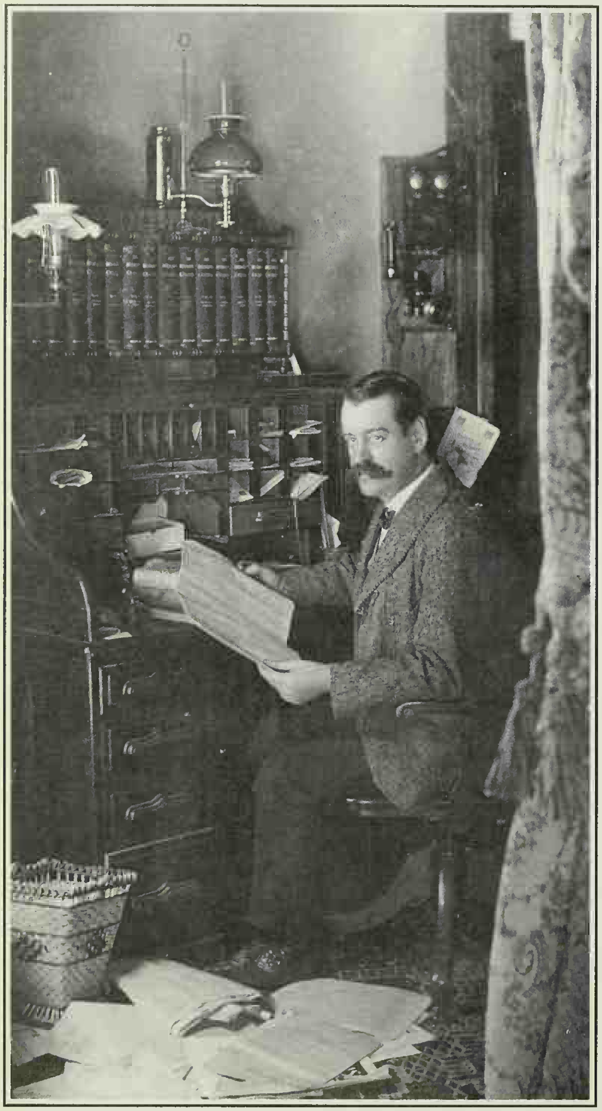
Industries that needed cheap, efficient transportation services also moved into the city. A county history published in 1880 alphabetically listed 55 different industries in Sacramento, from "artificial limbs" to "yeast cakes."[16] Typical of the new industries attracted by the railroad were canneries. Technological improvements within the industry made processing Central Valley fruits and vegetables more cost-effective, and the railroad's low shipping costs made canneries in Sacramento profitable. In 1882, the Capitol Packing Company at Front and K streets employed 400 workers to pack asparagus and salmon into cans for rail shipment. By 1910, the industry giants, California Packing Corporation and Libby's, had been organized, and each had established a major plant in Sacramento.[17]

Industrialization stimulated inventions, and inventions meant new industries for Sacramento. Cheap, flexible steel rails led to the construction of several horse-drawn street railroads after 1870. Electricity made possible telephone and electric lighting companies. Those conveniences proved so popular and profitable that in 1895 Sacramentans built the largest hydroelectric power plant in the world in nearby Folsom to provide more power for more industries and to create even more jobs.[18]

Sacramento Mayor Marshall Rowles Beard.
Courtesy Robert M. Beard.

Inevitably, industrial development and population growth created a bewildering array of new problems that overwhelmed the essentially rural government established under the old city charter of 1863. In fact, some of Sacramento's leaders used the new streetcars to move their experience, their education, and their taxable property into the suburbs, where they could escape the problems that they had helped to create. And into the central city moved the newcomers: inexperienced, poor, lacking any property to be taxed, and frustrated by their powerlessness. In 1880, 7,048 Sacramentans, one out of three, were foreign-born.[19]

Popular inventions that made life so much more convenient intensified the urban crisis. Flush toilets for the masses required an entirely new sewer system. New street railroads required much more expensive street surfacing and cleaning. As Sacramento businessmen faced the certainty of property tax increases, population statistics showed that, for all its advances, the city was actually falling



C.K. McClatchy, publisher-editor of the Sacramento *Bee*, a progressive and persistent critic of Mayor Beard. *Courtesy Eleanor McClatchy Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

behind its competitors. It had placed fifty-ninth among American cities in 1860, but it ranked only one-hundred-thirty-ninth in 1900.[20] Particularly disturbing to Sacramento's business and political leaders was the relative decline of the city compared to its nearby rival, San Francisco. In 1860 the population of San Francisco was only three times larger than the River City, but by 1910, Sacramento's 44,696 looked puny next to San Francisco's 416,912. To add insult to injury, the Central Pacific Railroad (soon to be renamed the Southern Pacific Railroad) moved its headquarters to San Francisco in 1873. When the railroad giants, Huntington, Hopkins, Stanford, and Crocker, took their money and power out of Sacramento, many feared that the city was doomed to become a helpless colony of the bay metropolis. Sacramento's relative decline and its failure to resolve its problems were blamed in part on the charter of 1863, which had created a government appropriate only for a rural village. A consensus emerged among the city's leaders; the problems were getting worse and the local government had failed. The *Sacramento Bee* was specific: "There is no directing hand to the concern [city government], but three separate and distinct heads, each bobbing his own way at his own sweet will . . . a rag, tag, and bob-tailed burlesque."[21] A more efficient government, with power and responsibility centralized as in the modern business corporation, required a new city charter.

California's State Constitution allowed new charters to be proposed to voters only after they were prepared by fifteen duly-elected "Freeholders." In October 1891, the Sacramento City Board of Trustees nominated fifteen well-known local business leaders typified by lawyer-industrialist Clinton L. White and department store magnate Harrison Weinstock, most of whom were approved by the voters on December 7, 1891.[22] The freeholders submitted their proposal to Sacramento's citizens for their consideration in March 1892.

The *Sacramento Bee* immediately established a pattern for debate designed to polarize the community as sharply as possible. "The 'gang' is out battling against" the new charter, the paper charged. On election day, "young Bart Cavanaugh took a day off from his duties as Water Collector for the city . . . dragging from the slums every purchaseable loafer in town" to the polls, including "bartenders."[23] On the other side, the *Bee* maintained, "respectable" citizens and—the "substantial business element" of the community were generally in favor of the new charter.[24] On May 17, 1892, voters approved the charter by a margin of 1578 to 741, and following state legislative approval, the new city government began operations in 1893.[25]

Sacramento's Charter of 1893 was similar to instruments of government being adopted by other equally-troubled cities. It reflected the views of intellectual reformers like Cornell University President Andrew White, who insisted that "a city is a corporation [and] . . . it should be managed as a piece of property by those who have created it and who have title to it."[26] In 1894, J. P. Morgan and Cornelius Vanderbilt, comfortable with such ideas, supported a movement to strengthen the power of New York City's mayor in order to encourage more businesslike efficiency and economy.[27] If a city's problems were to be resolved, then, many felt that, just as in American corporate structure, the chief administrator needed the power to act decisively.

The Sacramento Charter of 1893 gave the mayor the authority to run the city, with the assistance of a legislative board of trustees, and he would be well-paid (originally $3000 per year), as befit his responsibility. Sacramentans were still deeply committed to the ideal of egalitarian democracy, so the city was divided into nine wards, with voters in each ward electing their own ward trustee and their own member of the city board of education. But those officials served only part-time, and were empowered to act only when their respective boards met and were able to agree. The mayor, however, was expected to work at running the city full-time: "The Mayor, by and with the consent of the Board of Trustees, shall appoint all officers of the city whose election or appointment is not otherwise provided for in this charter or by law."[28] Thus, after 1893, the mayor could appoint the mayor's clerk, chief of police, all fifteen regular police officers and eighteen resident police officers, city surveyor, superintendent of streets, fire chief, all regular firemen, superintendent of cemeteries, and all employees of the city water works. The mayor could appoint some city employees without board of trustees action, including temporary employees for maintenance of the city streets and cemetery.[29]

Businessmen in Sacramento were probably pleased with their businesslike city government. To enable them to continue to pool their talents, Mayor B. U. Steinman called a public meeting on July 12, 1895, to discuss proposals to form a chamber of commerce. Before the year ended, the chamber had chosen its first president, prominent hardware merchant and Republican Party leader Joseph Steffens, and had agreed on its goals: "to maintain and foster the trade, economic interests and commerce of Sacramento, to encourage home manufacture; to aid in securing a market for them, to promote irrigation and the subdivision of our land."[30]

Such ambitious objectives required more than volunteers. The chamber hired a part-time secretary to coordinate the meetings and to execute its decisions. Marshall Beard was chosen for the job in late 1900. His tasks were an index of the concerns and prejudices of the Sacramento businessmen. Beard prepared exhibits of local industry for the chamber offices; with Congressman DeVries, he lobbied to bring a government small arms factory to town; he attended an anti-Chinese convention in San Francisco that sent a memorial to Congress asking for an end to the immigration of "cheap Chinese labor." The chamber rewarded his efficiency with pay raises.[31]

But Sacramento's economy still relied heavily on the Southern Pacific, the only major railroad with access into the River City. For local workers, the SP was the city's largest employer; for small businessmen, the company's rate structure fixed the transportation costs that determined whether the year would end with a profit or loss; for landholders, the railroad could siphon settlers toward Sacramento or into competing regions. As secretary of the chamber of commerce, Marshall Beard learned the value of close cooperation with the company. He convinced the railroad to distribute folders that he wrote advertising the Sacramento Valley to "colonists."[32] He traveled to the Ogden, Utah, junction to create an advertising display at the SP depot there encouraging immigrants to continue on to Sacramento. He also negotiated an agreement with the railroad that established a commuter line to a new suburb in nearby Fair Oaks.[33]

For members and employees of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce, a knowledge of local politics was essential, and Sacramento's political realities were not difficult to grasp. Wards One through Four were all in the city's west end, along the riverfront and close to the railroad shops. These were the neighborhoods where the poorest workers lived, many of them single men who rented rooms in lodging houses. The votes of those lodgers could well decide an election. The *Sacramento Bee* sent a reporter to interview William May, an owner of such a lodging house. "Well, you see, a good many of my lodgers make their home address and have their mail sent here," May reported. "When they are in town they sleep here, but most of the time they are working out in the county, on ranches, or at some other sort of job." The *Bee* reporter

Central Pacific Railroad (later renamed the Southern Pacific) workers in Sacramento's Machine Shop No. 2, ca. 1876. After the late 1860s, railroad employees formed a major segment of the city's population and electorate. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

persisted: "Do they all come back on election day?" Mr. May was evasive: "I don't know. . . . I don't keep track of my lodgers."[34] Low-rent housing in the west end also attracted the foreign-born workers and their families. From Mexico, for example, came the family of Ernesto Galarza. In 1906, the Galarzas settled in the west end, where the children attended Lincoln School, most of whose students, as Ernesto later wrote, were Japanese, Mexican, Italian, Jewish, Yugoslavian, and Hindu.[35]

Ward Five was a swing ward, not predictable in any election, but wards Six through Nine, in the eastern and southern areas of the city, were newer residential districts with few renters. These were the areas that the *Bee* liked to call the "homes." And, indeed, the area was mostly owner-occupied single-family homes, including what Sacramentans now call the "Governor's Mansion." Originally built by businessman Albert Gallatin, it was purchased by hardware merchant Joseph Steffens, and young Lincoln Steffens lived there. Most residences were far more modest than the Steffens house, but they distinguished the area from the west end.

Republicans and Democrats in Sacramento divided themselves along roughly the same lines as elsewhere in the nation. Local Republican leaders tended to support business growth and Protestant moral-social values. Republican mayors of the city included millionaire hotel owner-philanthropist William Land, undertaker George H. Clark, who speculated in downtown properties, and attorney Clinton L. White, an enthusiastic supporter of Theodore Roosevelt. Trying to end the political dominance Republicans had enjoyed since the Civil War, Democrats sought votes among a more diverse group. In cities like Sacramento, Democrats found supporters among newcomers, Catholics, and the ambitious but frustrated poor.

Two of the most important Democratic Party leaders in Sacramento were Thomas Fox and Edward James Carraghar, whose careers were remarkably similar. Fox was born in the Oak Park district in 1857; Carraghar was born in Sacramento in 1858. In their youth, both delivered newspapers, ran errands, and did odd jobs for local offices. Fox advanced from office boy to a career as executive of the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company, while Carraghar, who lost two fingers working in a flour mill, progressed from short-order cook to the ownership of one of Sacramento's best-known restaurants, the Saddle Rock on Second Street. Both men developed a close relationship with the Southern

Pacific Railroad and its employees. Carraghar's restaurant was in the heart of the working-class west end, and many railroad employees were regular customers. Tom Fox was so sympathetic to the interests of the railroad that he was frequently charged with working locally as its political boss.[36] Fox responded to that charge in 1913 before a U. S. Senate committee that was considering his nomination for postmaster of Sacramento: "Yes, I did work for the Southern Pacific. As a boy of 16 I heated rivets for 10 cents an hour."[37] Carraghar was regularly elected to the city board of trustees, while Fox operated behind the scenes as chairman of the county Democratic Party central committee for thirty years.[38]

City politics at that time was remarkably egalitarian, in part reflecting the high priority of unrestricted economic opportunity in the West. In 1899, Sacramento held a city election that typified the period. Each political party held a local convention to select candidates for local offices. But first, in each of Sacramento's nine wards members of each party held neighborhood caucuses to nominate delegates to their party's convention. Then, a primary election allowed voters of each party to select the delegates to municipal conventions from the lists of candidates nominated. If the voters did not care for the candidates on the ballot, they could write in other nominees. After the primary on

Thomas Fox, Democratic Party leader in Sacramento until his death in 1928. Fox was an executive with the Pacific Mutual Life Insurance Company and served as U.S. Postmaster in Sacramento County. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

Lodging houses in Sacramento's working-class West End district. Established in the decades before 1900, hotels such as these, photographed here in 1938, offered inexpensive shelter to the city's transient population and sometimes were the target of fraudulent voting practices. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

September 26, 1899, the elected delegates met in their separate conventions to select candidates for local offices and to adopt a platform. The Democratic convention had 160 delegates, the Republicans, 256. When the general election was held on November 7, the city's voters could hardly have complained of powerlessness.[39]

By 1890, Marshall Beard and his family had made their permanent home in Sacramento's Ward Eight, in the 1800 block of H Street. After his two terms as city superintendent of schools ended, he made his living as a bookkeeper and for four years as chief deputy to the county assessor. He became more active in partisan politics. A "Reorganized" Democratic Party nominated Beard for county clerk in 1892, but he finished a poor third behind the candidates of the Citizens' Party and the Republicans.[40] In 1893 he held the honorary title of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Reorganized Democracy.[41] In 1899, Beard was elected by Ward Eight Democrats to be one of their delegates at the city's Democratic Party convention, which gave him the nomination to run for city trustee. A Republican Southern-Pacific-controlled newspaper, the *Record-Union*, identified Beard as being "among the more prominent candidates."[42] The Democrats had pledged themselves to a one percent property tax limit, and Beard's accounting experience suggested a financial expertise that strengthened his candidacy.[43] Although his Ward Eight was part of the "homes" district and usually safely Republican, the Republican nominee for trustee in 1899 was young and inexperienced. Beard won by one vote, 368-367, although the Republican Party's candidate for mayor carried the ward by 104 votes.[44] When Beard ran again in 1903, he lost 345-365; a Socialist candidate in his ward won 24 votes and probably cost Beard re-election.[45]

Marshall Beard resigned his position with the chamber of commerce in 1904 to become Sacramento's deputy city auditor and assessor, an appointment made by the newly-elected Democratic mayor.[46] By then, the Democrats had developed a recipe for success: carry the working class wards, reward your friends, and nominate respectable candidates who could neutralize Republican strength in the "homes." With Tom Fox leading the Democratic Party and E. J. Carraghar dominating the city board of trustees, Marshall Beard was nominated and elected mayor in 1905. He defeated the Republican candidate, a respected shop owner named Albert Elkus, 2435 to 2200. Beard carried his own ward, as well as the Third, Fourth, and Fifth, by narrow margins, but he crushed Elkus in the riverfront First and Second Wards, 367 to 230.[47] Although the Democrats had run the city for the previous two years, Marshall Beard showed his independence after the election by promising to fire police officers "unable to properly perform their duties" and to end licensing of "all-night saloons."[48]

By 1907 political reform movements were sweeping across the United States, many of them acknowledging a common hero, Theodore Roosevelt. Republican reformers had won control of the party in California under the banner of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League. Roosevelt's supporters agreed that the country faced a political crisis, that monopolies often abused their power, and that some politicians were corrupt. In Sacramento, monopoly and political corruption had familiar names: the Southern Pacific Railroad and Boss Beard's machine. Mayor Beard's allies in the Democratic Party had given the reformers an issue that seemed to prove their charge that the railroad controlled the party. The Democratic Party majority on the city board of trustees, led by E. J. Carraghar, had blocked the Western Pacific Railroad from entering the town, thus giving the appearance of protecting the monopoly of the Southern Pacific.[49] Sacramento voters were so outraged by the trustees' action that an initiative was forced onto the city ballot. Republican reformers supported the initiative, and the trustees were dealt a resounding and embarrassing defeat. By a margin of 4019 to 172, Sacramento voters awarded the Western Pacific the right to run its tracks right through the center of town.[50]

In 1907, confident Sacramento Republicans nominated Clinton L. White for mayor. White had been born and college-educated in Iowa before coming to Sacramento, where he taught school, studied law, and became a respected member of the local bar.[51] He promised that "if elected, I will not be dominated by anyone, but will be guided solely by a desire to furnish the city an honest, businesslike and progressive administration."[52] Firmly in the camp of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, the *Bee* again unleashed its polarizing campaign rhetoric: "Shall the city continue to be governed by a boss . . . [?] Shall we elect trustees who are mere mouthpieces for a boss . . .?"[53] The Democrats

At the turn of the century, Sacramento's economy still relied heavily on the Southern Pacific Railroad, the city's only railroad and largest employer. Early in his business and political career, Marshall Beard learned the value of close cooperation with the company and its employees. Many of the men in this photograph probably cast their votes regularly for Mayor Beard. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

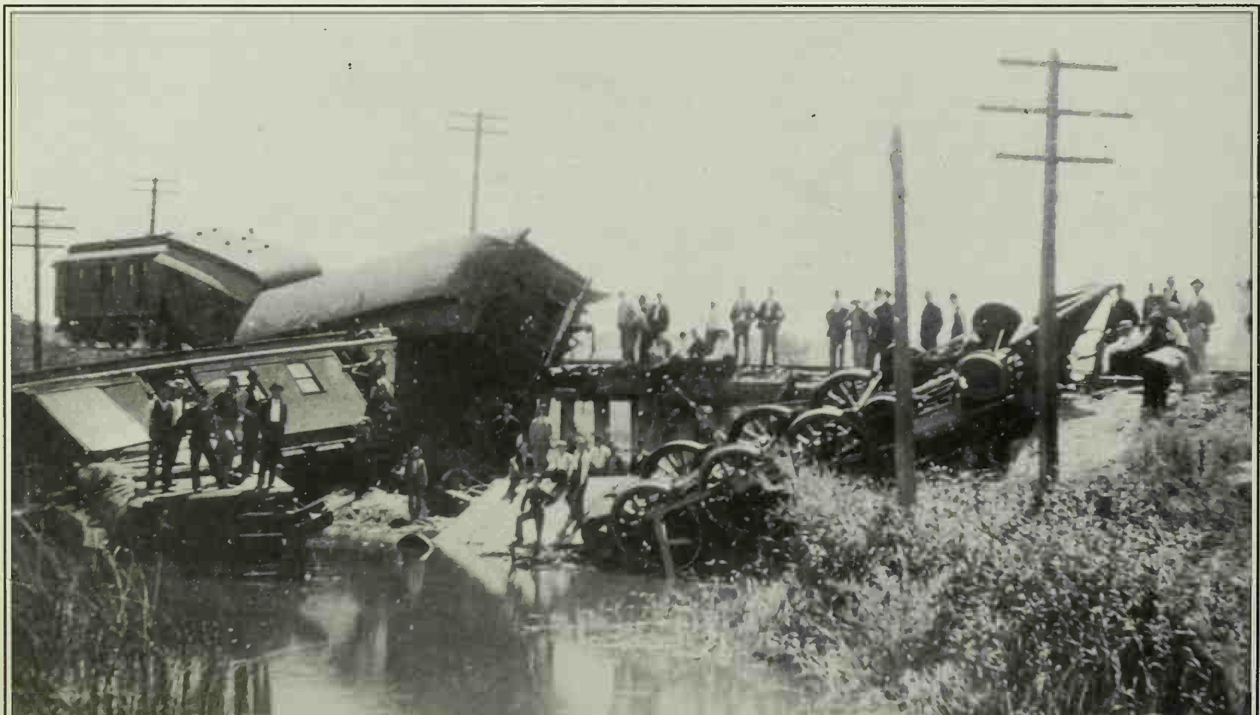
were forced on the defensive, trying to explain their apparent support of the Southern Pacific monopoly. Mayor Beard insisted that it was the trustees, not the mayor who had kept the Western Pacific out of town. "I had nothing to do with that act of the Board of Trustees. . . . All the newspapers of Sacramento are against me . . . but you will find that the newspapers are seldom with the poor man. . . . Nobody bossed me or ever will."[54]

Before election day in 1907, both Sacramento newspapers reported that political agents from Southern Pacific's San Francisco headquarters, including a former railroad shop foreman, had arrived in town to campaign for the Democratic ticket.[55] And on election day, the *Sacramento Bee* complained that "the Southern Pacific foremen are around endeavoring to dragoon the workers in the shops into voting for Beard."[56] When the votes were counted, although Mayor Beard retained the support of the four west end wards by a margin of 1011 to 577, Clinton White was elected mayor with only 115 ballots to spare.[57] After the election, the new mayor commented on his opponents in the west end: "I am going to drive a lot of that class of fellows out of the city." For the *Bee*, this election was "a triumph for right against wrong; for law against lawlessness; for the interests of the people against the grasping clutch of corporate monopoly."[58]

After two years as mayor, White retired from politics and the Republicans picked Chief of Police J. E. Sullivan as their candidate in 1909 to run against Beard. Although Chief Sullivan tried to make control of gambling and prostitution the campaign issue, voters were evidently satisfied with Beard's promises that "I will never stand for anything but a clean town . . . gambling and unlawful practices will not be allowed."[59] And this time, the Democrats had a newspaper's support: the *Sacramento Weekly and Alta California*, which seems to have been created simply to support Democratic candidates. It emerged about a month before the election and disappeared shortly after it.[60] The *Bee* once again raised the issue of Southern Pacific influence, charging that the railroad's foremen were pressuring workers to vote for Beard and that a railroad detective, William Ahern, had been promised the job of chief of police if the Democrats won.[61] But the Republicans lacked the local railroad-building issue that had united them in 1907, and Marshall Beard was once again elected mayor by a margin of 3522 to Sullivan's 2965.[62] The *Bee* did not accept defeat gracefully. It complained that the "homes" district had "upset the calculations of the Sullivan managers by voting heavy for Beard," and that after leading a victory parade to a saloon near his home, Marshall Beard had allowed free drinks to be poured for boys as well as men.[63]

The Republican candidate for mayor in 1911 was a strong supporter of the Lincoln-Roosevelt League, an outspoken reformer and a respected physician in Sacramento. However, during the campaign, he admitted that west end property he owned and rented to Chinese merchants was being used for illegal round-the-clock gambling. Marshall Beard was elected mayor again, but the voters, at the same election, approved a new charter that eliminated the office.[64]

The city charter of 1893 certainly had not resolved the city's problems. In this industrializing and interdependent nation, many of the problems were national, beyond the reach of any local government, no matter how ingeniously designed. During hard times, antiquated city services were overwhelmed by an angry, frustrated



Southern Pacific Overland No. 4, derailed by American Railway Union strikers on July 11, 1894, on the causeway over the Yolo Bypass. Engineer Sam Clark and four soldiers were killed during the incident. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

army of unemployed workers who rode the rails west. Sacramento shopkeepers might be driven into debt or bankruptcy, but local political leaders, no matter how honest, were powerless. And then, during boom years, industrial prosperity attracted hopeful, but desperately poor, immigrants to Sacramento, complicating the city's already serious problems. Although the largest group of foreign-born in Sacramento were from Germany and Ireland in 1900, by 1910 nearly 2500 were Chinese and Japanese, immigrants that many Sacramentans believed were more difficult to assimilate.[65]

The 1893 charter, moreover, did not equip the city to deal effectively with the industrial unrest of the period. The Pullman Strike demonstrated just how helpless Sacramento was in a national labor crisis. The stock market panic of 1893 dramatized an economic collapse that resulted partly from industrial and agricultural overproduction. The Pullman manufacturing company in Chicago reduced wages and cut production, but refused to negotiate with its workers, members of the American Railway Union. The ARU ordered its members all across the country to refuse to move Pullman sleeping cars for American railroads. The 2180 members of the union in Sacramento struck on June 28, 1894, but the Southern Pacific fired every worker who did not return to work on July 2. When law enforcement officials attempted to move trains out of the Sacramento depot, they were physically assaulted by the angry and still united workers. Units of the California National Guard were mobilized, but their sympathies were clearly with the strikers, and they were so unreliable that the national government intervened, calling soldiers and marines from scattered western posts to Sacramento to move the trains. Throughout the conflict, local officials were unable to prevent property damage, riots, and murders associated with the strike.[66]

The Southern Pacific Railroad had become an industrial giant of national, even international, power. It was no longer what it had been in 1863, a local business run out of the small office above the Huntington and Hopkins hardware store on K Street. Instead, by 1894, the SP was controlled from its headquarters in New York and San Francisco by President Collis P. Huntington, who did not consider Sacramento's local welfare either his personal or corporate responsibility. Although most Sacramentans probably sympathized with local workers in their struggle against the railroad's insensitive absentee ownership, the workers were defeated and their union crushed. On July 14, the railroad allowed only employees who would sign a contract agreeing never to join a labor union to return to work. In a struggle against the power and wealth of a modern industrial corporation, workers, local businessmen, even a national labor union were helpless.

Not only were national problems unsolvable by city authority, but the old, nagging local problems also persisted. One of the most enduring was the widespread belief that politicians abused their power. But, if anything, the city charter of 1893, by deliberately centralizing city powers in the office of the mayor, had presented Boss Beard and the Democratic Party machine with more powers to abuse. Furthermore, between 1900 and 1910, the city's population had increased by a startling fifty-two percent.[67] Many of the newcomers were poor and unskilled, but the mayor could often find jobs for them in city government or on the payrolls of his ally, the Southern Pacific Railroad, in return for the workers' gratitude at election time. The *Bee*, for example, reported that two employees of the city street department were fired because they opposed the mayor. Street Superintendent R. C. Irvine, according to the *Bee*, "was bitter in speaking about both men, saying he had taken care of them, given them jobs, and they were ungrateful. He admitted that they worked honestly and well, but his chief complaint was that they were not in full sympathy with Beard and the Beard administration." One of the fired workers applied at the Southern Pacific and was asked, "How do you stand on the Mayor's fight?"[68] Democratic Party leaders had earned the railroad's support by responding sympathetically to the company's needs.

The persistence of the corruption issue in Sacramento's government can be illustrated by the colorful career of George Washington Radonich. In 1899, Radonich testified before a local court that he had been offered money by one Democratic Party official to bribe another, but his political labors were rewarded by appointment to the job of school truant officer from 1901 to 1906. In 1904, Radonich applied for a job as police officer, but was rejected because he was too short. After Marshall Beard was elected Mayor, Radonich became a police officer, despite sarcastic reports of the miraculous way in which he had managed to grow to the required height: "It is doubtful if Radonich, who is probably growing yet, will consent to stand against a wall . . ." and be measured, commented the *Union*. Officer Radonich's leg was broken in a struggle with an unidentified transient, and he retired from the force

A polling booth at 11th and K streets in Sacramento, in use during the 1896 election. On the far left is Winfield Davis, historian and author of Sacramento County. Note the open advertisement on the wall for the Republican Party presidential ticket of William McKinley and Garret Hobart. *Courtesy Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection.*

to take up a career as a west end bar owner. His establishments frequently were charged with hosting local prostitutes. But it was on election days that Radonich got the most attention. In a typical complaint, the *Bee* in 1912 charged that "the expedition for votes in the Tenderloin District was engineered and carried out under the able leadership of George Radonich, proprietor of a Second and K Street saloon . . . [who] . . . visited every lodging house, brothel and dive where men and women of the night life reside." Still politically active in 1920, long after Beard and Carraghar had died, Radonich was indicted for voting fraudulently in another man's name.[69]

Another continuing issue was the abuse of power by the Southern Pacific Railroad. Besides the railroad's political power, wielded in part through its employees' votes, and its control of transportation costs, the company irritated Sacramentans in a variety of other ways. The railroad, for instance, enjoyed exclusive control of the Sacramento waterfront and adjacent streets, privileges awarded by an earlier city government to induce the railroad to locate its headquarters here. Furthermore, the company maintained a noisy, smelly stockyard at Fifteenth and B streets.[70]

Public health problems also became increasingly serious. Obsolete sewage and garbage collection services made Sacramento a paradise for rats. The city board of health tried one approach after another: children were offered five cents for each dead rat produced, then the offer was raised to ten cents; a city employee placed fifty city-owned rat traps in strategic locations for a wage of one dollar a day and a bonus of one cent per rat; an ordinance was proposed to require west end property owners to concrete their basements.[71] Drinking water posed another public health problem. Sacramentans got their water from the river and, although the supply was abundant, the quality was dreadful. It smelled bad, "could be carved with a knife and fork" and, during winter floods, had a "taste of rotten tule and decayed vegetable matter."[72] The use of well water and construction of a new filtration plant were suggested, but neither proposal ever had enough support to overcome voter resistance to higher taxes.

Dangerous and frequently impassable streets was another "Local Question That Will Not Down," according to the *Record-Union*.[73] Sacramento streets had always been straight and wide enough, but neither technology nor city revenue kept pace with the increasing traffic. Although the original compacted dirt streets were gradually surfaced with logs and gravel, they were rough and dusty in the dry summer months. During the winter rainy season, travelers might sink up to their waists in mud. The city lacked funds to clean most streets more than twice a year, a serious problem when between eight and ten tons of animal droppings were deposited on city streets daily.

Yet another local issue continued to frustrate many Sacramentans: vice. Census statistics should have reminded reformers of the basic problem:

Sacramento had always been a city of lonely single men. The Gold Rush era census of 1850 set the pattern: 6,169 men and only 460 women, a general imbalance that persisted into the twentieth century. For example, in 1900, of 6,723 foreign-born Sacramentans, 4,313 were men and only 2,410 were women.[74] For lonely men, many of whom worked long hours at unskilled physical labor and saved their low earnings to bring relatives to join them, social opportunities in Sacramento were limited. Nevertheless, for native Sacramentans, census statistics did not satisfy complaints about prostitution, gambling, and all-night bars. Temperance leaders tried to limit drinking hours and keep bars out of the "homes" area, but reforms were regularly defeated by what the native Sacramentans called the "saloon vote." The chief of police and the board of health organized regular campaigns against illegal gambling, but along I Street in Chinatown, "Almost every other house inspected . . . was either a gambling joint, an opium joint or a lottery joint." And the dance halls, even though licensed by the city, were " . . . a school of degradation, wherein are taught and acquired the habit and mode of living and the shameless vices of the harlot."[75] For many residents, vice seemed to be the product of Mayor Beard's corrupt alliance with west end transients: he satisfied their immoral and illegal needs in exchange for their votes. An honest mayor would enforce the law.

Perhaps the most fundamental grievance of many Sacramento people was that they had lost control of their city. As political and economic power moved to San Francisco, where it appeared to be exercised by the officers of the Southern Pacific Railroad, local citizens became united in frustration and outsiders became scapegoats. That frustration can be seen in blatant discrimination in the city against the Chinese. The charter of 1893, for example, prohibited the city from employing Chinese workers or buying products made by Chinese labor.[76]

To try to regain control of their community, Sacramentans in 1903 added the initiative and referendum to the city charter.[77] The initiative process was then used to amend the charter to end the practice of electing each city trustee from the ward in which he lived. Instead, all trustees would be elected "at-large." With "at-large" elections, west end working-class wards, out-voted in competition with more numerous residents of middle-class wards, could no longer place their favorites on the city board of trustees.

The strong-mayor charter of 1893 had proved to be as much of a failure at resolving urban problems as the charter of 1863. The cause of the problems and the approach to reform generated as much controversy among Sacramentans as it did elsewhere in America. Reformers, most of whom were middle- or upper-class, agreed that the basic structure of local government was flawed and that changes were necessary. Some, often called "structural reformers," believed that simply by modernizing Sacramento government, corrupt politicians would be replaced by trained professionals, who could be entrusted with resolving such essentially technical issues as budgets, tax rates, and street maintenance. Other reformers believed that the city's problems were moral ones: Boss Beard, in permitting prostitution, gambling, and alcoholism, was exploiting the sinful side of human nature for his own personal political power. Thus, by defeating Beard and the immoral forces that he represented, corrupt behavior would decline. The moral reformers and the structural reformers were united by their abhorrence of social disorder. But another group of reformers believed that the basic problem was not disorder, but injustice: Sacramento's problems were inherent in the social and economic system and no issues could be resolved until such social reforms as economic justice, equal opportunity, and more public participation in decision-making were all given a higher priority.[78]

Structural reformers, moral reformers, and social reformers in Sacramento agreed that Mayor Marshall Beard was a boss and that he and his machine based on working-class votes had to go. Mayor Beard had, they argued, abused the power of his office by trading city jobs for votes; in 1912, for example, he put forty transients to work in the city cemetery just before a crucial election.[79] Critics also charged that he had deliberately strengthened the Democratic Party machine by providing favored treatment to special interests. Such favoritism seemed to be proved by the support given to the Democratic Party by the Southern Pacific Railroad, by the Ruhstaller family, prominent local brewers, and by the well-known suburban real estate developer, D. W. Carmichael. Once Boss Beard and his Democratic machine were defeated, according to reformers, the city could again respond to the needs of local business leaders who understood that city government should be businesslike and promote growth and efficient, economical services.[80]

In vain did Marshall Beard attempt to refute the reformers. He insisted that he was himself a successful and respected local businessman, who served regularly on the board of directors of the chamber of commerce.[81] He responded to the charge that he had allowed immoral activities in the west end by noting that even after Republican reformer Clinton White had been mayor for two years, illegal lottery tickets could still be openly purchased in Sacramento.[82] Beard insisted that during his tenure, the city had benefitted from many valuable improvements, including new bridges across the Sacramento River at M Street and across the American River at Twelfth Street and at H Street, Sacramento's present city hall, the purchase of 640 acres in the Haggin Grant for a new city park, an interurban railroad connecting Sacramento to Chico and Oakland, and a modern new building for the city's 800 high school students.[83] And, although the voters in Sacramento had not always approved, Beard favored bonds for a new water filtration plant, supported public ownership of street railways and electricity, endorsed tree trimming at city expense, and, ironically, supported a "new charter . . . framed along modern lines. . . ."[84] To the charge that he had filled offices with his cronies, the mayor could point to popular fire chief Henry A. Guthrie, who professionalized the department and was kept in office from 1889 until he retired in 1910.[85] In fact, one leader of the reformers conceded that after Beard had been mayor, "there has not been much graft for some time . . . [and] . . . Mr. Beard is a good man."[86] Residents in areas adjacent to Sacramento evidently agreed, because in 1911 they voted to annex themselves to the city,

Employees of the Ruhstaller Brewery, Sacramento, just prior to 1900. Brewers and their workers formed another bloc of support for Mayor Marshall Beard. Beard's tolerance of saloons won the Ruhstaller family's active support of Democratic Party leaders. *Courtesy Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

RUHSTALLER LAGER
RUHSTALLER BEER

thereby tripling its area. And when the Southern Pacific monopoly was broken by the first Western Pacific train to enter Sacramento, Mayor Beard was prominent among the welcomers: " . . . we have waited a long time for your coming. From this day Sacramento will move forward."[87] Evidently, as one reformer conceded, " . . . if public improvement becomes a majority's goal, then the political boss is among the first to catch and hold it."[88]

Nationally, the reformers' desire to make cities more businesslike and efficient led them to experiment with new forms of city government. When Galveston, Texas, experienced a catastrophic flood, that city had successfully responded to the crisis by turning the city over to an appointed (later elected) commission. Each member of the commission was expected to become an expert on a particular function of city government and then to exercise that expertise in a non-partisan, professional manner. The commission worked so well in Galveston that reformers in other cities, including Berkeley and Oakland, California, adopted it.

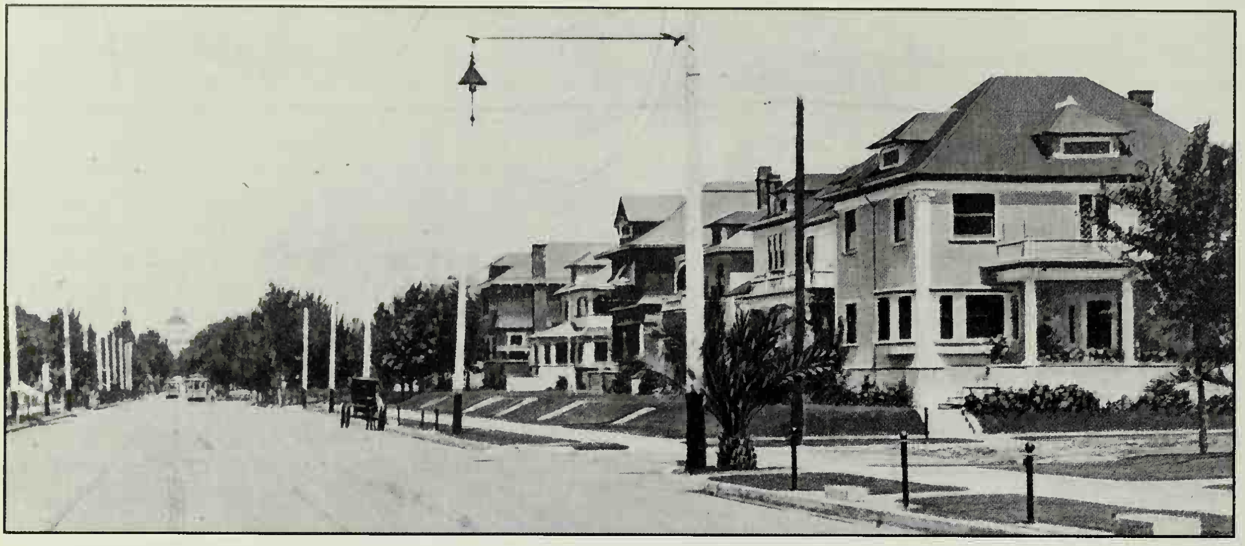
In June of 1911, when Sacramento voters selected freeholders to write another new charter, all fifteen favored the commission idea.[89] The freeholders decided that five commissioners would be needed, one for each of the basic functions of city government (public works, streets, public health and safety, education, finance). Bossism would be eliminated by making each commissioner equal in power and salary. The $3600 annual salary was considered adequate to commit the commissioners to full-time public service, independent of special interests and voting blocs. Machine politics, along with considerable working-class power, would also be curbed by making elections non-partisan and by electing each commissioner at large. Reformers even included their new weapons, the initiative, referendum, and recall.[90] Indeed, the proposed new charter satisfied not only the structural and moral reformers, but also the social reformers: Berkeley's socialist mayor, J. Stitt Wilson, came to Sacramento and urged Sacramento voters to approve it. On November 7, 1911, at the same election that they were re-electing Marshall Beard under the 1893 charter, voters replaced that "strong-mayor" charter with the new commission charter.

Once the new commission form was approved, the real battle began: choosing the commissioners. A reform-oriented Municipal Voters League endorsed four candidates. The *Bee* supported the League's endorsements and once again sought to polarize public opinion: "The question is between the forces of the Machine and the forces of Good Government." According to the *Bee*, candidates endorsed by "the Machine" included Marshall Beard and E. J. Carraghar. Despite the opposition of the League and the *Bee*, in the primary field of 35 candidates, Carraghar and Beard ran first and second.[91]

Between the primary early in May and the run-off election, the *Bee* charged that Mayor Beard used his power to "pad Cemetery payrolls" with forty or so unemployed men who were expected to repay him with votes. But no one questioned the legality of the mayor's action, and some historians would defend it as healthy urban politics, an example of " . . . a kind of ram-shackle welfare state . . . [that] . . . helped the unemployed find jobs."[92]

Meanwhile, the Municipal Voters' League made two significant adjustments between the primary and the general election. First, the league endorsed Michael J. Burke, a candidate already endorsed by the Federated Trades Council, a labor organization. Burke was an attractive candidate who had lived in Sacramento since his childhood and had been regularly elected to the city board of trustees between 1900 and 1912. More important, he would appeal to those voters who would normally support Beard and Carraghar; he was Catholic, a Democrat, a union member, a blacksmith, and an employee of the Southern Pacific Railroad.[93] Second, the league appealed to the newly enfranchised women voters by endorsing Mrs. A. J. Johnston for commissioner. The strategy worked perfectly. All five of the league's endorsed candidates were elected to the commission. Burke got the most votes, and Mrs. Johnston ran fifth. Carraghar and Beard ran sixth and seventh, out of the money.[94] Using a combination of constitutional change and clever electoral politics, elite reformers had overturned a generation of working-class oriented, machine-dominated government in Sacramento.

Marshall Beard handled what would be his final defeat gracefully. "I have the kindliest feelings for the citizens of Sacramento, and when I retire it will be with gratitude . . . ."[95] Even before he left the mayor's office, he was appointed to complete the term of the county treasurer, who had died in office. When Marshall Rowles Beard died of a stroke on September 29, 1913, he was still faithfully serving the citizens of Sacramento. The Sacramento *Union*



The "Homes" area of Sacramento before 1900, seen from the corner of 24th and M streets, looking west. Hitching posts for horses line the curb, and the State Capitol can be seen in the background. Often voting in opposition to worker-dominated industrial and waterfront wards, such middle-class neighborhoods provided the political strength to pass Progressive-era city charter revisions and to elect reform-minded candidates. *Eugene Hepting Collection, Sacramento Archives and Museum Collection Center.*

had never been his ally, but in its obituary the newspaper called Beard, "a politician of the old school, a man of polished manner and gentle ways." "His name was never connected with any but honorable methods. His worst political enemies respected him however greatly they differed with him in opinion."[96]

Unfortunately, the most publicized urban politicians of that period had corrupted their city's political system, abused their powers, and accumulated conspicuous personal wealth. William Tweed of New York, Frank Hague of Jersey City, Ed Crump of Memphis, and Abe Ruef of San Francisco are among the more spectacular examples of that pattern.[97]

Marshall Beard presents an example of a different sort, one that may be more common than we have previously recognized. He sought and won political power, but he never benefitted financially. The modest increase in his taxable family property was no more than what was attributable to inflation.[98] He held political power from 1893 until his death in 1913 because he was able to unite important groups of Sacramento voters, including transients, the working class, his middle-class neighbors, and important special interests such as the Southern Pacific. Marshall Beard was a public servant whose exercise of political power contributed to the stability that Sacramento needed as it groped for solutions to staggering new challenges. His career may be more typical than historians have believed.

During the decisive period between the end of the Civil War and the start of World War I, Sacramento was like many California cities that were experiencing dramatic change. In 1863 it was still a rural village where such traditional western values as individualism and economic opportunity were reflected in the city charter of 1863, a government by committee with power carefully divided in order to check potential abuse. In subsequent decades, industrialization, spectacularly exemplified by the transcontinental railroad, created serious new problems that seemed to require the centralized leadership that the charter of 1893 granted to a strong mayor. But after 1893, as growth accelerated and the problems persisted, local voters decided to turn city government over to the same type of non-partisan professionals who led American business, and a city commission was inaugurated with the charter of 1911. When the commission proved impractical, Sacramento in 1921 would perpetuate the principal of non-partisan professional government by creating the city manager system still in use today.[99] Thus, by trial and error, Sacramentans had completed the urban revolution; a rural village became a modern metropolis and personalized government was replaced by bureaucracy.

As in many California cities, the reform movement was spearheaded by people who considered themselves "Progressives." They believed that progress was inevitable and that urban problems were temporary, unnatural aberrations. Disorder was caused by immigrants and radicals, injustice by bosses and monopolies. The Progressives were certain that the problems could be solved by placing businesslike professionals in government. And predictably, by 1923, the Sacramento city manager and all nine council members were members of the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce.

Evidence from the growth of Sacramento and the political career of Marshall Beard challenges those Progressive assumptions. The history of California cities does not prove that progress is inevitable. And the urban problems of public health, abuse of power, vice, crime, and injustice do not seem to have been solved by either bureaucrats or businessmen, bosses or reformers. To the extent that Californians have learned how to deal effectively with urban problems, they have discovered that positive action is most likely when a consensus of the community supports it. During the transition period between the Civil War and the First World War, when the future of Sacramento and other California cities was being shaped, Marshall Beard's financial training, political experience, and personal skills were particularly well-suited for creating that consensus. If there are positive benefits in California's continuing urban crisis, one may be that the conflicts and tensions provide a training ground for political leaders like Marshall Beard.

See notes beginning on page 405.

William E. Mahan is an instructor of California history at Sacramento City College in Sacramento. He has served on the Board of Directors of the Sacramento City Historic Landmarks Commission and the Sacramento County Historical Society. In 1989, he received the California Historical Society's Award of Merit in Education.

The Politics of a Lost Cause:

''Seceshers'' and Democrats in Southern California During the Civil War

by Ronald C. Woolsey

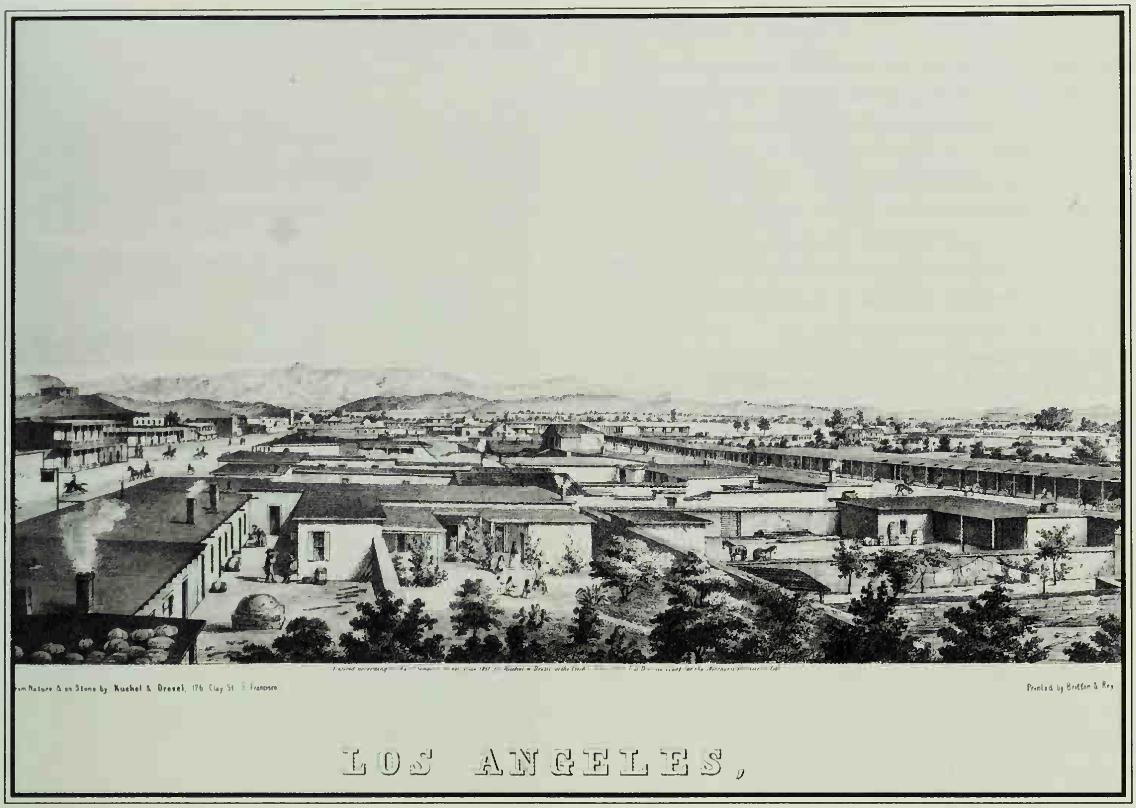
The Civil War era presents an opportunity to view the southern California frontier in broad perspective. The national conflict interrupted a period of gradual settlement there. The locale mirrored national and regional concerns, reflected sectional tensions, and affirmed the nexus between pioneer and country. The conduct of the war also highlighted the strong link between East and West, and with the fortunes of war went the fate of local party politics. Thus, as the Confederate military presence faded in the southwest, the effectiveness of disunion rhetoric correspondingly declined.

This essay centers on pro-southern sentiment in relation to the war's progress. Southern Californians divided sharply, as party rhetoric reflected the dynamic tensions of the national debate. Democrats and Republicans debated emancipation and the legality of secession. Disagreement over these issues represented a pioneer spirit and the varied background of people with strong individual attitudes. Many southern Californians supported past roots even if it meant a disruption of their newly established lifestyles. Patriotic fervor left many with no choice but to enlist in the eastern campaigns. Regional political rivalry led to contested elections and a shift from 'disunion' to 'fairness' as a central theme. Democrats and Confederate sympathizers found themselves on the defensive as the war progressed. They indignantly demanded fair play, an end to harassment, and the right to the personal liberties of speech and press.

The 1860 presidential election crystalized the volatile circumstances and key issues that had preceded the conflict. The sudden emergence of the Republican Party since its founding in 1854 and the corresponding breakdown of the Democrats mirrored the widening rift between the North and the South. Although geographically separated from the sectional debate, California held a symbolic value greater than its four electoral votes. For Republicans, success at the polls would enhance the party's national stature and discredit the allegation that Lincoln represented only narrow regional interests. To Democrats, victory in California extended the prospect of slavery expansion in the West and the hope of acquiring a future ally to southern interests.

In 1860, Lincoln narrowly won California from a divided field of Democratic candidates. As had happened to the east, the party had divided on issues of popular sovereignty, whether Kansas would be free or slave, and northerner Stephen A. Douglas's nomination. In California, these topics were debated in the state convention and among the party newspapers. With the party unable to reach agreement, several candidates representing Democrat splinter groups were on the ballot in the state. The split, warned Governor John Downey, would place Republicans in control ''for the next four years, or perhaps longer.''[1] Republican solidarity in northern California offset anti-Lincoln sentiment in the southern counties, where Democrats were strong, but divided. Democrats captured legislative seats in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino. Conversely, Lincoln received only 11 percent of the vote in El Monte, where many immigrants from Confederate regions had settled, indicative of a dismal 20 percent total for all of Los Angeles County. In sum, local residents preferred alternative candidates by a three-to-one margin, a definite sign of southern sympathy within the region.[2]

Several statewide trends also worked against Republicans in the 1860 election in southern California. Future construction of a transcontinental


om Nature & on Stone by Kuchel & Dresel, 176 Clay St. S. Francisco
Printed by Britton & Rey
LOS ANGELES,

During the Civil War, Los Angeles consisted largely of one-story adobe buildings, much as it did in this 1857 lithograph. *Courtesy California State Library.*

railroad became a major issue in state politics. Controversy existed over choice of routes: whether to build a central line beyond Utah to Missouri, or a southern route along the old Butterfield Stage line. Some prominent Republicans favored a northerly route, thus angering residents of southern California. Republicans also seemed outflanked on the state division issue. The lower counties, disenchanted with heavy, unequal taxation and minority representation, had toyed with the idea of state division throughout the previous decade. Many rancheros also favored a separate state out of desperation over their vanishing empires. "The gringos were getting everything," explained one scholar, ". . . and the Californios knew it."[3] By 1860, however, Republicans vigorously opposed any new attempt at separate statehood for southern California. Most party regulars felt the proposal would rekindle sectional tensions that had plagued the congressional debates over statehood. Southern California Republicans, caught between regional interests and political loyalty, passively supported the party line. "What is remarkable," noted one onlooker to the legislative debates, "the representation whose constituents are the most immediately interested, kept their lips closed, not one from the southern part of the state taking part in the debates."[4]

Nonetheless, in 1860 state issues remained secondary compared to the intensified debate on slavery. In 1856, for example, when the slavery issue was more subdued, the Republican Party's first presidential candidate was John C. Frémont, the state's hero and former U.S. senator. Frémont finished a respectable runner-up to James Buchanan in both Los Angeles and San Bernardino. The Republican nominee polled a sizeable 37 percent in the Democrat stronghold of Los Angeles. Francisco Ramirez, editor of *El Clamor Publico,* championed the Republican Party and became the first California editor to endorse Frémont.[5] "Republicanism is steadily gaining ground in this part of California," enthused Lewis Granger.[6]

Frémont's success in southern California contrasted with Lincoln's dismal results and demonstrated the importance of slavery politics in the 1860 campaign. Lincoln conceded that residents of southern states would be mollified only if we "cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right."[7] A Republican vote in 1860, therefore, represented a direct referendum on the future of the slaveholding states. Most southern Californians, many of whom hailed from Confederate states, favored the extreme, southern candidate, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Henry Hamilton, editor of the Los Angeles *Star*, and Edward J. C. Kewen, a political activist known for his oratory, both spearheaded the defense of southern rights and partisan attacks against Republicans.[8]

The sharp antagonisms over slavery held a special attraction for some locals. The maverick qualities inherent in the pioneer spirit shared a common trait with southern defiance. John S. Griffin, a Democrat supporter and well-known physician in Los Angeles, was portrayed in the press in the fading images of the pioneer West as "the American who is fast disappearing from the stage." His active defense of southern principles earned him a reputation of "aggressive manliness . . . outright, downright; uncompromising, implacable, if need were."[9] In a few instances the link between the frontier and slaveholding interests would transcend birthplace and heritage. Joseph Lancaster Brent recalled that one resident from Maine had passed much of his life on the frontier and became thoroughly impressed with southern ideas. Brent developed a friendship with another northern neighbor, Winfield S. Hancock, a soldier stationed in Los Angeles. He felt they "were drawn closer together by the identical views we held upon the slavery question." Both men voted for Breckinridge in the election.[10]

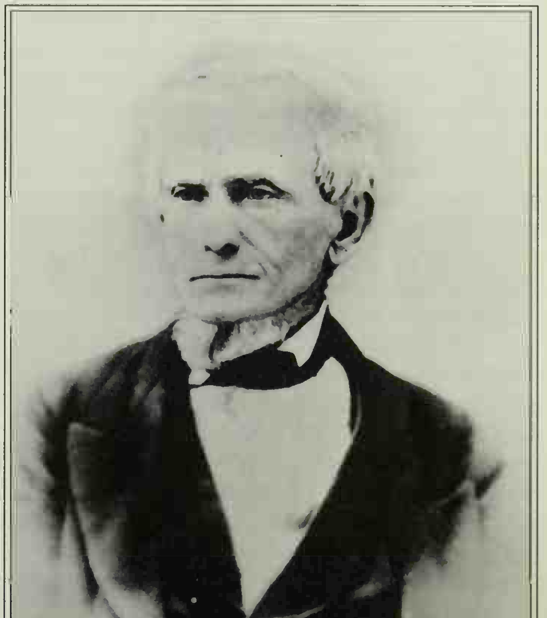
Henry Hamilton (right), editor of the *Los Angeles Star* and leading Confederate sympathizer, poses with a local representative to the state legislature during the Civil War. *Courtesy the Huntington Library.*

By early 1861, Lincoln's election as president and deeply-felt sectional loyalties had polarized the citizenry and threatened to divide the nation. Southern Californians paralleled the national tenor as the secession movement gained momentum among the southern states. The focus shifted from slavery politics to disunion after the bombardment of Fort Sumter by Confederates in April 1861. El Monte residents paraded through the downtown streets in support of the Confederacy. At the Bella Union Hotel in Los Angeles, rebel sympathizers hung portraits of southern generals who had led the siege of the Charleston fort. Reports circulated of Confederate enlistment camps organized at the San Bernardino Mountains mining communities in Holcomb Valley. The scheme included training and sending recruits to secession states through Arizona and Texas. "Temescal appears to be one of the most central points for secessionists," reported one correspondent, " . . . scarcely a day passes but what companies pass here going East sometimes in small squads from 15 to 20."[11] Judge Benjamin Hayes cautioned against the notion of western indifference toward rebellion, and he believed "they deceive themselves who suppose that California could stand aloof from the contest."[12]

Southern Californians affirmed Hayes's suspicions. The Lincoln administration issued a statewide appeal for volunteers in July 1861. The demand for Union enlistments acted as a scintilla and prompted an exodus to the Confederacy, but many southern sympathizers had left California before July. War had forced the issue. For Californians from secessionist states, the defense of the former homeland meant family loyalty took precedence over personal concerns, even a new life in a frontier land. For T. L. Roberts, a transplanted South Carolinian, he "would not like them to break up the government." Yet Roberts refused to take a loyalty oath, since he opposed "taking up arms against my people."[13] William L. Sands, a native of Tennessee, felt secession a questionable idea but admitted "my sympathies are with my people."[14] Joseph Lancaster Brent viewed the problem in terms of expedience. A revolt in the southern counties could initially succeed, but Brent theorized the Union "could send gunboats and troops . . . while we have no means of getting either . . . the Confederates would be overcome and the people of the state who had helped them would be ruined." He counseled sympathizers to "go South and join the Confederate army, where they would be of real service."[15]

A Missourian perhaps best typified the local ambivalence. William Woods had journeyed to California in 1850, wandered the mining camps of Plumas and Sierra counties, then settled in Los Angeles in 1858. By 1861, at age thirty, single and unattached, Woods considered himself "born with the South," while if "obliged to take sides it is hard to say which side I would take." Apparently, he soon decided. Union troops captured Woods enroute to the Rio Grande in November 1861.[16]

Sectional hostilities hit a high-water mark early in the war. In El Monte, religion and politics proved a volatile mix, as harassed ministers reportedly carried weapons to the pulpit. The Northern Methodist Episcopal Church, victim of a statewide schism caused by the war, nearly vanished from the town by 1865. El Monte

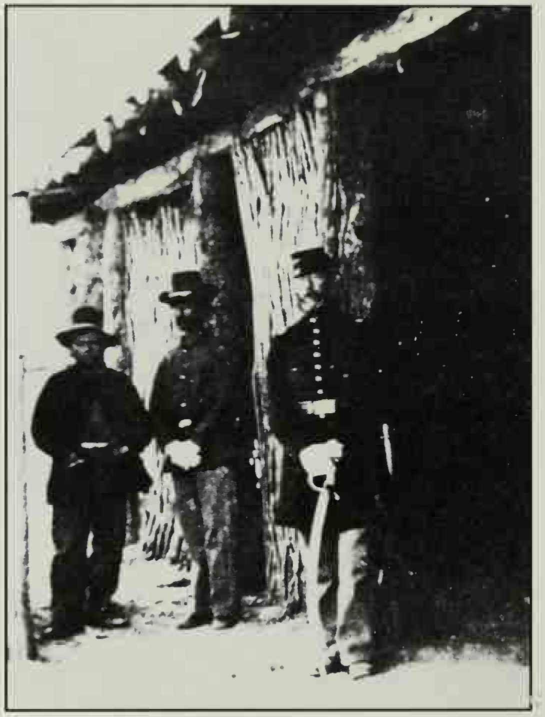


Judge Benjamin Hayes (1815-1877), ca. 1875. Hayes was a prominent Los Angeles jurist, attorney, and local historian. *Courtesy California State Library.*

residents sympathetic to the secessionist cause also demonstrated around the home of a prominent Republican, Jonathan Tibbets. One confidant warned Abel Stearns of a potential raid on his stock "the very moment an occasion of government hostilities would warrant their doing it under the cloak of war."[17] With news of the Confederate victory at Bull Run in early summer, sympathizers in Los Angeles held a public rally and openly insulted the Union army. "I told you so I knew we would whip the d - d ass," one citizen remembered, "and even worse remarks were made in a tumult of passion by those opposed to our government."[18] Upstate, the Marysville *Daily Appeal* summarized northern concern over a potential revolt in the southern counties. The paper advocated a strong military presence in southern California since "secession is strong there, and must be united against."[19]

Indeed, potential violence led to an immediate federal military presence in the southern locales. Army camps and guard barracks were established at San Pedro, Baldwin Hills, and Los Angeles. Union strategists also increased reserves at the border forts in the Mohave and Yuma deserts, while troops received orders to detain any suspicious caravans. Hence, the persistent stream of émigrés slowed to a trickle within a year. In 1861, an estimated two hundred men left southern California to join the Confederacy. Southward migration, however, nearly stopped by 1862, since most of the disaffected had already left, or the threat of internment proved a sufficient deterrent.[20]

Although a defection to the Confederacy proved troublesome, insurrection in southern counties remained the paramount concern of federal authorities during the early stages of the war. The military feared that covert activity and sabotage would be a prelude to future Confederate liberation. "Dissatisfaction in the southern part of the state is increasing," declared General E. V. Sumner. "The rebels are organizing, collecting supplies and evidently preparing to receive a force from Texas."[21] One onlooker reported that "since the 'Seceshers' left here, . . . we have all sort of rumors that they were going to return here again."[22] Union troops intercepted several letters from former residents living in Texas that added credence to a potential liberation movement. Joseph Lancaster Brent recalled the schemers "proposed to organize an expedition to cross the desert and come into southern California, and accomplish what . . . [they] could for the Confederate cause." Sumner personally interviewed Brent and John Griffin, recipients of these letters, and felt assured the men had no involvement in any plot.[23]



A Union soldier (far right) poses at Fort Mojave. Border guards were stationed here and at Fort Yuma to prevent Confederate sympathizers from traveling to the South. *Courtesy Special Collections Library, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff.*

Nevertheless, federal troop movements into southern California cannot fully measure the extent of resistance there. The potential for insurrection in the region was greatly exaggerated. Certainly, sectional loyalties prodded many residents to emigrate eastward. Despite rumors, covert operations, however, were scattered, unorganized, and failed to produce any widespread revolt. The difficulty in any evaluation of actual Confederate resistance in southern California arises from the unreliability of information the government had access to during the war. Rumors of dangerous cabals seemed a logical extension of the "worst case scenario," common to military planning. Thus, some zealots left and the locale remained "to some extent, proslavery, but not secessionist."[24]

The threat of a Confederate invasion only exacerbated matters for the Union strategists. How could the South ignore the state's vast mineral reserves, while the North tapped those same resources for their own war effort? This consideration seemed to encourage a Confederate military stab into the Southwest. The discovery of gold at Holcomb Valley in 1860 provided an added incentive. The discovery was "a scheme," one Union soldier recalled, "to furnish the Confederacy with the gold of western mines and prestige to win recognition from European countries."[25] More important, the southern California expanse seemed to provide additional inducements to the Confederacy—vast grasslands, unguarded deserts, and a sparse population.

Hence, a Confederate invasion of southern California seemed plausible in view of the region's isolation and manpower shortage, coupled with a vocal anti-Union minority there. The scenario gained credence when a Confederate regiment advanced into northern Arizona during the summer of 1861. Approximately one hundred troops from Texas intercepted the overland trails, halted stagelines, and destroyed supplies at Union storage centers. The Confederate movements seemed a menacing threat despite their limited strategy of harassment and observation. Northern California newspapers, however, duly reported enemy advances. As the Confederate detail moved closer to the Colorado River, the Sacramento *Daily Union* warned of potential rebellion along the southern border.[26] By September, in the aftermath of symbolic victories at Fort Sumter and Manassas Junction, Confederate emotion had carried their Texas recruits past the Pima villages to within fifty miles of Fort Yuma.[27]

The most active troop movements of the war in the Southwest occurred over the next ten months. Throughout the fall of 1861, the northern military reinforced supply points and built new encampments. Union officials stationed sentinels at Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and El Monte. One Union officer recalled a hostile reception in southern California, and the troops "encountered very grim looks because of our presence as we passed through country."[28] By October, Union reinforcements reached Warner's Ranch east of San Diego and Camp Wright along the southern route to Fort Yuma. An advance guard halted all travel across the Colorado River. The regiment seized one ferry located near Fort Yuma and destroyed a Sonoran vessel thirty miles south within Mexico. One officer boasted that "there is scarcely an available ford anywhere on the river." Meanwhile, Indian scouts guarded the mining camps of Sonora and southern California.[29]

In reality, the Confederacy posed little danger to southern California. While the South might have mounted a military offensive early in the war, the nature of events and progress of the campaign reduced the likelihood of any serious Confederate invasion of southern California. By 1862, Confederates were on the defensive in the Midwest, and their strategy centered on gaining control of the Mississippi River and overcoming the Union blockage in the Gulf of Mexico. The Southwest therefore, held importance only for tactical purposes—observation of Union troop activity. The Arizona forces were "a cord of observation," noted the Los Angeles *Star*, "to watch and report any movements made from California upon New Mexico and Texas."[30] By late summer of 1862, Union forces seemed more concerned with Navajo Indian uprisings than with a Confederate campaign in the Southwest. The tables had turned. Any encounters with southern forces provided an opportunity for Union harassment of the secessionist enemy. "If a force of rebels comes," ordered General James H. Carleton, "*you* know how to annoy it; how to stir up their camps and stock by night; how to lay waste to prairies by fire; how to make the country very warm for them and the road a difficult one."[31]

Although southern California did not experience direct military involvement, the Civil War did affect the more abstract arena of party politics. Opposing interpretations of federal authority were at the crux of the debate, along with profound differences in approach toward individual freedoms and national allegiance. Party politics had sparked the secession movement in the first place, and sectional rhetoric dominated local contests throughout the war years. In southern California, political tensions punctuated the struggle over local control, pitted Democrats against Republicans, and southerners versus northerners. "Politics," as one writer summarized, "were fought out on the North against South line."[32]

Campaign tactics initially worked better for Democratic candidates. The local 1861 election returned to office most Breckinridge supporters such as John A. Watson and Murray Morrison, who had supported the Lecompton Constitution and peaceful secession, and had defended slavery where it already existed.[33] In contrast, the election signified a repudiation of Republicans as both responsible for "an abolition war" and as corrupt beneficiaries of federal patronage. Even popular Republican candidates such as Abel Stearns and Juan Sepulveda took a beating. Stearns finished a distant second to J. R. Vineyard in the state senate contest, while Sepulveda ran fourth in a five man field for the assembly. The gubernatorial campaign also exposed Republican weakness in southern California. Republican Leland Stanford lost by nearly twice his opponents' margin in Los Angeles County, and of the ten county precincts he captured only Anaheim and San Pedro.[34]

Yet the Democrats' political success in southern California proved illusory within the context of the statewide campaign. Republicans gained a majority of assembly seats in the northern counties, particularly in San Francisco. Stanford won the gubernatorial race—a pivotal election since control of state political machinery translated into advantages at the local level. "But the times are changed, and we have to change with them," reported a chagrined Henry Hamilton.[35] Some Democrats gloomily forecasted military repression under the guise of patriotism. Benjamin Hayes complained that any criticism of Union policy would be interpreted as subversive behavior. Augustus Ensworth characterized the era as "tough times," since "it appears *dangerous* for one to try and defend himself in his right according to the civil law of the land."[36] The Los Angeles *Star* pleaded for an end to "sensational humbug about Secession and treason" after the conclusion of the 1861 campaign. "It has had the effect intended—to influence the election."[37]

Local circumstances provided Democrats with additional ammunition to use against their opponents. A sensitive economy with sharp downcycles characterized the southern California frontier. Between 1861 and 1863 the area suffered a protracted severe drought, alternately severe flood, and widespread smallpox infestation. "We have had to resort to arms," wrote one witness regarding the panic over the 1863 epidemic.[38] Henry Hamilton found time in his busy agenda at the state legislature to write and console a local constituent. He pledged to "do what I can to lessen the burdens our friends will be called upon to bear."[39] In turn, these hardships devastated the cattle ranching interests and affected agriculture and citrus concerns. "We poor rancheros have had a damned bad string of luck," exclaimed one desperate soul, "and if it is going to continue I don't know what will become of us."[40]

A locally unpopular war and difficult times translated into sharp criticism of Union policies and resentment of upstate domination. Southern California's powerlessness to control events raised doubts about the value of the political process. Political practices under Republican rule generated controversy. Allegations of voter fraud by Unionists and intimidation at polling booths by Union soldiers tarnished the legitimacy of a Republican mandate. For Democrats, attacks on repressive Union policies also served to galvanize party loyalty. "We hold, there can be no disunion among Democrats," intoned the Los Angeles *Star*.[41] Legal challenges of election returns provided a courtroom forum to influence public sentiment. Democrat Edward J. C. Kewen expressed disappointment with one of his party's candidates who "did not contest" his defeat. Kewen felt the next legislative session would provide "an opportunity however, . . . of ventilating that and other matters," while party members "will have to stand from under."[42]

Still, local opinion in southern California moved toward a wartime mentality as the national conflict progressed. The military campaigns of 1861 and

1862 erased the misconception that the war would be brief. Union victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg in 1863 improved the northern military image, and the Emancipation Proclamation reinforced the Union aim of a just war.[43] More importantly, southern Cailfornians lacked an indigenous past and thus drew a national identity from the context of the westward movement. The Civil War brought local economic development and population growth to a halt, and critics of the apparently successful Union military policy only threatened to prolong that retardation. By the close of 1863, local Democrats were on the defensive as much as the Confederate cause was nationally. Republicans demanded a unified front in the war effort, while Democrats suffered the pressures of conformity. John Forster cautioned a fellow resident against criticism of taxation policy since "too free use of words" could lead to arrest.[44] "Damned black souls (or republicans) however they may be called," wrote José Estudillo, exasperated over his arrest for failure to register for the draft with local authorities.[45] The bitter electoral campaigns of Democrats Henry Hamilton and E. J. C. Kewen led to their arrests on charges of subversive activity. "Disloyalty to the Union cause," recalled one observer, "had become about as perilous as had been the expression of abolition sentiment but a few years before."[46]

Col E.J.C. Kewen, California's first attorney general, and a leading activist in Democratic politics during the Civil War years. *Courtesy The Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*

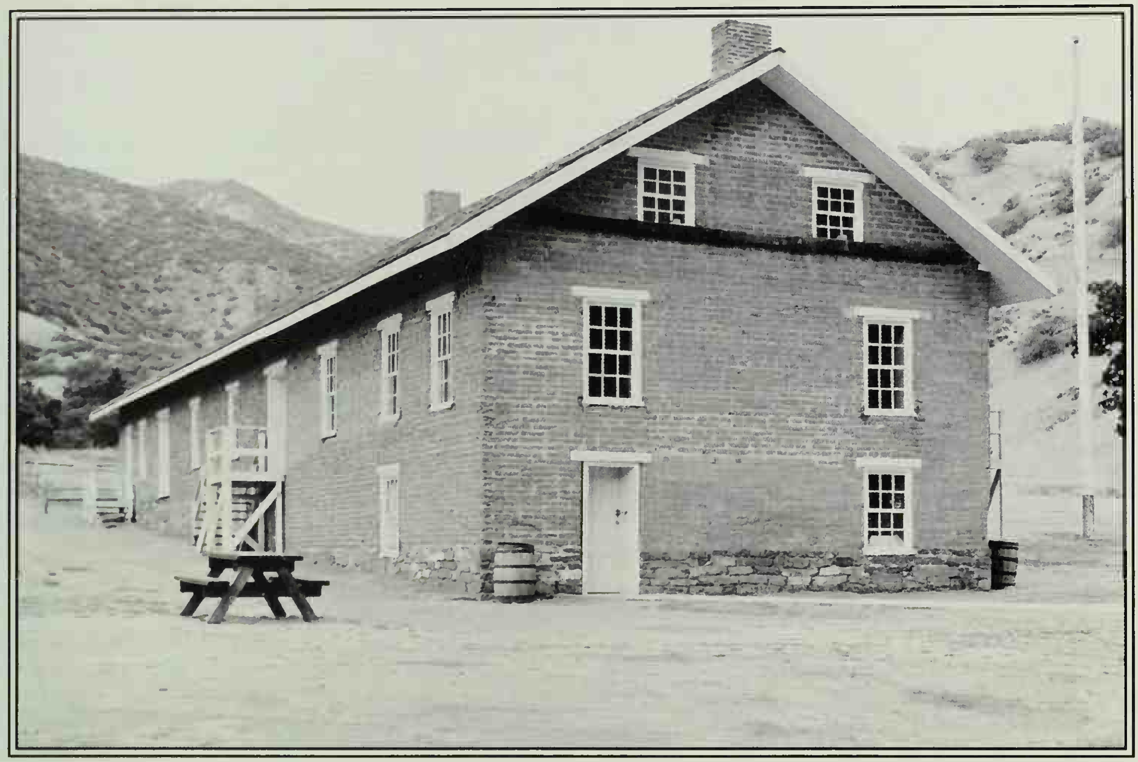
Fears of secessionist plots and subversion ultimately stifled partisan politics in southern California. Military detainments served to discredit Democrat activists and intimidate moderate opposition. At the same time, critics of Union policies sounded provincial and mean-spirited against a backdrop of patriotic fervor. When they characterized the Emancipation Proclamation as a simple theft of "private property," Democrats were on the unpopular side of events. To satirize the northern military in 1862 as "paralyzed" lost credibility with Union victories in the West during the following year and by clear Union supremacy in 1864. A few partisans merely ignored obvious trends, or misinterpreted battlefield news because of unreliable information and delays in communication. John G. Downey desperately wanted more news than "our little Democratic papers," since "they are soon read and leave the mind only more anxious for news."[47] One local Democrat felt confused by the Confederate defeat at Vicksburg and Lee's daring advance into Pennsylvania. Still, he dismissed any negative speculation about Confederate military weakness. "What all these matters portend it is hard to conjecture. I suppose they know what they are about. Quien sabe."[48]

Union policies and the conduct of the war partially explained the steady decline in opposition strength. Early in the war, unimaginative Democrat strategies provided few alternatives to the military stalemate. The prospect of state division lost credibility early in the war when opponents equated the idea of a Pacific Republic to southern secession. "Our State's local issue will be Pacific Republic, or no Pacific Republic. We are for the Union, and no Pacific Republic," asserted the Oroville *Weekly Butte Record*.[49] "One experiment is left," declared Edward J. C. Kewen. "It is Peace—peace to a distracted country—peace to a nation drunk with horrors."[50] Kewen's remarks to the state legislature evoked a standing ovation—but only from one side of the chamber. In reality, an end to the war at the expense of the Union offered no solution at all, and criticism by Democrats without a viable military stratagem only reinforced suspicions that they were disloyal.

In southern California, complaints of repressive Union conduct lost their impact as the war unfolded. The Democrat press, for example, remained vigilant against potential military intervention into the southern California mining camps. "Our miners will wake up some fine morning," warned the Los Angeles *Star*, "and find a military guard prospecting their claims for and on account of Uncle Abe."[51] The *Star's* admonitions never materialized. The mines thrived as a haven for entrepreneurs: refugees, pacifists, and opportunists looking for fortune rather than conflict. One traveler to Walker's Ranch in late 1863 conceded that "everyone gives a good account of the mines."[52] In general, the military kept a low profile during the war years. The government made little effort to enforce draft laws, though such enforcement was common in northern California. Fear of the draft, however, was briefly exploited by local Democrats. By 1863, the Union presence had assumed a supportive role to the troop movements in the Southwest, rather than as an intimidating force poised against threats of unrest. In sum, the lack of open hostility between military and local citizens further reduced fears of reprisals against Confederate sympathizers.[53]

By 1864, southern California Democrats still controlled state offices and most local affairs. However, party dominance showed signs of weakening. Edward J. C. Kewen and Henry Hamilton chose not to run for re-election to the legislature, although they remained active in local politics. Meanwhile, a Republican won the Los Angeles city marshall contest in 1863, an influential position coveted during vigilante times. The Republican gubernatorial candidate, Frederick F. Low, won the election statewide and finished a close runner-up in the lower counties to hometown favorite John G. Downey. Ironically, Downey had forecasted an end to Democratic control over local patronage with Lincoln's victory in 1860.[54] The ex-governor was not the only casualty of that prediction. The state legislature repeatedly ignored proposals to appropriate money for railroad construction in Los Angeles, a favorite Democrat issue throughout the previous decade. Seeking to muzzle a major Democratic critic of the war effort, Union officials had denied Henry Hamilton's Los Angeles *Star* use of the mails in 1862. After Hamilton transformed the paper into the Wilmington *Journal*, authorities suspended its publication in 1864. As a consequence, the decline in subscriptions to Hamilton's publications precursed a more serious erosion in party rank and file.[55]

Local activists used a variety of tactics to counter adverse trends. Democrats recognized the lessons of a divided party from the 1860 presidential campaign. "It is of the highest importance," stressed Edward J. C. Kewen, "that the State should be fully represented in order to give encouragement to our party organization."[56] Yet voter participation in the region declined between 1862 and 1864. The Los Angeles *Star* decried public apathy and "men pretending to be Democrats who absented themselves from the polls."[57] The Democrats' concerns suggested that emigration of southern loyalists, intimidation, and public disinterest in war politics had all affected voter turnout. A few candidates downplayed the war in their campaigns to counter these adverse patterns. Benjamin Hayes stressed his independence, impartiality, and integrity. "The office of *Judge* should be maintained free forever from any influence of mere party politics," declared Hayes.[58] A large Republican turnout in Santa Barbara contributed to a close election, however, and ended Hayes's tenure as district judge. Even the most ardent southern supporters muted their rhetoric to avert reprisals for their beliefs. "I cannot favor the mad schemers for disunion," Kewen stated evenly in demanding an immediate truce.[59] Disgruntled over the prospect of having no Democrat nominee but George McClellan for president, Henry Hamilton eventually supported a "peace platform" as the only feasible option to Lincoln in 1864.[60]



Restored soldiers' barracks at Fort Tejon State Historical Park. Fifteen officers who served at the fort became generals during the Civil War. Eight generals led Union forces, while seven served the Confederacy. *Courtesy Ronald C. Woolsey, photographer.*

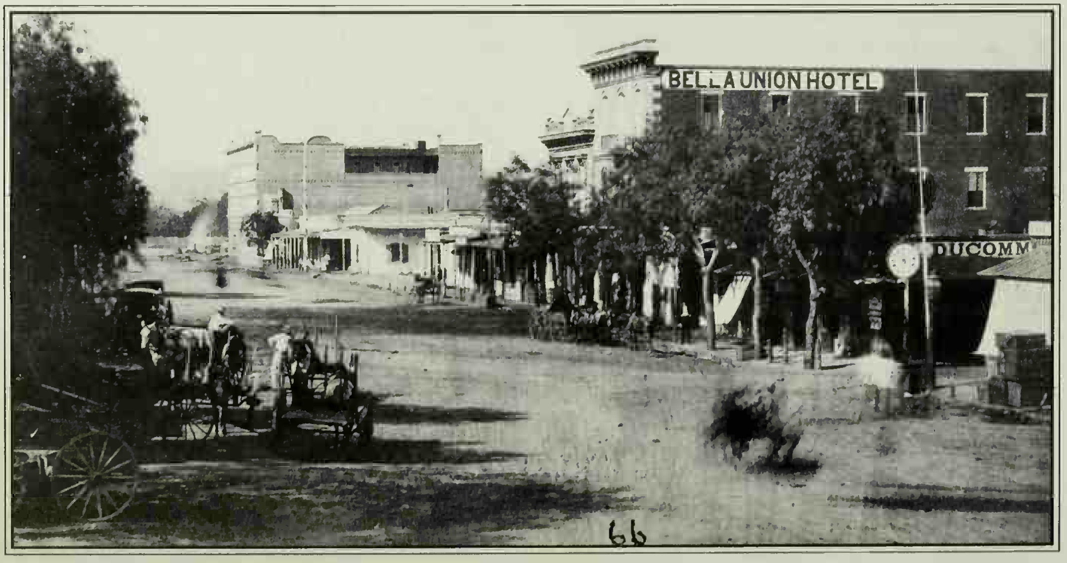
The Democrats' political difficulties translated into an uphill battle in the 1864 campaign. Internal problems in party organization hampered local efforts to win votes. In October, Hamilton's financial hardships eventually forced his newspaper into bankruptcy. The newspaper's closure left Democrats without a major political organ in southern California, a crucial loss in the weeks before the election.[61] At San Juan Capistrano, the party failed to inspire local membership or deliver on a promised newspaper. In contrast, an improved Union military outlook nationally under Grant and Sherman, coupled with the powers of incumbency, energized Republicans at the precinct level. "Every effort will be made to carry the election in this County against us," feared one Democrat regular.[62] John Forster called the election "very warm" and "Don Abel is running about . . . stumping everywhere that they can get an audience to understand English."[63]

Local Republican momentum peaked at the election. Andrés Pico, Abel Stearns, and J. A. Sanchez staged a Republican gala at Los Angeles during the closing days of the campaign. Phineas Banning hosted a similar rally and grand barbecue at Wilmington. One bitter partisan felt that if Republicans publicly flaunted this rally as the "beginning of the feast in anticipation of the Election . . . the majority will hide snakes in their boots."[64] These remarks expressed frustration rather than reality. Lincoln carried the state by 30,000 votes. In southern California, Republicans captured Wilmington and Anaheim to offset Democrat strength in El Monte, San Gabriel, and Azusa. As one historian has noted, "The initial return indicated a stunning upset. . . . There was jubilation among Union men in Los Angeles, and artillery boomed at Drum Barracks."[65]

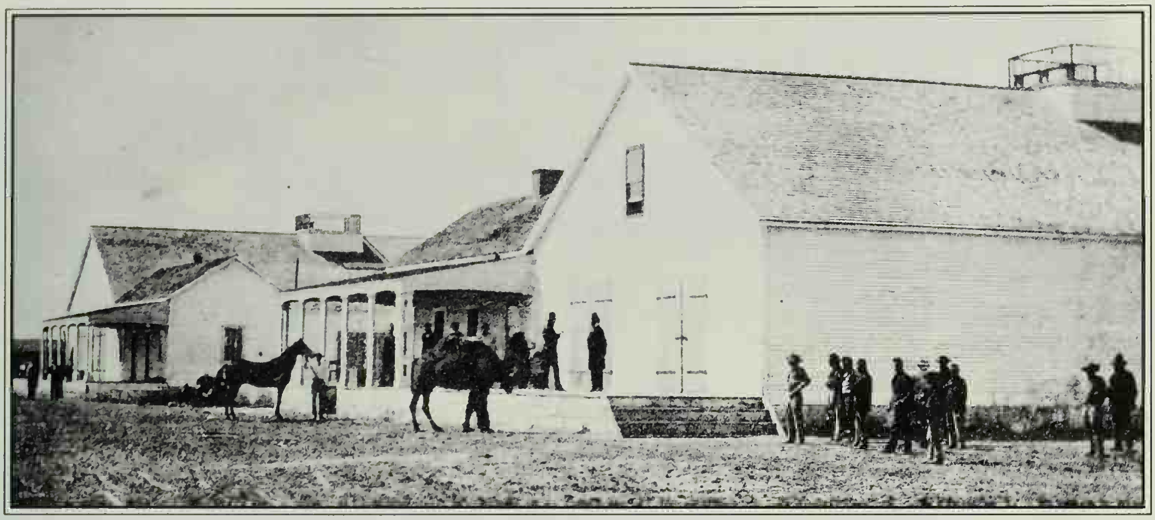
Once the Confederacy surrendered in the spring of 1865, however, the bitterness associated with wartime politics eased. The reduction of military forces in California mitigated tensions, returned southern communities to an atmosphere of civilian control, and began an era of reconciliation. "The war is over, the government has been vindicated, and all issues will now be settled peaceably," pronounced the Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*.[66] Hence, a frontier agenda of commercial expansion reemerged as a civic priority. Benjamin Wilson, for example, encouraged one Confederate expatriate to return to Los Angeles after the war. Wilson believed post-war restrictions on the political rights of former Confederate soldiers would be repealed, and "we are in hopes of brighter times."[67] Old themes came to the forefront: railroad construction, law and order, education, and social progress. The future offered renewed vitality in commerce, with increased speculation in petroleum and mining. "There are riches in store for Los Angeles," promised the *News*, "yet that item depends upon the return of liberality on the part of her citizens, in the way of aiding in the progressive work."[68]

Regional issues dominated local 1865 campaigns, as Democrats and Republicans fought to a standoff in the election. The Union party captured the senate race, but lost both assembly contests. Phineas Banning, the Republican senatorial candidate, avoided Reconstruction topics in deference to a theme of party unity and commercial prosperity. He supported railroad construction between San Pedro and Los Angeles as a long-term initiative for improved harbor transit. The award of federal monies for the project led to charges of cronyism, divided Republicans, and contributed to election defeats at San Bernardino and Los Angeles. "The Union party of this county is helplessly divided," confessed the *News*.[69] Republicans, however, won the mayoral race in Los Angeles—a first. In turn, Democrats of many stripes shared the political stage, compared to the dominance of the proslavery Chivalry faction during the pre-war years. Ultimately, the 1865 election proved a victory for southern Californians. Both parties reasserted a progressive view of future expansion and sought a government responsive to the provincial needs of settlement and growth.[70]

The Civil War, in restrospect, had a pervasive effect on southern California regardless of the remoteness of battle. War issues, personalities, and campaigns dominated headlines



Bella Union Hotel, Main Street, Los Angeles, 1870. The hotel was a popular meeting place for Confederate sympathizers during the war. *Courtesy The Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County.*



Federal military headquarters for southern California during the Civil War was Camp Drum, constructed early in 1862 near the port of Wilmington. Popularly known as "Drum Barracks," it was home to the California Volunteers sent to the region to control secessionist sympathizers, and it served as supply depot for the California Column bound for Arizona. The experimental Camel Corps was stationed there for a year. One of the camels stands in the foreground. Today Drum Barracks is operated as a museum by the city of Los Angeles, the only major Civil War historic site in southern California. *Courtesy Security Pacific Collection, Los Angeles Public Library.*

throughout the era. The sectional tensions connected with slavery influenced local politics, and secession rhetoric found a responsive local audience when fighting erupted between the states. During 1861 and 1862, a potential Confederate offensive in the southwest accentuated the strategic importance of southern California. A backdrop of southern sympathy in the region compounded this threat of insurrection and invasion. Thus, an uncertain military situation led to a repressive Union policy and intimidating troop presence in the lower counties.

Political campaigns, too, reflected the harsh polemics of wartime opponents. Voter fraud, detainments, and contested elections symbolized a different type of battleground. Republican charges of disunion kept Democrats at a disadvantage, particularly when military events favored the Union. The party's fortunes eventually went the way of the Confederacy's. Lincoln's 1864 reelection and success in southern California proved a harbinger of the South's demise.

Finally, the Civil War's impact on southern California underscored the link between East and West, an inseparable bond between frontier and nation. Once the war ended, however, southern Californians looked to the business of settlement as a measure of restored tranquility. Perhaps, like most Americans, their future provided hope, and a return to local concerns proved a necessary ingredient of that healing process. Such was the case of Mary Rhodes, a Confederate nurse who won Robert E. Lee's admiration. After the war, she found herself emotionally drained and in poor health. For Mrs. Rhodes, resettling in California offered a renewal of spirit and healing. "I hope the journey may improve your health," Lee wrote to her, "and . . . [bring] new scenes and new cares, for wherever you go, you will always feel the cares which benevolence and religion inspire in the human heart."[71] Lee's words may just as well have been for all southern Californians, since their "new cares" offered the same inspiration for reconciliation. CHS

See notes beginning on page 407.

Ronald C. Woolsey is a reader at the Huntington Library and a level coordinator in the social studies department at Bishop Amat High School. Mr. Woolsey has written articles and book reviews on southern California and the West.

JAMES D. HART: A TRIBUTE AND REMEMBRANCE

by James J. Rawls

California lost one of its most perceptive interpreters on July 23, 1990, with the death of James D. Hart, director of the Bancroft Library and professor emeritus at the University of California at Berkeley. The passing of Professor Hart has been noted in journals and newspapers around the world, from a three-line mention by Herb Caen in the *San Francisco Chronicle* to a three-column eulogy in the *Times* of London. My purpose here is to pay tribute to Professor Hart's remarkable contributions to the field of California history, and to offer a few notes of personal remembrance.

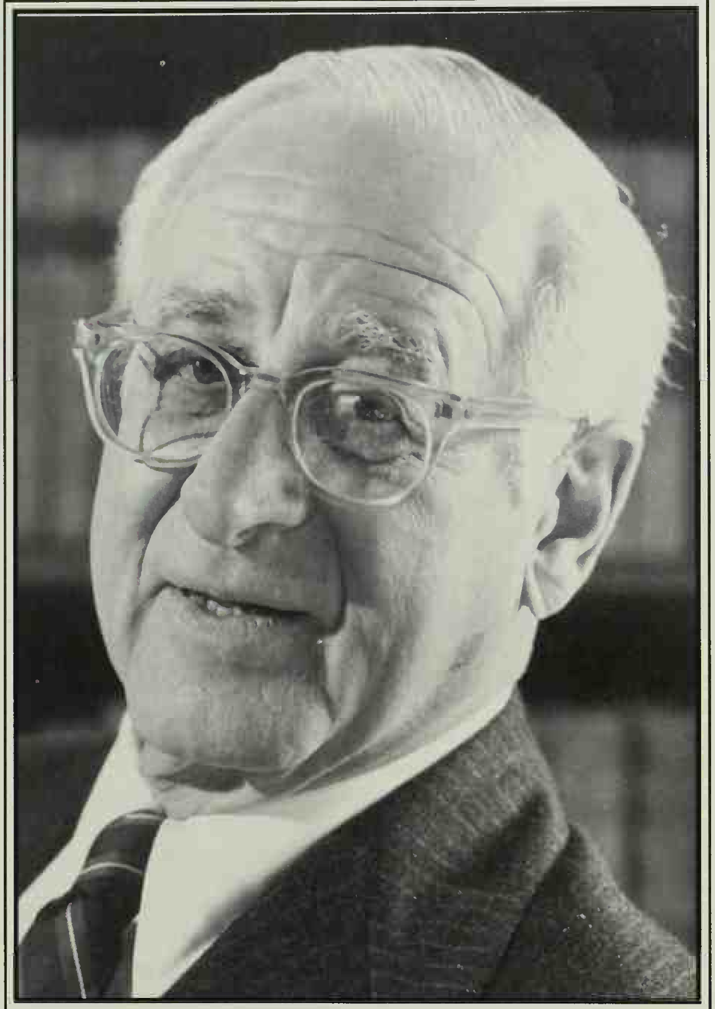
James David Hart was a native Californian, born in San Francisco on April 18, 1911, the fifth anniversary of the great 1906 earthquake. He received his bachelor of arts degree from Stanford in 1932 and his doctorate in American literature from Harvard four years later. Shortly after joining the Berkeley faculty as an instructor of English in 1936, Professor Hart began his lifelong career of scholarly engagement with the literature and history of California.

One of James D. Hart's first published articles was a brilliant reinterpretation of Richard Henry Dana's *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840). Hart's article, which appeared in *The American Quarterly* in 1936, analyzed Dana's voyage to California as a trip inward as well as outward. During the course of his California sojourn, Hart explained, Dana made important discoveries about himself, discoveries ultimately more meaningful than any of the dramatic events of his physical journey west. This article set the standard for much of Professor Hart's future work. Here we see his extraordinary powers of perception at work—probing beneath the surface of events, searching for larger patterns of expression, identifying themes of universal meaning.

Over the next decade, James D. Hart continued his interest in California as he advanced steadily through the ranks of academia. In 1950 he launched an international search to recover the lost manuscript of Frank Norris's classic California novel, *McTeague: A Story of San Francisco* (1890), a page of which had been inserted in each of Norris's *Complete Works*, published by Doubleday in 1928. Professor Hart's diligence paid off and eventually nearly half the pages of the original manuscript were deposited in the Bancroft Library. Those fugitive pages, as well as a host of other valuable Norrisana collected by Professor Hart, are one of his enduring legacies to the world of California scholarship. Hart described this unusual "search and research" project in an article in *College & Research Libraries* in 1958. Twelve years later he published his own edition of Norris's earliest writings, *A Novelist in the Making*.

The Bancroft Library in 1960 issued a little book written by Hart, *American Images of Spanish California*. Although less than forty pages long, the book stands as a major contribution to our understanding of the evolving American consciousness of the character of California. Professor Hart traced that consciousness from the words of early critical observers, such as James Ohio Pattie, through the writings of Helen Hunt Jackson and the other great romanticizers of the late 1800s. "Thus does the legendry grow," Hart observed, "about the idle, sunny mission days before the gringo came." Drawing upon a wide range of sources, Hart offered nothing less than an intellectual history of the image of early California. His work, often cited, formed the basis for later, more exhaustive treatments.

Another small but important book by James D. Hart appeared the following year, *My First Publication*



James D. Hart (1911-1990). *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

James D. Hart, late director of the Bancroft Library, and Anthony Bliss, rare books librarian, are photographed here with an early, rare edition of Mason's *Laws for the Better Government of California*. A recent acquisition by Dr. Hart for the library, this document is the only copy known to exist. *Courtesy Bancroft Library.*

(1961), published by the Book Club of California, an organization that he served as president from 1956 to 1960. This compact volume included the writings of eleven California authors who described their earliest appearances in print. Here we see Hart's lighter touch, his bemused fascination with the anecdotal and offbeat aspects of California's colorful history. He had a keen appreciation of the power of narrative history, and he relished the opportunity to share amusing anecdotes that illumined larger aspects of character or historical development.

In 1966 Hart established the definitive text of Robert Louis Stevenson's *The Silverado Squatters* (1883) and made available a complete edition of Stevenson's other California writings in *From Scotland to Silverado*. Here again, Hart broke new ground in the field of California studies. In his introductory essay, he demonstrated convincingly the importance of Stevenson's brief stay in California as a force that shaped much of his later career. The Napa Valley and Monterey Peninsula were transformed by Stevenson into the fictional landscape of *Treasure Island* (1883). The flat-topped outline of Mt. St. Helena is unmistakably the model for Long John Silver's Spyglass Hill.

Perhaps Hart's most enduring contribution to California historiography is his splendid reference work *A Companion to California* (1978, rev. ed. 1987), a book that I had the privilege of reading in manuscript. My copy of the first edition is dog-eared and torn—the binding is nearly detached—because it is the single-most-often-used book on my shelf of California references. Whenever I want to check a fact or get the details straight on an incident in California history, I turn to "Hart's Companion." My experience with the book is not unique. Its wealth of information on subjects ranging from Abalone to Zukor, its carefully constructed cross references, and its trustworthiness of detail have made it an indispensable source for thousands of students of California history.

James D. Hart became director of the Bancroft Library in 1969, and served with distinction at that post until his death. Under his direction the library grew enormously, acquiring a national and international reputation for the range and richness of its collections. Hart's success in attracting endowments, gifts, and new collections became legendary among librarians around the country. One of the most important recent gifts he received was the only complete bilingual copy of Col. Richard B. Mason's *Laws for the Better Government of California* (1848), a crucial document for understanding the state's legal history. Professor Hart also actively supervised the re-evaluation of some of the great treasures of the Bancroft. In the mid-1970s he sponsored a battery of scientific tests on the plate of brass, discovered in 1936 and displayed for years at the Bancroft as an artifact from the circumnavigating voyage of Francis Drake. The tests' results, published by Hart in *The Plate of Brass Reexamined* (1977, suppl. 1979), cast doubt on the plate's authenticity. Another of Hart's proudest accomplishments as director of the Bancroft was the renowned publication program of the papers and manuscripts of Mark Twain. In 1985 the University of California Press published the definitive edition of the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, dedicated to James D. Hart "in appreciation and celebration of his distinguished scholarship, his unswerving loyalty, and his surpassing enterprise."

It was when he was director of the Bancroft Library that I first met James D. Hart in 1970. I was a graduate student at Berkeley when I made an appointment with Professor Hart to ask him to serve on my orals committee. I recall sitting in his book-lined office at the library and being powerfully impressed not only by his erudition and urbane good humor, but also by his patrician grace and charm. Over the next several years, as he guided my reading and study, he proved to be a rigorously demanding yet patient mentor. When the day of my orals finally arrived, Professor Hart was the last of my inquisitors to enter the examination room. The other professors, all prominent scholars from the Berkeley history department, rose to their feet as Hart entered the room. Their response was natural and appropriate. James D. Hart was a man who commanded respect and deference from students and colleagues alike.

For twenty years I have counted on Professor Hart for advice and counsel. He generously read all or parts of each of the manuscripts I prepared for publication. His criticisms, always balanced and endlessly tolerant, directed me to greater clarity of expression and precision in the use of language. His personal warmth and enthusiasm for the work of a former student was sustaining. I will miss him tremendously.

One of Professor Hart's favorite early references to California appeared in "The Power of Fancy," a poem by the eighteenth-century American writer Philip Freneau. His words might serve well as an epitaph for this eminent Californian, James D. Hart. In summoning an idyllic site, a land of wonder and delight, the poet could do no better than to command his muse:

> Bear me from that distant strand,
> Over ocean, over land,
> To California's golden shore—
> Fancy, stop, and rove no more.

CHS

James J. Rawls, an instructor of history at Diablo Valley College, is the coauthor of California: An Interpretive History *(1988) and editor of* New Directions in California History: A Book of Readings *(1988).*

California Historical Society
BOOK SALE

The California Historical Society is pleased to offer this selection of books and posters at very special prices:

BOOKS

Backstory: Interviews with Screenwriters of Hollywood's Golden Age by Pat McGilligan (paperbound)	$10.95
Bitter Melon: Stories from the Last Rural Chinese Town in America by Jeff Gillenkirk and James Motlow (paperbound)	$17.95
Boyhood Days by Ygnacio Villegas and edited by Dr. Albert Shumate	$7.95
A Companion to California by James D. Hart (clothbound)	$35.00
Death Valley and the Amargosa: A Land of Illusion by Richard E. Lingenfelter (paperbound)	$13.95
The Diaries and Writing of Anna Morrison Reed, 1849-1921 edited by John E. Keller (clothbound)	$8.00
Eye on the Sky: Lick Observatory's First Century by Donald E. Osterbrock, John R. Gustafson and W.J. Shiloh Unruh (clothbound)	$23.00
Felipe De Neve: First Governor of California by Edwin A. Beilharz (clothbound)	$10.00
If the Walls Could Talk—Colusa's Architectural Heritage by Jane Foster Carter (clothbound)	$40.00
Indians of California: The Changing Image by James J. Rawls (paperbound)	$7.95
Los Angeles from the Days of the Pueblo by W.W. Robinson (paperbound)	$5.95
The Making of Golden Gate Park 1906-1950 by Raymond Clary (paperbound)	$12.95
Palos Verdes Peninsula: Time and the Terraced Land by Augusta Fink (paperbound)	$9.95
Place Names of the Sierra Nevada by Peter Browning (paperbound)	$9.95
To the Promised Land by Ken Light (clothbound)	$25.00
Southern California: An Island on the Land by Carey McWilliams (paperbound)	$6.95
Stairway Walks of San Francisco by Adah Bakalinsky (paperbound)	$5.95
Index to the California Historical Society Quarterly:	
Vols. 1-40, 1922-1961	$6.40
Vols. 41-54, 1962-1975	$9.00

POSTERS, PRINTS AND NOTECARDS

After Dark (boxing playbill)	$7.00
San Francisco Wharf woodcut print by Dan Quest	$15.00
Underwriters Fire Patrol, 1871	$8.00
History of California Women	$8.00
Box of 10 notecards, pen and ink drawing of the Whittier Mansion, brick red on ivory	$10.00

BACK ISSUES OF *CALIFORNIA HISTORY*

Back issues of available *California History* magazine from 1944 through Spring 1990 can be purchased at $5.95 per copy, $7.95 for Summer 1990 and later issues. Requests for 10 or more copies are entitled to a 10% discount. 50 or more receive a 25% discount. (No tax is charged on *California History* magazine.) Please call to determine postage before ordering—(415) 567-1848.

Book and poster supplies are limited. All items are sold on a no-return basis. Please pre-pay all orders.

Postage and handling charges: $1.50 for first item, $.50 for each additional item. California sales tax 7 percent.

Send orders to: CHS BOOKS, 2090 Jackson Street, San Francisco, CA 94109
Please allow 6-8 weeks for delivery.

Additional information is available upon request.

REVIEWS

Edited by James J. Rawls

Los Angeles Aqueduct, San Fernando Valley, ca. 1913. *Courtesy California State Library.*

Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s.

By Kevin Starr. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990, xiv, 453 pp., $24.95 cloth.)

Reviewed by Spencer Olin, *Professor of History, University of California, Irvine, and author of* California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives *and* California Politics: The Emerging Corporate State, 1846-1920 *and coeditor of* Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County Since World War II.

Many years ago it was my pleasure to review Kevin Starr's first book, *Americans and the California Dream, 1850-1915* (1973). Like most other reviewers of that book, I praised Starr for his vivid, elegant, and absorbing account of California's struggle for regional identity. The social and cultural foundation on which Starr constructed his impressive narrative was provided by the leading intellectual and literary figures of the state's formative years, such as Gertrude Atherton, Hubert Howe Bancroft, Henry George, Bret Harte, Jack London, John Muir, Helen Hunt Jackson, Frank Norris, and Josiah Royce. At the core of their collective dream, according to Starr, was the quest for a special relationship to nature. That earnest quest, when considered in terms of the palpable manner by which Californians in subsequent years have so severely compromised their dream, added pathos and urgency to Starr's rendition.

Accompanying my generally positive opinion of that book were reservations about its lack of conceptual structure or analytical categories, its rambling and discursive nature, its vacuum-like tendency to include more detail than was necessary to tell its basic story. I found myself agreeing with the observation of another reviewer of the book, David Williams, who warned that Starr's description and analysis "leave the historian who lives and breathes by social, political and economic forces faintly dissatisfied with the end product."

Those same strengths and limitations continue to characterize the second (*Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era*) and third *(Material Dreams)* books in Starr's "Americans and the California Dream" series. (A projected fourth book in the series will be entitled *The Dream Endures: California Through the Great Depression.*)

In *Material Dreams,* Starr once again is concerned with "the process whereby California was encountered and settled in imagination and symbol as well as social fact" (p. vii). Special attention is given to the design and material construction of southern California in the early twentieth century, a boom period of dramatic growth. Part I (Foundations in Water), in this reviewer's opinion the most significant of the book's four sections, begins with a discussion of the search for water as the central obsession of the Far West. It highlights various water engineering proposals advocated by such individuals as William Hammond Hall, George Chaffey, and William Mulholland, all of whom challenged fellow Californians to transform their state by means of massive irrigation projects. Part I concludes by relating the indispensable role of water to the building of the Imperial Valley and Los Angeles.

In Part II (The City on the Plain) Starr describes the rise of metropolitan Los Angeles in the 1920s, how it exemplified an "imperial water city," the role of boosterism and real estate activities, the dominance of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, and specific institutions (the University of Southern California, the Department of Water and Power, the Los Angeles Police Department, and the Los Angeles Philharmonic) serving to mold the city's material reality and civic identity. Starr argues in Part III (Materializing History) that southern California architects such as Rudolph Schindler, Richard Neutra, Myron Hunt, Bernard Maybeck, and the Greene brothers imposed on that region its most important cultural features. He also shows how the elites of Santa Barbara deliberately rejected the L. A. model in favor of a more tightly controlled, refined, genteel, exclusive (and exclusionary) alternative that integrated agricultural and resort elements. Part IV (Life and Letters in the Southland) deals with the urban intelligentsia of Los Angeles and the local culture of book collecting and printing.

In a brief Epilogue Starr mentions in passing that the material reality of southern California was created "by private elites who controlled public resources, land and water, and the mechanisms of government at the municipal, county, state, and federal levels" (p. 390). He refers (p. 391) to a "Southern California Raj—an orchestration of business, financial, political, and governmental power, all of it controlled by one oligarchy . . . " Unfortunately, these analytical insights do not inform much of the preceding text. As a result, *Material Dreams* is more a series of disconnected, though lively and often fascinating, essays than a coherent historical interpretation. CHS

Lotta Crabtree as a young woman. Lotta's theatrical career began in childhood, with singing and dancing in the California mines. She went on to enjoy national fame and wealth as the highest-paid American actress of her day. *Courtesy San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum.*

The San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849-1869.

By Misha Berson. (San Francisco: The San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum, Journal No. 2, 1989, 100 pp., $15.00 paper.)

Reviewed by Marvin R. Nathan, *Professor of Humanities at San Francisco State University and Coordinator of the San Francisco Interdisciplinary Humanities Course.*

This brief recapitulation of the early years of the San Francisco stage during its first two decades is part one of a projected two-volume work carrying local theatrical history down to the year 1906. The written text, slightly over half the contents of the book, stands mainly as an accompanying catalogue to a diverse selection of 82 illustrations from the Performing Arts Library and Museum Collection (PALM). The visual material, including photographs, engravings, posters, and playbills, presents a number of rarely-seen images of early show business personalities and is the centerpiece of the book. Of particular interest are illustrations of early San Francisco theaters from the Adelphi (1851) to the California (1869), although the fine George Fardon photograph of "Yankee" Robinson's American Theatre (1851) is not reproduced, presumably because PALM does not possess an original.

In her introduction, the author asserts that her intended audience is "the general public and the many armchair students of California cultural history." As for "providing a detailed, inclusive study of the entire range of theatrical activity . . . That I leave to academic scholars." She concludes by stating her agreement with Thomas Carlyle that "history" is "the essence of innumerable biographies." True to her word, eight of the fourteen chapters are more or less chronological compilations of biographical data on and theatrical performances by such familiar figures as Robinson, Stephen Massett, Tom Maguire, Caroline Chapman, the Booths, Biscaccianti, Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, Adah and several others. Also true to her word, Berson compels the reader who wishes to find in this volume a serious analysis of the literary conventions of original San Francisco dramatic material or musical lyrics, of stagecraft, acting styles, the economics of local theater, or of the more profound cultural symbols evident in early dramatic and musical material, to seek elsewhere. Certainly there is enough cultural material in "Yankee" Robinson's lyrics to "A Used-Up Man" for any self-respecting semioticist to create about for pages. Here, the song gets two sparing sentences.

Lola Montez came to America in 1851 from England. During her thirteen-year dancing career, some of which was spent in Grass Valley and San Francisco, she created and performed the exotic "spider dance." *Courtesy San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum.*

Though the text is written in a lively manner and gives a reasonably accurate factual account of the important people, performances, and related events of the period, the level of interpretation tends to be cursory, and the material often seems very familiar. Indeed, the author relies heavily on four secondary works, the latest of which was published in 1950. And, except for some shrewd insights about the internal ethnic contradictions in the black-faced minstrel show and the uniqueness of stagecraft in Chinese opera, there is little evidence in this book that it was written in 1989, rather than 1949. Even the prose style, with its high-spirited language and its constant reminders about the tragic consequences of fame, reminds one of the way San Francisco history was written a half-century ago. Ironically, the most telling and original parts of *The San Francisco Stage* appear not in its "innumerable biographies," but in its more culturally generalized chapters on the minstrel show, Chinese theatre, and the advent of national theatrical companies after 1869.

Taken as a brief and somewhat glib reconstruction of early San Francisco theatrical history, *The San Francisco Stage* does do an adequate job of framing the book's plentiful illustrations. However, when she strays from her subject into related topics, the author sometimes runs afoul in less familiar areas of scholarship. She sets a dramatic performance at Woodward's Gardens in 1860, six years before the amusement park opened; and we see Vigilance Committee victim Charles Cora hanged in Portsmouth Square rather than from the facade of Fort Gunnybags some blocks away on Sacramento Street. More seriously, she repeats the old tale about how the tragic life of actor Edwin Booth caused him never to have smiled for a photograph, illustrating her point with four unsmiling *carte de visite* views of Booth, though no one familiar with the conventions of Victorian studio photography, especially as they applied to famous male public figures, let alone self-styled tragedians, would use such evidence to prove so shaky a psychological theory. While there is little new territory explored in Ms. Berson's text, she gets decent marks for resurrecting and giving an animated treatment to the intriguing beginnings of the Bay Area theatrical tradition. And all people interested in California regional history should be grateful for the existence in San Francisco of so rich and distinctive a resource as The Performing Arts Library and Museum. CHS

Ernest Orlando Lawrence, holding the first cyclotron. *Courtesy University of California, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory.*

Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, Volume One.

By J. L. Heilbron and Robert W. Seidel. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, xxvii, 586 pp., $29.95 cloth).

Reviewed by William L. Cumiford, *Assistant Curator, History Division, Natural History Museum, Los Angeles County.*

The first volume of *Lawrence and His Laboratory*, by J. L. Heilbron and Robert W. Seidel, presents a history of the formative years of the famous Berkeley physics laboratory pioneered by Ernest Lawrence in the 1930s. Two additional volumes will carry the lab's story through World War II and into the contemporary era. This book chronicles the role of Lawrence's cyclotron as a prototype accelerator on the cutting edge of twentieth-century nuclear physics.

Lawrence and His Laboratory is a formidable account of modern science and technology, but also opens a fascinating vista on the research emphasis of higher education and its omnipresent corollary: the influence of large, external, financial grants in making the modern university. As a professorial personality, Lawrence emerges from these pages not as a theoretical genius or science *savant*, but rather as a hardheaded pitch-man for the new physics technology. Heilbron and Seidel forthrightly expose Lawrence's questionable physics and skewed chemistry, but give the devil his due when recounting Lawrence's unparalleled success in fundraising and in mesmerizing University of California officials, while preaching the gospel of progress through the cyclotron.

Ernest Lawrence arrived in Berkeley as a bona fide whiz-kid, and quickly exploited his advanced billing as a top young scientist to gain tenure and promotion. His interest in the cyclotron coincided with other accelerator experiments (particularly those in England), but more importantly occurred during the robust Berkeley days of inventiveness and experimentation. By 1930, physics of the classroom—as evidenced by J. R. Oppenheimer's work in theory—was about to merge with forays into large-scale laboratory experimentation.

Despite the impending hard times, UC President Robert Gordon Sproul unstintingly labored for the creation of the cyclotron lab and proved responsive to Lawrence's unceasing pressure for bigger and better accelerators. From the very beginning of his association with the university, Lawrence cultivated close administrative relations with Sproul and key financial supporters of the institution. Perceiving the curative potential of bombarding cancerous tissue beyond penetration levels achieved through standard X-ray technology, Lawrence unleashed his entrepreneurial energies on private foundations with amazing success.

In fact, the cyclotron's incredible rise to fame owed much to Lawrence's skills as a huckster for modern science. Having reached his initial goals by disintegrating particle nuclei, Lawrence unabashedly predicted unprecedented cyclotron accomplishments, from advances in medical research to the development of atomic energy. The Berkeley lab gained an early reputation as the Mecca of modern "big science," with Lawrence as the proselytizing prophet crisscrossing the nation in search of money and supporters.

More critical in terms of scientific approach, however, were Lawrence's organizing abilities and the resulting teamwork that made "big physics" possible. From Berkeley's Mecca issued forth a generation of young physicists, chemists, and engineers who were instrumental in establishing or sustaining cyclotron projects across the country, most of which were affiliated with other major universities. One of the more engaging parts of the book (chapter five), in fact, details the apprenticeship of the rising mid-twentieth-century nuclear generation at Berkeley and its dispersion throughout the nation. Lawrence heartily supported this trend through a magnanimous sharing of data, while maintaining a copious correspondence with colleagues in Europe and on the East Coast and dispatching a whole generation of "cyclotroneers" as lab instructors to Yale, Princeton, Purdue, the University of Michigan, and other institutions. Moreover, a number of Lawrence's noteworthy disciples joined the ranks of private industry, strengthening the growing symbiotic relationship between big business and higher education.

Appropriately, this first volume closes with the laboratory in transition from civil to wartime research. In 1940 and 1941 Lawrence directed cyclotron conversion to uranium separation, resulting in the development of the "calutron," a modified mass-spectograph apparatus designed for early atomic studies. By the fall of 1941 Lawrence had dedicated himself and his laboratory wholeheartedly to wartime research.

Heilbron and Seidel's dispassionate study offers an encompassing view of large-scale modern physics, but also reveals the twentieth-century's enrapture with science and technological progress. For the non-physicist, the technical and mathematical data presented here are daunting; but the excellent use of graphs, tables, and contemporary photographs enlivens the study considerably. However, it is the human side of the story—the scientific laboratory as high-altar of cultural veneration—that distinguishes this volume as an important commentary on the sanctity of science and technology in modern industrial society. CHS

The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century.

By Michael Davidson. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, xvi, 248pp.)

Reviewed by John E. Jordan, *Professor Emeritus of English at the University of California, Berkeley, and author of several books on British Romantics.*

"T'is distance lends enchantment to the view" wrote Thomas Campbell. He was talking about distant mountains, but chronological distance has a similar softening, enhancing effect. Witness the surge of interest in the literary "excitements" associated with San Francisco some forty years ago. Allen Ginsberg, in 1957 perhaps best known for the obscenity trials of *Howl,* in 1984 was celebrated by the publication of his monumental *Collected Poems* and two years later, an elaborate *Original Draft Facsimile, Transcript and Variant Versions* of the once offensive poem. In 1987 Arthur and Kit Knight edited *The Beat Vision;* recently Neal Cassady's wife Carolyn brought out *Off the Road: My Years with Cassady, Kerouac, and Ginsberg;* and now we have Michael Davidson's *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century.*

Davidson begins his Preface: "This book owes a great deal to all of those well-intentioned English teachers who never said a word about the literary movement going on in San Francisco during the late 1950s and early 1960s." This reviewer was probably one such teacher. In 1947, fresh from a Johns Hopkins Ph.D., I joined the Berkeley English Department, and in the early years I shared at different times offices with two poets whose names appear in Davidson's text. I had another as a reader in one of my courses, hired another to teach in a summer session, and was slightly acquainted with still another. Yet I had really little idea that a poetic rebirth was under way in San Francisco; I was caught up in the detached, text-centered, metaphysical, ambiguity-valuing New Critical movement, which had just taken over academia, and against which the expressive outburst was partly rebelling. I am grateful to Davidson for setting it forth in a sensitive, scholarly manner.

As Davidson's subtitle indicates, he is concerned with the sense of community behind this renaissance, the "enabling fictions" that made communities possible; he probes the coteries, the pluralism, the participation poetic, the performative style. Of course there were, as Davidson recognizes, other communities than the North Beach San Francisco scene: Yvor Winters headed a group at Stanford; across the Bay the "Activists" flourished around Lawrence Hart; Duncan led a "Berkeley renaissance"; and in the East another group fermented at Black Mountain. But Davidson appropriately focuses on San Francisco as representative. He begins with "The Elegiac Mode" resulting from "the loss of a radical tradition" and treats the important work of Kenneth Rexroth. He discusses "The Darkness Surrounds Us" with Beat writers Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Michael McClure, analyzes the more precise objective styles of Gary Snyder and Philip Whalen, the dense traditionalism of Robert Duncan, and the linguistic objectivism of Jack Spicer. He considers the generally secondary roles of women writers in these often homosexual "Boys' Clubs," dealing with the work of Helen Adam, Joanne Kyger, and Judy Grahn, and he closes with comments on the current scene.

In all this, Davidson is to be commended for generally resisting the beguiling enchantments of distance: although sympathetic, he can find occasional pomposity, leadenness, clottedness, and contradiction. Perhaps he sometimes shows suspicious ingenuity in justifying opaque passages and some of the more extreme discontinuities of open form and of "Beast language" and "language writing." The erudition behind this work is impressive; this was a more learned renaissance than some of its detractors suggest. Davidson is especially insightful in pointing out many ways in which the movement continued and extended romanticism. His book is dedicated to Roy Harvey Pearce, and in ideas and style shows the influence of *The Continuity of American Poetry*—antinomianism, Whitman, Emerson, and Thoreau are ever in the background. CHS

For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower.

By David R. Brower. (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1990, 556 pp., $24.99.)

Reviewed by A. W. Baxter *of Berkeley, California.*

David Brower's autobiography (published in the author's 78th year) will be of interest to students of conservation history and to readers with a taste for dramatic interactions among traits of individual character, institutional development, and political action upon a national stage. Although Brower gives credit to such colleagues as Howard Zahniser of the Wilderness Society and Ira Gabrielson of the Wildlife Management Institute, and to important contributions from other conservationists active in political battles for expanded national parks, wilderness areas, and wildlife reserves, the book properly emphasizes Brower's own role as a leading articulator of the ethical and aesthetic ideologies that ground the conservationists' set of land-use preferences.

In 1952 Brower became the Sierra Club's first executive director. During his tenure he helped to build the club from a California-centered organization of 7000 to a strong national force with over 77,000 members and to launch it on a growth curve that has reached an international membership of over half a million. In 1969, after protracted and public disagreements over financial management and subordination to directorial authority, Brower was fired by club directors who had been among his closest friends and oldest climbing companions. The public dismissal was the stuff of tragedy, and it caused lasting divisions among strong-minded men who lacked the flexibility to compromise on the organizational tactics to be used in service of shared conservation goals.

Brower went on, with associates, to found the Friends of the Earth, from which he was again fired, also after disputes over money management. In 1983 he was reelected to a Sierra Club directorship by a landslide and love-laden vote. Brower takes pride in his honorary vice-presidency of the Sierra Club, but not to the extent of allowing the conflicting operational visions of others to prevail against his own. Brower resigned again from the board in 1988.

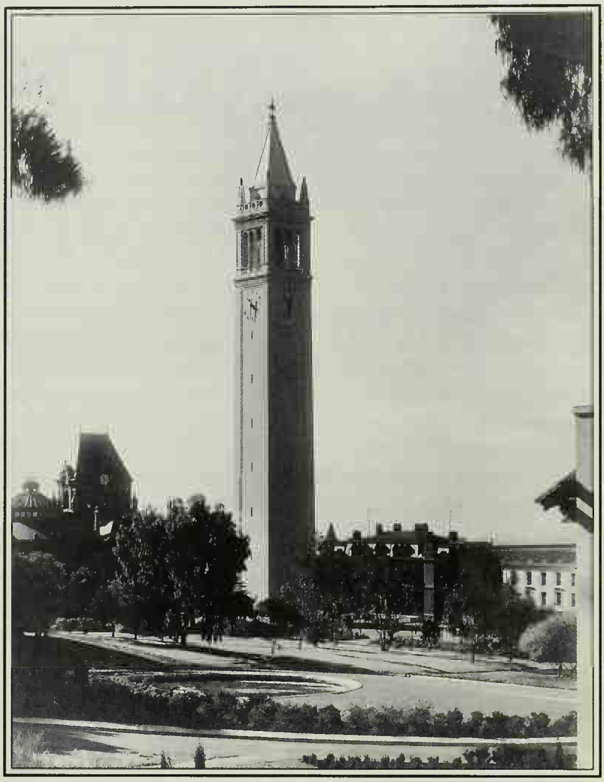
There are touches of distinction about Brower in large ways and small. He has great polemical eloquence, and this ability is well-displayed in the second half of the book, which has been cut and pasted up from materials published earlier and elsewhere. These long excerpts, linked by connecting narratives, offer the service of an anthology to readers not familiar with Brower's diverse writings in their original settings.

John McPhee calls Brower the "Great Druid" and correctly identifies both his function as a prophet and his billowing self-confidence in the verity and value of his conservation views. Wallace Stegner, another Brower watcher, says that, "Brower is a good man to have on your side in a fight." Possibly so, if the fight is a barroom brawl wherein operate few rules of evidence and weak constraints upon civility. Brower's polemics can resemble the broken end of a beer bottle; one disagrees with him at one's peril. Brower's opponents are not only wrong, horribly and unaccountably wrong, to prefer a dam to a free river, for example, but evil and ignorant people as well. Brower can be frustrated by his less-than-demon-driven associates.

The book's first thirteen chapters tell of Brower's Berkeley childhood, of his discovery of rock climbing, and his election into the mountaineering elite of the Sierra Club, which found him jobs and drew him into the life of a professional conservationist. His deep friendships are well-described and so are the climbs that forged character and led first to a love of wild mountain environments and, gradually, to a love of all wild places and a passion for their preservation. There is interesting material on Brower's good work as a trainer of mountain troops and as a combat officer with the 10th Mountain Division, trading fire with the German army along its retreat into the Italian Alps.

Brower's noteworthy life and outstanding contributions to conservation deserve, however, an even better and more informative telling. The cut and paste work is a lazy method which does little to explain how and why Brower's intellectual arguments changed in form or emphasis. The reader does not learn enough, for example, about the elements of Brower's internal growth that may have motivated his hardening political tactics toward such external worlds as Forest Service politics or Park Service policy. At the level of hard historical fact, one wishes to know how Brower was supported. Only the names of Kenneth Bechtel and E. H. Mallinckrodt, Jr., are mentioned. Who were the other angels behind the distinguished exhibition format books, the travel, and the leisure to prepare effective and often technical testimony? How and toward what other ends were the angels mobilized?

Oil companies, the whole nuclear power industry, and the Bureau of Land Management have been among Brower's Goliaths. Read the book; admire David's fearful sling; look forward to the promised Volume II, which may enlarge the historical clues to an interesting life spent among resounding personal and political controversies. CHS



The campanile, University of California, Berkeley campus, ca. 1930s. Photograph by Gabriel Moulin. *Courtesy California State Library and Moulin Studios, San Francisco.*

Berkeley At War: The 1960s.

By W. J. Rorabaugh. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989, xii, 277 pp., $24.95.)

Reviewed by Jules Tygiel, *Professor of History, San Francisco State University.*

On October 1, 1964, campus police at the University of California at Berkeley escorted former student Jack Weinberg into a waiting police car on the Sproul Hall plaza. Weinberg had committed the dubious crime of manning a table on behalf of southern civil rights workers, a violation of a recently promulgated ban on campus political activities. Within moments, hundreds of students surrounded the police car and prevented its departure. The Free Speech Movement (FSM), heralding an era of nationwide college unrest, had begun. Five years later and five blocks away, at a patch of land christened

"People's Park," an eruption of protest and retaliatory violence offered a dispiriting coda to the forces unleashed by the FSM. As the events in Berkeley in 1964 had unveiled a season of disharmony, the 1969 confrontation proved an equally apt harbinger of the impending chronological and symbolic end of the 1960s.

With mixed results, W. J. Rorabaugh's *Berkeley At War: The 1960s* chronicles the tumultuous years between the rise of the FSM and the fall of People's Park. *Berkeley at War* offers a valuable primer to the controversial events of the Sixties, but at the same time fails to reveal the underlying passions and motivations of the struggles or to place them within the appropriate context of broader national events.

Rorabaugh's Berkeley wisely encompasses both city and university, each of which, he argues, existed during the 1960s in a state of war. Relying upon an impressive array of documents, manuscripts, and periodicals (but no direct interviews), Rorabaugh divides his chapters into color-coded battles: "White" for the saga of the Caucasian-dominated FSM; "Black" for the struggles involving race relations; "Red" to describe the growing militance of the anti-Vietnam War movement; and "Green" to trace the rise of the counterculture and People's Park controversy. What emerges is a three-sided conflict devoid of heroes. Uncompromising conservatives, who became "paranoid reactionaries," vied for power against "naive, foolish, and incompetent" liberals and self-centered radicals, who cynically advanced their cause by orchestrating confrontations and repression, thereby radicalizing their naive constituency.

In depicting this "war," Rorabaugh focuses on the role of the generals rather than that of the foot soldiers. He repeatedly assesses tactics and strategies of university officials, local politicians, and radical leaders, implying that timely maneuvers might have changed the course of history and stemmed the tide of protest.

The shortcomings of this approach become evident in his discussion of the 1964-65 Free Speech Movement. Rorabaugh carefully dissects the strategies of administration figures and FSM leaders, but largely ignores the underlying causes of student discontent. He dismisses the ideology of the New Left as "shallow rhetoric" and attributes the alienation of the young to a rebellion against "a world created and then frozen into place in 1945" and a future that "promised the inheritance of a sterile world without any chance to alter it." But students in the Sixties feared not societal stasis, but the consequences of the rapid changes that had transformed American society during their lifetimes: bureaucratization, the onset of computers, military adventurism, and revelations of racial inequities. The new multiversity, exemplified in its most extreme form at the University of California, Berkeley, embodied these fears.

It is telling that, while Rorabaugh describes the various rallies, he rarely quotes student speeches and pamphlets. For Rorabaugh, Mario Savio's pungent and pointed metaphor of the university as a "knowledge factory" and the students as "raw materials," appears less important than his oblique sexual imagery. Rorabaugh's tactical emphasis also obscures the fundamental foundation block for the success of the FSM. The students, for all of their excesses, held the moral high ground. The university, in its attempts to limit political discourse, advocated an untenable position. That the issue revolved around fundraising for the civil rights movement, the great moral crusade of that era, further deflated the legitimacy of the administration's position.

"What then, had the sixties, been about?" asks Rorabaugh in conclusion. Unfortunately, he fails to provide a satisfactory answer to this question. Rorabaugh repeatedly defines power as "the underlying issue" of Berkeley's war. This emphasis seems misplaced. In retrospect, the "power" at stake in Berkeley in the Sixties seems minimal. Social and cultural issues, which Rorabaugh concedes had the most far reaching consequences, regretfully play only a supporting role in his analysis. The various movements of the 1960s, whether civil rights, anti-war, or counterculture, were mass movements, drawing their strength and significance from the wellspring of discontent and alienation they tapped. The "war at home," both in Berkeley and elsewhere, was largely a war of the foot soldiers. Their history remains to be written. CHS

The Public Historian

Sponsored by the National Council on Public History

SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE

- **The Field of Public History: Planning the Curriculum** (Vol. 9, No. 3)
- **The National Park Service and Historic Preservation** (Vol. 9, No. 2)
- **Archives and Public History: Issues, Problems and Prospects** (Vol. 8, No. 3)
- **The Debut of Public History in Europe** (Vol. 6, No. 4)
- **Business and History** (Vol. 3, No. 3)
- **Editing, Publishing, and Public History** (Vol. 4, No. 2)
- **Public History and Local History** (Vol. 5, No. 4)
- **Public History: State of the Art** (Vol. 2, No. 1)

Single Copies: $7.00 Individuals, $9.50 Institutions, $4 Students.

Send orders and subscription inquiries to: The Public Historian, 2120 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, CA 94720

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

CALIFORNIA CHECKLIST

Charles N. Johnson, Librarian, Ventura County Museum of History and Art

The California Checklist provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions that need additional publicity, are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the Checklist Editor for this list: Author, title, name and address of publisher, date of publication, price, binding (cloth or paper), International Standard Book Number (ISBN), and order address. Checklist information should be mailed to: Charles N. Johnson, Checklist Editor, Ventura County Museum of History and Art, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, CA 93001.

Aleahmad, Linda. *Simi Valley: Toward New Horizons.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-363-4. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Austen, Ruth. *Ontario: The Model Colony.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $25.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-349-9. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Bloch, Louis M. *Overland to California in Eighteen Fifty-Nine.* Cleveland, Ohio: Bloch & Company, 1990. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-914276-04-2. Order from: Bloch & Company; Post Office Box 18058; Cleveland, OH 44118.

Eargle, Dolan. *The Earth is Our Mother: A Guide to the Indians of California, Their Locales and Historic Sites.* Third edition. San Francisco: Trees Company Press, 1990. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-937401-08-0. Order from: Trees Company Press; 49 Van Buren Way; San Francisco, CA 94131.

Emanuels, George. *California Indians-An Illustrated Guide.* Walnut Creek: Diablo Books, 1990. $14.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9607520-3-X. Order from: Diablo Books; 1317 Canyonwood Court No. 1; Walnut Creek, CA 94595.

Fitzgerald, Margaret E. and Joseph A. King. *The Uncounted Irish in Canada and the United States.* Port Credit, Ontario: P. D. Meany Publishers, 1990. $36.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-88835-024-4. Order from: P. D. Meany Publishers; Box 534; Port Credit, Ontario, Canada L5G 4M2.

Flehr, Paul D. *Inventors & Their Inventions: A California Legacy.* Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1990. $22.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87015-261-0. Order from: Pacific Books, Publishers; Post Office Box 558; Palo Alto, CA 94302-0558.

Haslam, Gerald. *Coming of Age in California.* Walnut Creek: Devil Mountain Books, 1990. $8.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-915685-07-81990. Order from: Devil Mountain Books; Post Office Box 4115; Walnut Creek, CA 94596.

Hawk, William R., ed. *California Gold History & Production Records.* Sonora: TRS Publishing Company, 1990. $3.00 (paper) ISBN: 1-878565-01-X. Order from: TRS Publishing; Post Office Box 914; Sonora, CA 95370.

Hoover, Mildred B. *Historic Spots in California.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990. $49.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8047-1734-6, $19.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8047-1735-4. Order from: Stanford University Press; Stanford, CA 94305-2235.

Hurtado, Albert L. *Indian Survival on the California Frontier.* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990. $11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-300-04798-3. Order from: Yale University Press; 302 Temple St.; New Haven, CT 06520.

King, William. *The San Gabriel Valley: Chronicles of an Abundant Land.* Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-290-5. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Kiraly, Sherwood. *California Rush.* New York: Macmillan, 1990, $17.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-02-563570-0. Order from: Macmillan Publishing Company, Incorporated; Front & Brown Sts.; Riverside, NJ 08075.

Kling, Rob, ed. *Postsuburban California: The Transformation of Orange County.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. $34.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-520-06716-9. Order from: University of California Press; 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Larson, Louise L. *Sweet Bamboo: A Saga of a Chinese American Family.* Los Angeles: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California, 1990. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-930377-02-8. Order from: Chinese Historical Society of Southern California; 4205 S. La Salle Avenue; Los Angeles, CA 90062.

Laury, Jean R. *Ho for California: Pioneer Women & Their Quilts.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1990. $32.50 (cloth) ISBN: 0-525-24838-2, $22.50 (paper) ISBN: 0-

525-48533-3. Order from: New American Library; Post Office Box 120; Bergenfield, NJ 07621.

Lawson, Greg. *Oh . . . California*. El Cajon: First Choice Publishers, 1990. $39.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-916251-34-9. Order from: First Choice Publishers; Post Office Box 1291; El Cajon, CA 92021.

Mather, Ruth E. *Gold Camp Desperadoes: A Study of Violence, Crime & Punishment*. San Jose: History West Publishing Company, 1990. $23.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-9625069-0-7. Order from: History West Publishing Company; Post Office Box 612066; San Jose, CA 95161.

Mathes, Valerie Sherer. *Helen Hunt Jackson and Her Indian Reform Legacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. $27.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-292-73056-X. Order from: University of Texas Press; Post Office Box 7819; Austin, Texas 78713-7819.

Mullen, Kevin. *Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1989. $24.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87417-146-6. Order from: University of Nevada Press; Reno, NV 89557.

Nash, Gerald D. *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. $12.50 (paper) ISBN: 0-8032-8360-1, Bison Bks. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th Street, Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

Newcomb, Rexford. *Spanish-Colonial Architecture in the United States*. New York: Dover Publications, 1990. $11.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-486-26263-4. Order from: Dover Publications; 31 E. Second Street; Mineola, NY 11501.

Nicholson, Loren. *Loren Nicholson's Old Picture Postcards: A Historic Journey Along California's Central Coast*. San Jose: California Heritage Publishing Associates, 1989. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-9623233-1-4. Order from: California Heritage Publishing Associates; 156 Del Norte Way; San Luis Obispo, CA 93401.

Parry, J. H. *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990. $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-520-07140-9. Order from: University of California Press, 2120 Berkeley Way; Berkeley, CA 94720.

Polos, Nicholos C. *San Dimas: Preserving the Western Spirit*. Pasadena: Castle Press, 1990. $35.00 (cloth, includes shipping and handling). Order from: San Dimas City Hall; 245 East Bonita Avenue; San Dimas, CA 91773.

Pomeroy, Earl. *In Search of the Golden West: The Tourist in Western America*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. $9.95 (paper). Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

Prucha, Francis Paul. *Documents of United States Indian Policy*. Second edition, expanded. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1990. $35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-8032-3688-3, $12.95 (paper) ISBN: 0-8037-8726-7. Order from: University of Nebraska Press; 901 N. 17th Street; Lincoln, NE 68588-0520.

Smith, Michael L. *Pacific Visions: California Scientists and the Environment, 1850-1915*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988. $30.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-300-3264-1, $12.95 (paper, published 1990) ISBN: 0-30-04907-2. Order from: Yale University Press; 302 Temple Street; New Haven, CT 06520.

Starr, Kevin. *Over California*. Text by Kevin Starr; photography by Reg Morrison. San Francisco: Collins, 1990. $45.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-00-223703-2. Order from: William Collins; 50 Osgood Place, Suite 400; San Francisco, CA 94133.

Weber, David. J. *The Californios versus Jedediah Smith, 1826-1827: A New Cache of Documents*. Spokane: Arthur H. Clark, 1990. $35.00 (cloth) ISBN: 0-87062-199-8. Order from: The Arthur H. Clark Company; Post Office Box 14707; Spokane, WA 99214.

Westcott, John. *Anaheim: City of Dreams*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $25.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-354-5. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Wilson, Simone. *Sonoma County: The River of Time*. Chatsworth: Windsor Publications, 1990. $29.95 (cloth) ISBN: 0-89781-326-X. Order from: Windsor Publications; 9121 Oakdale Avenue; Post Office Box 2500; Chatsworth, CA 91313.

Trusted by Californians since 1852.

Wells Fargo comes through.

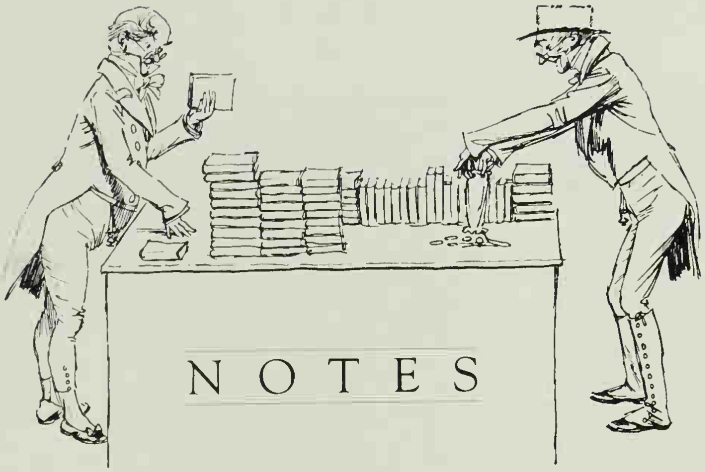
For over 135 years we've come through with what Californians have needed most. We turned gold dust into hard cash. We weathered financial panics, earthquakes and fires. Through boom times and bad, we kept our word—and our customers' trust.

Since those early days of the Wells Fargo stagecoach, we've developed one of the strongest and most innovative banking systems in the West. Now we are one of the ten largest banks in the country, so we'll be around for a long time to come.

© 1987, WFB, N.A.

Member FDIC

WELLS FARGO BANK



NOTES

McKEVITT, Hispanic Californians, pp. 320-331.

1. The author wishes to thank Alma Garcia, Richard A. Garcia, and Matt S. Meier for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this essay. The assistance of Julia O'Keefe, Santa Clara University Archivist, is also gratefully acknowledged.

   In this study the term "*californio*" refers to "Mexicans who were living in California when the United States seized the area in 1846 and to their descendants." See Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Rivera, *Dictionary of Mexican American History* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1981), 66.
2. Juan Bautista Alvarado, "History of California," volume 1, chapter 3, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California (hereinafter cited as BL).
3. Meier and Rivera, *Dictionary*, 14.
4. Alvarado, "History of California," vol. 1, chap. 3, BL.
5. Irving G. Hendrick, *The Education of Non-Whites in California, 1849-1970* (San Francisco: R & R Research Associates, Inc., 1977), 1.
6. David Frederic Ferris, *Judge Marvin and the Founding of the California Public School System* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), 53.
7. The extent to which Spanish-speaking youngsters enjoyed access to public schools invites further study. In *The Education of Non-Whites in California*, 12, Irving Hendrick maintains that "Hispano Americans were not early targets of discriminating educational legislation," and that they were "apparently accommodated into the American system." He cites as an example Stockton, where twenty-two of the city's thirty Mexican children attended the city's first schools. In Los Angeles "relatively large numbers of Spanish-speaking students" attended the city's public school at mid-century; but by 1870 "attendance was low," according to Richard Griswold del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: a Social History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 85-87. Albert Camarillo concludes that racial conflict in Santa Barbara kept many Spanish-speaking children away from the city's public schools in the 1850s. See Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 14-17. The history of bilingual schooling and of nineteenth-century education of Hispanic Californians, public as well as private, remains a rich topic of investigation.
8. In 1876 the state operated only fifteen high schools; by 1889 it had only twenty-one. Figures are reported in David J. León and Daniel McNeill, "The Fifth Class: a 19th Century Forerunner of Affirmative Action," *California History* 64 (1985): 57.
9. Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 225-26. See also Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 17; and Griswold del Castillo, *Los Angeles Barrio*, 88-89.
10. León and McNeill, "The Fifth Class," 57.
11. Gerald McKevitt, *The University of Santa Clara: A History, 1851-1977* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 39.
12. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 228.
13. James Alexander Forbes to José Antonio Aguirre, 13 December 1852, "Letter Book of James Alexander Forbes," vol. 1, California State Library, Sacramento, California. Forbes's favorable estimation of the Jesuits was not shared by all *californios*, however. When fifteen-year old Uladislao Vallejo traveled from California to attend St. John's College (now Fordham University) in 1860, his elder brother who accompanied him informed their father that Ula was "peeved to go because it was a Jesuit Institution and it looked so much like a prison." After several months he had changed his mind: "he likes it first rate; he likes his professors; the rules are not too severe"; but a year later he lost interest in his studies and dropped out of school. Quoted in Madie Brown Emparan, *The Vallejos of California* (San Francisco: The Gleeson Library Associates, 1968), 366.
14. Data was drawn from the college's catalogs and student rosters for the years 1851-1876, which are preserved in the archives of Santa Clara University, Santa Clara, California (hereinafter cited as ASCU). Students were identified by their place of origin and/or by their surname. Approximately 60% of them were from California; about 12% were from out-of-state, and around 27% were from Mexico and other foreign countries. Juan Bautista Alvarado, Jr., was a student there from 1859 until 1861. Another of the former governor's sons, José Francisco Agostino, may have attended briefly in 1863, according to information preserved in "Student Finance, 1856-1867," Ledger 150 (1), ASCU. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, who sent two sons to Santa Clara, may himself perhaps have taken courses there; catalogs for 1855-1857 list a "General Vallejo" in attendance; he is, however, not cited as a student in any of the early account books.
15. The college may have issued other Spanish editions of its catalog, but the only surviving issue is for 1867. Administrators debated in 1894 whether to again

NOTES

publish in Spanish, but no copy has been found. The financial importance of the school's Spanish-speaking clientele was also shown by the fact that Santa Clara sent Jesuit faculty on fund-raising tours to Mexico and Central America. See McKevitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 64, 115.

16. Estudillo attended Santa Clara from 1857 until 1864. His surviving diaries cover the years 1861, 1862, 1864, and 1867. Segments of the 1862 journal have been published in Jesús María Estudillo, *Sketches of California in the 1860s; the Journals of Jesús M. Estudillo*, edited and compiled by Margaret Schlichtmann and Marie Wilson (Fredericksburg, Texas: Awani Press, 1988).
17. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 250.
18. Emparan, *The Vallejos*, 366-67.
19. José G. Estudillo (Los Angeles) to nephew Miguel, May 13, 1906, José María Estudillo Family Papers, BL.
20. Judson A. Grenier, *California Legacy: The James Alexander Watson-María Dolores Domínquez de Watson Family, 1820-1980*, (Los Angeles: Watson Land Company, 1987), 246, 265-66. Enrollment data regarding the Estudillos is contained in "Student Finance, 1856-1867," Ledger 150 (1), ASCU.
21. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821-1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 239.
22. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memories Relating to Alta California," translated by Earl R. Hewitt, BL, vol. 4, p. 80.
23. McKevitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 40.
24. Ferris, *Judge Marvin*, 56.
25. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 20.
26. Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 28, 1862, BL. The mother of his classmate Jacob Leese made similar demands on her son when he was at home. See Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 88. That Jesús María studied Spanish at Santa Clara is clear from a brief journal entry, "After the French and Spanish classes, we went swimming." See Estudillo, "Diary," Oct. 20, 1862, BL.
27. Grenier, *California Legacy*, 129.
28. Quoted in Camarillo, *Chicanos*, 43.
29. George Simpton (San Francisco) to John Nobili, 29 September 1853, John Nobili Papers, ASCU.
30. John Nobili (Santa Clara) to W. M. Keith, 10 June 1853, Nobili Papers, ASCU.
31. José G. Estudillo to William Heath Davis, 8 May 1859, William Heath Davis Collection, California State Library, Sacramento, California.
32. Gregory Mengarini (Santa Clara College) to Abel Stearns, March 26, 1862, Abel Stearns Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
33. In 1867-1868 the Spanish catechism course enrolled 33 students. "Grade Book, 1866-1867," 1 vol.; "Grade Book, 1868-1869," 1 vol.; "Credits for the Year 1873-74," 1 vol., ASCU.
34. Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, *Light in the Valley: the Story of California's College of Notre Dame* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1968), 86-91. According to Gloria E. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing Practices in Pre-American Santa Barbara," *Southern California Quarterly* 65 (Winter 1983): 316, "a formal education was generally unavailable for most young girls in the Spanish and Mexican periods. Opportunities were limited to tutoring or private schooling if affordable for upper class females." They received "at best a rudimentary education commensurate with their future role as wives and mothers." Differences in male and female child rearing are also described in Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984), 75-76.
35. Estudillo, "Diary," entries for April 19, 1861, and Dec. 7, 1861, BL. To hasten the learning of English by foreign students, a late-nineteenth-century rule of the school required that Spanish-speaking students "should not be allowed to speak Spanish except for the 1st month after coming." See Joseph W. Riordan, S.J., "Notes for the History of Santa Clara College," ASCU. Whether such a regulation was in effect in Estudillo's day is unknown.
36. Estudillo, "Diary," March 26, 1861.
37. McKevitt, *University of Santa Clara*, 99.
38. Napoleon Vallejo's experiences are recorded in Emparan, *The Vallejos of California*, 382-83.
39. Estudillo, "Diary," April 25, 1861.
40. Ibid., Feb. 27, 1861.
41. Ibid., Oct. 13, 1862.
42. Ibid., April 8, 1864.
43. Ibid., June 14, 1864.
44. For a description of child rearing and discipline in Hispanic California, see Miranda, "Hispano-American Childbearing," 313-14.
45. Estudillo, "Diary," April 26 and June 24, 1862. Annual awards are listed in *Prospectus of Santa Clara College, S.J., Cal.* for the years 1856-1864, ASCU.
46. "Constitution of the Philhistorian Debating Society of Santa Clara College, 1859-1872," 1 vol., ASCU.
47. Estudillo, "Diary," May 16, 1862.
48. Ibid., May 27, 1861.
49. Ibid., May 25, 1861.
50. Ibid., June 25, 1862.
51. Ibid., March 31, 1861.
52. Ibid., May 26, 1861.
53. Ibid., June 13, 1861.
54. Ibid., January 31, 1861.
55. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing Practices," 313.
56. Lindley Bynum, "Los Angeles in 1854-55: the Diary of Rev. James Woods," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 23 (June 1941): 83-84.
57. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 48. See also Estudillo, "Diary," July 22, 1864.
58. Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 1983), 162.
59. Estudillo, "Diary," April 20, 1862. The custom is described in Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 66; Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 129; and Vallejo, "Historical and Personal Memories," vol. 4, pp. 68-69.
60. Estudillo, "Diary," April 19, 1867.
61. See "Head Prefect's Log, 1896-1907," entries for Sept. 15, 1896; Sept. 16, 1897; Dec. 12, 1897, ASCU.
62. Silvano M. Tomasi, *Piety and Power: the Role of the Italian Parishes in the New York Metropolitan Area, 1880-1930* (Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1975), 2-3.
63. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 278.
64. Estudillo, "Diary," April 5, 1861. For an interesting comparison with another minority student who attended a Jesuit college, see Philip Gleason, "The Curriculum of the Old-Time Catholic College: A Student's View," *Records of the Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 88 (March-Dec. 1977): 113-14. Gleason analyzes the diaries of James A. Healy, an Afro-American student at Holy Cross College in 1848-1849.
65. Estudillo, "Diary," Jan. 9, 1864.
66. Ibid., March 22-24, 1862.
67. Ibid., Aug. 16, 1862.
68. Ibid., Jan. 7, 1861.
69. Ibid., Oct. 30, 1861.
70. Ibid., May 1, 1862. See also Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 69.
71. Ibid., Aug. 14, 1864.
72. Ibid., June 19, 1862.
73. Ibid., June 6, 1864.
74. Ibid., Mar. 4, 1864.
75. Ibid., Nov. 19, 1864.
76. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 215.
77. The precise ways in which that conflict was expressed are not recorded in the college's history. Although some native Californians were reluctant to share living quarters with Yankees, the majority maintained "an angelic front" when confronted with Anglo behavior that they disapproved, according to McNamee,

Light in the Valley, 77-79.

78. Frederic William Macondray (San Francisco) to Julian [P. Lee], Nov. 1, 1859; Macondray to Pierre [Combs], Nov. 2, 1859; and Macondray to Charlie [Charles P. Tyler], Nov. 1, 1859, in Frederic William Macondray [Letterpress Copybook, Jan. 1859-May, 1860], 1 vol., BL. Estudillo's view of the incident is unknown because his 1859 diary no longer exists.
79. Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 14, 1864.
80. For reasons that are not clear, his reaction to the honor was, however, mixed. "At first I did not wish to accept the office, but afterwards I consented, not that I cared for the office." Estudillo, "Diary," Feb. 8, 1862.
81. Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 98.
82. Estudillo, "Diary," June 17, 1864.
83. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1864.
84. Ibid., July 24, 1864.
85. Ibid., Dec. 31, 1864.
86. Bezique (besigue) became popular in the English-speaking world in the 1860s; Estudillo and his friends played it in 1867, according to Estudillo, "Diary," March 1-7, 1867.
87. Estudillo, "Diary," Aug. 18, 1862.
88. Ibid., Sept. 3, 1862, and Aug. 23, 1862. See also Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 114.
89. Estudillo, "Diary," July 4, 1862. Celebrations of the Fourth were popular among *californios*. The del Valle family annually hosted a four-day affair at their Rancho Camulos, as described by Pitt in *Decline of the Californios*, 253.
90. Estudillo, "Diary," Nov. 3, 1863.
91. Addendum to Estudillo, "Diary," 1862, BL.
92. Estudillo, "Diary," Aug. 25, 1862.
93. Ibid., Oct. 8, 1861. A short time after he left Santa Clara, Estudillo was asked why he had not completed Latin and Greek. He replied that "my time at College used to be every year so uncertain" that it had been impossible to plan studies well. See Estudillo, ibid., Oct. 7, 1864.
94. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1862.
95. Ibid., Oct. 22-23, 1862.
96. Ibid., Aug. 17, 1864.
97. Quoted in Schlichtmann, *Sketches*, 92.
98. Estudillo, "Diary," April 29, 1864.
99. Ibid., Aug. 29, 1864.
100. Miranda, "Hispano-Mexican Childbearing," 317. By no means were all of Santa Clara's Spanish-speaking students sons of wealthy hacendados. Many *californios* paid a much lower tuition by attending as day scholars rather than as boarders; and Estudillo was not the only Hispanic who had difficulty paying for his education.
101. Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 228.
102. Ibid., 269.
103. Ibid., 270-73.
104. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft: History of California* (Santa Barbara: Wallace Hebberd, 1965), II, 710, and IV, 728, 763, 770; Schlichtmann, "Research Notes for Chapter 11, Estudillo Manuscript," Schlichtmann Papers, BL; Emperan, *The Vallejos*, 979-99; Albert Shumate, ed., *Boyhood Days: Ygnacio Villegas' Reminiscences of California in the 1850s* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1983), 7-11; Grenier, *California Legacy*, 265; Leonard Pitt, review of *California Legacy*, by Judson A. Grenier, in *California History* 67 (June 1988): 135.
105. Estudillo's death in 1910 is recorded in *San Leandro Reporter*, Aug. 20, 1910. Additional information about his later life is found in Schlichtmann, "Research Notes, Estudillo Manuscript," Schlichtmann Papers, BL. See also Pitt, *Decline of the Californios*, 268.
106. Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society*, 18.

SIMON, William James, pp. 332-341.

1. Norman Hapgood, *The Changing Years* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1930), 65.
2. Quoted in Rosalind Miller, *Gertrude Stein: Form and Intelligibility* (Jericho, New York: Exposition Press, 1949), 146.
3. Robert Barlett Haas, ed., *A Primer for the Gradual Understanding of Gertrude Stein* (Los Angeles: Black Sparrow Press, 1971), 34.
4. David Starr Jordan, *The Days of a Man* (Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1922), I: 361, n.1.
5. Quoted in Edith R. Mirrielees, *Stanford: The Story of a University* (New York: Putnam's, 1959), 23.
6. As Jordan wrote in his autobiography, "it was in accordance with a special request of Mrs. Stanford made before her death that this eminent philosopher with a child's joyous attitude toward every new experience had come to us"; Jordan, *Days of a Man*, 174.
7. William James (hereinafter WJ) to David Starr Jordan, 22 March 1899, Stanford University Archives.
8. WJ to David Starr Jordan, 14 January 1905, Stanford University Archives.
9. WJ diary, 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard. Quotations from William James's diary are by permission of Houghton Library, Harvard University, and Alexander James, Glandore, County Cork, Ireland.
10. WJ to Alice James, 11 January 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
11. WJ to Henry James, 1 February 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
12. WJ to Theodore Flournoy, 9 February 1906, in *The Letters of William James and Theodore Flournoy*, ed. Robert C. LeClair (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 174-75.
13. WJ to Alice James, 24 January 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
14. WJ notebook, 1906, entry facing p. 67, dated 12 January, Houghton Library, Harvard.
15. WJ notebooks, 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
16. Ibid.
17. WJ to Flournoy, 9 February 1906, LeClair, ed., *Letters*, 175-76.
18. WJ to Henry James, 22 April 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
19. William James, "On Some Mental Effects of the Earthquake," in *Memories and Studies* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1917), 211. This essay appeared first in *Youth's Companion*, 7 June 1906.
20. Mirrielees, *Stanford*, 135.
21. WJ to Horace Davis, 19 April 1906, Stanford University Archives.
22. WJ to Henry James, 9 May 1906, Houghton Library, Harvard.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

LAZAROWITZ, Hiram Johnson, pp. 342-353.

Research for this article was partially financed by a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for College Teachers held at Stanford University in 1986. A shorter version of this paper was read at the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association Conference in Los Angeles in August 1987. Professor Robert E. Burke of the University of Washington read an earlier version of this paper and shared his vast knowledge of Hiram Johnson. Professor Richard Coke Lower of California State University, Sacramento, read the conference paper and made valuable comments.

1. Otis L. Graham, Jr., *An Encore for Reform: The Old Progressives and the New Deal* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 6. See also Ronald A. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives in the United States Senate and the New Deal, 1933-1939* (New York: Garland Press, 1979), 1.
2. See Mark H. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform: The New Deal and Taxation, 1933-1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
3. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 277.

NOTES

4. Spencer C. Olin, Jr., *California's Prodigal Sons: Hiram Johnson and the Progressives, 1911-1917* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 171; Gladwin Hill, *Dancing Bear: An Inside Look at California Politics* (Cleveland: World Publishing, 1968), 41; Jackson K. Putnam, *Modern California Politics, 1917-1980* (San Francisco: Boyd and Fraser, 1980), 2.
5. U. S. Congress, Senate, 65th Cong., 1st sess., August 20, 1917, *Congressional Record*, LV, pt. 6, 6185; John James Fitzpatrick, "Senator Hiram W. Johnson: A Life History, 1866-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1975), 62; Robert E. Burke, ed., *Diary Letters of Hiram Johnson* I (New York: Garland Press, 1983), 27; Seward W. Livermore, *Politics is Adjourned: Woodrow Wilson and the War Congress, 1916-1918* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1966), 60-61; Peter Gerard Boyle, "The Study of an Isolationist: Hiram W. Johnson" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1970), 40, 54, 56, 63, 95.
6. Letters to Archibald Johnson, September 7, 1917, and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, March 16, 1918, in *Diary Letters* I.
7. Boyle, "The Study of an Isolationist," 96; *Congressional Record*, 65th Cong, 1st sess., September 1, 1917, LV, pt. 7, 6496.
8. U. S. Congress, Senate, 65th Cong, 1st sess., August 20, 1917, *Congressional Record*, LV, pt. 6, 6184, 6497.
9. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., July 23, 1917, in *Diary Letters* I.
10. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 1; Ronald L. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republican Senators and the New Deal* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 6-7; Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 97-98; Fitzpatrick, "Hiram Johnson," 172; quotation in LeRoy Ashby, *The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 15. See also Starr, *Inventing the Dream*, 265, for an even less flattering portrait.
11. Mowry, *California Progressives*, 291-92.
12. Burke, *Diary Letters* I, 39; letter to Archibald and Hiram W. Johnson (hereinafter referred to as sons), September 23, 1921, in *Diary Letters* III; quoted in Leroy Ashby, *The Spearless Leader: Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), 282, 285-86.
13. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 7-8; Robert E. Burke, "A Friendship in Adversity: Burton K. Wheeler and Hiram W. Johnson," *Montana* XXXIV (Winter 1986): 12, 16,18.
14. For example, see letter to sons, October 1, 1921, in *Diary Letters* III.
15. Letter to sons, October 1, 1921, in *Diary Letters* III.
16. Letter to sons, March 27, 1924, in *Diary Letters* IV.
17. U.S. Congress, Senate, 68th Cong, 1st sess., May 24, 1924, *Congressional Record*, LXV, pt. 9, 9417.
18. Benjamin G. Rader, "Federal Taxation in the 1920s: A Reexamination," *The Historian* III (May 1971): 416, 424-28; John F. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 90; and Erik Olssen, "Dissent from Normalcy: Progressives in Congress, 1918-1925" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1970), 259.
19. Eugene W. Tobin, *Organize or Perish: America's Independent Progressives, 1913-1933* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 151, quoted on 172.
20. Rader, "Federal Taxation in the 1920s," 427.
21. Letter, Johnson to John Francis Nylan, March 10, 1933, Johnson Papers, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, part III, box 14.
22. Letter to Hiram Johnson, Jr., August 1, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
23. George Mowry, "Hiram Johnson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Supplement III, 1941-1945, 397; see also Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, iii.
24. Letter to sons, December 27, 1931, in *Diary Letters* V; Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 36.
25. Burke, *Diary Letters* I, 16, 51; Robert Burke, "The Political Oratory of Hiram Johnson," *Journal of the West*, XXVII (April 1988): 22.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Letter to sons, May 1, 1932, in *Diary Letters* V.
28. Letter to Archibald Johnson, January 22, 1933, in *Diary Letters* V.
29. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism*, 50-51.
30. Letter to sons, March 19, 1933, in *Diary Letters* V.
31. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 33.
32. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., January 22, 1933, in *Diary Letters* V.
33. Fred Greenbaum, "Hiram Johnson and the New Deal," *Pacific Historian* XVIII (Fall 1974): 24. Letter to Charles K. McClatchy, January 29, 1933, Johnson Papers, part III, box 14.
34. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 1, 1933, in *Diary Letters* V.
35. Quoted in James T. Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal: The Growth of the Conservative Coalition in Congress, 1933-1939* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967), 13.
36. Ellis Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly: A Study in Economic Ambivalence* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 344-45; Sidney Ratner, *American Taxation: Its History as a Social Force in Democracy* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1942), 467.
37. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 116.
38. San Francisco *Examiner*, April 12, 1934, editorial; see also May 16, 1934, 16. On April 12, 1934, in the Los Angeles *Examiner*, he urged taxpayers to organize. And on the same date, in the Seattle *Post-Inquirer*, he called for "DEFEAT AT THE POLLS" for those voting for taxes.
39. San Francisco *Examiner*, May 3, 1934, 14.
40. Olin, *California's Prodigal Sons*, 182.
41. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 19, 1934, in *Diary Letters* VI.
42. Letter to Charles K. McClatchy, August 18, 1934, Johnson Papers, part III, box 16; Rodney P. Carlisle, *Hearst and the New Deal: The Progressive as Reactionary* (New York: Garland Press, 1979), 30.
43. Fitzpatrick, "Hiram Johnson," 243; Burke, *Diary Letters* VI.
44. Letter to Irving Martin, May 28, 1933, Johnson Papers, part III, box 14.
45. Ronald A. Mulder, "The Progressive Insurgents in the United States Senate, 1935-1936: Was There A Second New Deal?" *Mid-America* LVII (April 1972): 108; Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936*, vol. I (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 363.
46. Letter to sons, February 12, 1933, in *Diary Letters* V.
47. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., February 4, 1934, in *Diary Letters* VI.
48. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., March 3, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
49. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., March 10, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
50. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., April 28, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
51. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., February 4, 1934, in *Diary Letters* V.
52. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval*, vol. III (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1960), 326; John Morton Blum, *Roosevelt and Morganthau* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1970), 148-49; Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problems of Monopoly*, 345-46; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 152; James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1956), 224-26; Ratner, *American Taxation*, 116; Herbert Stein, *The Fiscal Revolution in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 82; Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*,

79; Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 127, 135.

53. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 327; Blum, *Roosevelt and Morganthau*, 149-50.
54. U.S. Congress, Senate, 74th Cong, 1st sess., January 4, 1935, *Congressional Record*, LIX, pt. 1, 95.
55. Quoted in Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism*, 59.
56. Samuel J. Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, vol. IV (New York: Random House 1938), 270-77.
57. Roy C. Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, "The Revenue Act of 1935,"*American Economic Review* XXX (December 1935): 673. See also William Withers, "American Federal Finance," in *Taxation and Public Policy: A Discussion of the Current Problem of American and European Public Finance*, ed. by Paul Studenski (New York: Richard R. Smith, 1936), 54; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 152; and Patterson, *Congressional Conservatism and the New Deal*, 58-69.
58. Raymond Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper and Row, 1939), 308, 310, 316-17. See Hawley, *The New Deal and the Problem of Monopoly*, 345; Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 327; Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 136.
59. See Schlesinger, *Politics of Upheaval*, 328; Blum, *Roosevelt and Morganthau*, 303.
60. John Morton Blum, *From the Morganthau Diaries: Years of Crisis, 1928-1938* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1959), 303.
61. Erik Olssen, "The Progressive Group in Congress, 1922-1929," *The Historian* XLII (February 1980): 263.
62. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 141.
63. New York *Times*, June 22, 1935, 2.
64. New York *Times*, June 21 and 22, 1935. See Patrick J. Maney, *"Young Bob LaFollette": A Biography of Robert W. LaFollette, Jr., 1895-1953* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), 165.
65. Roy C. Blakey and Gladys C. Blakey, *The Federal Income Tax* (London: Longmans, Green, 1942), 370.
66. New York *Times*, June 25,1935.
67. Paul, *Taxation in the United States*, 187-88; Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, 101.
68. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 334-35.
69. Leff, *The Limits of Symbolic Reform*, 2, 93.
70. Witte, *The Politics and Development of the Federal Income Tax*, 101-2.
71. Schlesinger, *The Politics of Upheaval*, 334.
72. Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, ii, 122, 127.
73. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., June 29, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
74. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., July 21, 1935, in *Diary Letters* VI.
75. Burke, "A Friendship in Adversity," 14; Mulder, *The Insurgent Progressives*, 152-53.
76. Letter to Hiram W. Johnson, Jr., November 15, 1936, in *Diary Letters* VI.

MAHAN, Urban Growth, pp. 354-371.

1. Brief, but balanced, summaries of the controversy can be found in Zane L. Miller and Patricia M. Melvin, *The Urbanization of America: A Brief History*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich, 1987), especially 105-24; Raymond A. Mohl, *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920* (Arlington Heights, Illinois: Harlan Davidson, 1985), especially 81-138; Martin J. Schiesl, *The Politics of Efficiency: Municipal Administration and Reform in America, 1880-1920* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977),6-24, 189-98.
2. Mohl, 107, and Alan A. Hynding, *California Historymakers* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1976), 55. Historical research on political leadership in pre-World War I San Francisco is particularly rich. See especially Alexander Callow, "Chris Buckley: San Francisco's Blind Boss," *Pacific Historical Review* 25 (August 1956): 261-79, and William A. Bullough, *The Blind Boss and His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth Century San Francisco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).
3. John A. Garraty and Robert A. McCaughey, *The American Nation: A History of the United States Since 1865* (New York: Harper and Row, 1987), 553.
4. Sacramento *Union*, 29 September 1913, 1.
5. The Sacramento Museum and History Division, under the energetic leadership of James Henley and professional curators, has assembled massive quantities of local historical documents never before available to students and scholars.
6. Oscar Lewis, *The Big Four: The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins and Crocker and of the Building of the Central Pacific* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1938).
7. *Statutes of the State of California Relating to the City of Sacramento*, compiled by Robert T. Devlin (Sacramento: Valley Press, 1881).
8. California Board of Health, Bureau of Vital Statistics, *Duplicate Certificate of Death, County of Sacramento, 1913, Image 0619*.
9. Sacramento County, *Great Register of Sacramento County, 1874-1880*.
10. *The Sacramento Directory for the Year 1880* (Sacramento: H. S. Crocker and Company, 1880), 91.
11. *City and County Directory for Sacramento, 1884-1885* (San Francisco: L. M. McKenney and Company, 1884),77.
12. G. Walter Reed, *History of Sacramento County, with Biographical Sketches* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1923), 172-73.
13. Win J. Davis, *An Illustrated History of Sacramento County, California* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1890), 95, and *The Sacramento Bee*, 29 September 1913, 1. Hereinafter, *The Sacramento Bee* will be cited as *Bee*.
14. Sacramento *Union*, 30 September 1913, 3; also interview on 3 October 1988 with Mr. Robert M. Beard, Jr., the grandson of Mayor Beard.
15. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910, Volume II* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 139.
16. Thomas H. Thompson and Albert Augustus West, *History of Sacramento County, California* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1880), 144.
17. Joseph A. McGowan, *History of the Sacramento Valley* (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1961), II, 10-18.
18. Joseph A. McGowan and Terry R. Willis, *Sacramento: Heart of the Golden State* (Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications, Incorporated, 1983), 63.
19. Department of the Interior, Census Office, *Statistics of the Population of the United States, 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1883), 109, 416, 447.
20. United States Census Office, *Census Reports, Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), I, 432-33.
21. *Bee*, 11 May 1892, 4.
22. Thomas Padilla, "The Selection of the Freeholders Framing the 1893 Sacramento City Charter" (1983), unpublished research paper filed with the Sacramento Museum and History Division.
23. *Bee*, 17 May 1892, 2.
24. Ibid., 13 May 1892, 1, and 17 May 1892, 2.
25. *California State Senate Concurrent Resolution Number Two*, 1893.
26. Andrew D. White, "The Government of American Cities," *Forum*, December 1890, 368.
27. Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency*, 63.
28. *Charter of the City of Sacramento, 1893*, Section 32.
29. *Charter of 1893*, Section 197, and elsewhere in that document. See also Thomas Padilla, "Sacramento City Charters and Marshall R. Beard" (1983), unpublished

NOTES

research paper filed in the Sacramento Museum and History Division.

30. Myrtle Shaw Lord, *A Sacramento Saga: Fifty Years of Achievement-Chamber of Commerce Leadership* (Sacramento: Chamber of Commerce, 1946), 8-13.
31. Lord, *Saga,* 26, 27, 30, 250, 256, 367.
32. Ibid., 258.
33. Ibid., 253.
34. *Bee,* 16 October 1907, 1.
35. Ernesto Galarza, *Barrio Boy* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1972).
36. See, for example, *Bee,* 5 October 1907, 10.
37. Ibid., 17 February 1917, 1, and 25 June 1928, 1.
38. See, for example, Sacramento *Union,* 28 October 1909, 1. Fox was accused of vetoing Mayor Beard's decision to appoint Clinton L. White to the job of city attorney. Beard responded that he rejected White because White was considered to be an "old fossil."
39. *Record-Union,* Sacramento, 23 September 1899, 4; 25 September 1899, 4; 26 September 1899, 2; 4 October 1899, 4.
40. *Bee,* 9 November 1892, 3.
41. Ibid., 7 November 1893, 1.
42. *Record-Union,* 25 September 1899, 4; 29 September 1899, 3.
43. Ibid., 6 October 1899, 6.
44. Ibid., 3 November 1899, 4; 8 November 1899, 4.
45. Sacramento *Union,* 4 November 1903, 3.
46. Lord, *Saga,* 31.
47. Sacramento *Union,* 8 November 1905, 3.
48. Ibid., 9 January 1906, 9.
49. Officials of both the Southern Pacific and the Western Pacific issued statements denying that the SP had opposed Western Pacific's campaign to enter Sacramento. *Bee,* 5 October 1907, 1.
50. *Bee,* 23 October 1907, 3.
51. Ibid., 7 September 1925, 5.
52. Ibid., 3 October 1907, 1.
53. Ibid., 2 November 1907, 3.
54. Ibid., 1 November 1907, 4.
55. Sacramento *Union,* 4 November 1907, 1; *Bee,* 4 November 1907, 14.
56. *Bee,* 5 November 1907, 1.
57. Sacramento *Union,* 6 November 1907, 4.
58. *Bee,* 6 November 1907, 1, 4.
59. Ibid., 3 November 1909, 1.
60. *Sacramento Weekly and Alta California,* photos of Beard, supporting editorials, and political advertisements appear in the issues of 16, 23, 30 October and 6 November 1909.
61. *Bee,* 2 November 1909, 1; 3 November 1909, 11; 6 November 1909, 1.
62. Sacramento *Union,* 3 November 1909, 1.
63. *Bee,* 3 November 1909,.1; 8 November 1909, 5.
64. Kirk Saville, "Mayor Beard and the Machine: Elections in Sacramento, 1905-1911" (n.d.), unpublished research paper filed in the Sacramento Museum and History Division.
65. United States Census Office, *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 800-804; Department of Commerce, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), II, 139.
66. William L. Willis, *History of Sacramento County, California* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1913), 279-90.
67. *Thirteenth Census,* II, 139.
68. *Bee,* 2 November 1911, 2.
69. Thomas Padilla, "George Washington Radonich and Sacramento City Politics" (1983), unpublished research paper filed in the Sacramento Museum and History Division. See also the *Bee,* 13 November 1907, 1; 1 November 1909, 4; 3 November 1909, 11; 18 May 1912, 1; 2 September 1915, 5; 1 October 1920, 1; 20 October 1920, 5; and the Sacramento *Union,* 26 August 1899, 4; 26 June 1906, 11; 3 March 1907, 13. The author has no evidence that Radonich was ever convicted of any charge. He died in Marin County in 1929.
70. See, for example, *Bee,* 14 October 1907, 5.
71. *Bee,* 14 October 1907, 5; 15 October 1907, 3.
72. *Record-Union,* 16 June 1899, 2; 24 June 1899, 2.
73. Ibid., 1 October 1899, 2.
74. Superintendent of United States Census, *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington: Public Printer, 1853), 969; *Twelfth Census,* I, 648.
75. *Bee,* 16 October 1907, 4; 2 October 1907, 5; City of Sacramento, *Record of the Board of Trustees, 1905,* 129.
76. Section 221, *Sacramento City Charter of 1893.*
77. *Constitution of the State of California,* Article XI, Section 8, and *Sacramento City Charter of 1893,* Sections 231 and 232.
78. This paragraph relies heavily on Mohl, *The New City.* Also useful for an understanding of the motives of reformers are Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 44-75; Melvin G. Holli, *Reform in Detroit: Hazen S. Pingree and Urban Politics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 161-81; Otis A. Pease, "Urban Reformers in the Progressive Era: A Reassessment," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 62 (April 1971): 49-59; John D. Buenker, *Urban Liberalism and Progressive Reform* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), and Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 55 (October 1964): 157-69.
79. *Bee,* 12 June 1912, 1.
80. Schiesl, *Politics of Efficiency,* 2, 3; Gabriel Kolko, *Main Currents in American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 303-5.
81. Lord, *Saga,* 41, 54. As mayor, Beard had a regular seat on the board.
82. Sacramento *Union,* 28 October 1909, 1.
83. See, for example, McGowan and Willis, 70-76, and Reed, *History of Sacramento County,* 174. Regarding the new Del Paso Park, see the Sacramento *Union,* 27 August 1910, 3.
84. Sacramento *Union,* 4 January 1910, 1; 24 March 1910, 3; 25 March 1910, 1; *Bee,* 2 November 1911, 8.
85. Sacramento *Union,* 1 August 1910, 5.
86. Ibid., 1 November 1907, 1.
87. Ibid., 23 August 1910, 1.
88. Settlement worker Robert A. Woods, quoted in Wiebe, *Search for Order,* 174.
89. *Bee,* 26 June 1911, 5. Only 601 people voted.
90. Sacramento City Charter of 1911, *Sacramento County Records, Book 7, 1912,* 479 ff. See especially Articles 25, 26, and 27.
91. *Bee,* 6 May 1912, 1. Carraghar got 6190 votes and Beard 5728.
92. *Bee,* 12 June 1912, 1; William V. Shannon, "The Age of the Bosses," *American Heritage,* June 1969, 29.
93. *Bee,* 17 May 1933, 2; 30 June 1917, 1; 2 July 1914, 1.
94. The significance of the women's vote is shown by comparing Carraghar's winning total of 6190 votes in the primary to Burke's 10,701 in the run-off. Beard had swept the west end precincts as usual: in the two lowest numbered precincts, he ran ahead of Mrs. Johnston by a total of 304 to 87. However, Beard lost 42 of the 43 higher numbered precincts to her. *Bee,* 20 May 1912, 1, 5.
95. *Bee,* 20 May 1912, 1.
96. Sacramento *Union,* 30 September 1913, 3.
97. For useful discussions of Abe Reuf, see James P. Walsh, "Abe Reuf Was No Boss: Machine Politics, Reform, and San Francisco, *California Historical Quarterly* 51 (Spring 1972): 3-16, and Walton Bean, *Boss Reuf's San Francisco: The Story of the Union Labor Party, Big Business, and the Graft Prosecution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952).
98. For similarities in the careers of urban bosses, see Mohl, *New City,* 100-107. For the value of Beard's property, compare the City of Sacramento, *Assessment Book of the Property of the City of Sacramento, for the Year 1903,*16, to City of Sacramento, *Assessment Book of the Property of the City of Sacramento, for the Year 1913,* 22.

99. The 1911 charter is in *Statutes of California*, Chapter 6, 1911 Extra Session, beginning on page 305. The charter of 1921 is in *Statutes of California*, Chapter 10, 1921, beginning on page 1919. For a perceptive commentary on the relationship between business and businesslike government, see James Weinstein, "Organized Business and the City Commission and Manager Movements," *Journal of Southern History* 28 (May 1962): 166-82.

WOOLSEY, Lost Cause, pp. 372-383.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: The author extends his appreciation to Robert Chandler, Abraham Hoffman, Doyce Nunis, Martin Ridge, and Midge Sherwood for their suggestions. This study was partially funded by a Milken Foundation grant through the Los Angeles Archdiocese.

1. John G. Downey to Pablo de la Guerra, 8 October and 23 July 1860, John G. Downey Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. E. G. Waite, a prominent upstate journalist, recalled that Democrats statewide "divided on the Lecompton & anti-Lecompton issues, between the Douglas and Breckinridge wings, on the construction of squatter sovereignty." See Amos Bowman, *Newspaper Matter, Information on Writers & Newspapers of California* (1878), Bancroft Library Manuscript, University of California, Berkeley.
2. Statistics on the 1860 election in Hubert H. Bancroft, *Works* (50 vols., San Francisco: The History Company, 1884-1890), 7: 265-70. Local returns can be found in the Los Angeles *Star*, 10, 17, and 24 November 1860.
3. Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 19. Analysis of the nuances in native opinion toward the Civil War is in Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 229-48.
4. Augustus S. Ensworth to Cave Johnson Couts, 23 February 1860, Couts Papers, Special Collections, Huntington Library. For a review of the transcontinental railroad and state division as sectional issues, see Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1927), 136-88; Bancroft, *Works*, 7: 264; and Ward M. McAfee, "California's House Divided," *Civil War History* 33 (June 1987): 115-30.
5. Francisco P. Ramirez, Statement 1888, Hubert Howe Bancroft Collection, Bancroft Library. Statistical data for the 1856 and 1860 elections are in *Political Textbook for 1860: Comprising a Brief View of Presidential Nominations and Elections*, eds. Horace Greeley and John F. Cleveland (New York: Tribune Association, 1860), 237-39; and Los Angeles *Star* 10, 17, and 24 November 1860. Statewide politics during the period is best discussed in several unpublished works. Principle among them are William Penn Moody, "The Civil War and Reconstruction in California Politics" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1950); Robert Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties in California during the Civil War, 1861-1865" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1978), summarized in "Fighting Words: Censoring Civil War, California Journalism," *The Californians* 8 (May/June 1990): 46-57; and on local politics see Albert Lucien Lewis, "Los Angeles in the Civil War Decades, 1850-1868" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1970).
6. Lewis Granger to Brother Risser, 3 September 1856, Granger Portfolio, Bancroft Library.
7. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. by Roy P. Basler (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 4:28. The point can be made that Frémont's success in 1856 resulted from a home-state advantage. Nevertheless, the "abolitionist" label certainly damaged the Lincoln campaign. Ironically, Andrew Rolle recently observed that Republican abolitionists became impatient with Lincoln by 1864, and they looked to John C. Frémont as a "flashier" candidate. See Andrew Rolle, "Lincoln As Man And Myth." Speech delivered at the Fifty-Third Annual Lincoln Dinner, 12 February 1985, Redlands, CA, Uncatalogued Acquisition, Huntington Library.
8. The views of both men are outlined in John W. Robinson, "A California Copperhead: Henry Hamilton and the Los Angeles Star," *Arizona and the West* 23 (Autumn 1981): 213-30; and Robinson, "Colonel Edward J. C. Kewen: Los Angeles' Fire-Eating Orator of the Civil War Era," *Southern California Quarterly* 61 (Summer 1979): 159-81.
9. Virginia *Capital*, 27 August 1898, John G. Johnston Scrapbook, Special Collections, Huntington Library.
10. Joseph Lancaster Brent, *Life in California*, ed. Frances Rossella (Kenner) Brent, (San Marino: 1900), 55-56, 59-61, Special Collections, Huntington Library.
11. Octavius Decatur Gass to Abel Stearns, 18 September 1861, Stearns Papers, Special Collections, Huntington Library. On dissident activity in El Monte and Los Angeles see: William F. King, "El Monte, An American Town in Southern California, 1851-1866," *Southern California Quarterly* 53 (December 1971): 322-23; and Helen B. Walters, "Confederates in Southern California," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly* 35 (March 1953): 45.
12. *Pioneer Notes from the Diary of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875*, ed. Marjorie T. Wolcott (Los Angeles: McBride Printing Co., 1919), 251.
13. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), vol. 50 *The Pacific Campaign*, 36.
14. Ibid.
15. Brent, *Life in California*, 56.
16. *War of Rebellion*, 50: 36.
17. Gass to Stearns, 18 September 1861, Huntington Library. On El Monte activity and religious split see King, "El Monte," 228-29; and Barbara McClung MacVicar, "Southern and Northern Methodism in Civil War California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (December 1961): 327-42.
18. William McCleave, Reminiscences, James H. Carleton Portfolio, Bancroft Library.
19. Marysville *Daily Appeal*, 21 July 1861. Other examples can be found in the Sacramento *Daily Union*, 3 June 1861; Oroville *Weekly Butte Record*, 5 October 1861; and Sacramento *Daily Bee*, 16 July 1861.
20. Military concerns and tactics are outlined in Benjamin Franklin Gilbert, "The Confederate Minority in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 20 (June 1941): 156-58.
21. Walters, "Confederates in Southern California," 45.
22. San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, 11 July 1861.
23. Brent, *Life in California*, 63-65.
24. Margaret Romer, "The Story of Los Angeles," *Journal of the West* 2 (April 1963): 176.
25. Mrs. W. A. Franklin to Dr. George P. Hammond, 8 July 1957, Journal of Alexander Grayson Bowman, Bancroft Library.
26. Sacramento *Daily Union*, 22 June 1861. Similar reports published in Contra Costa *Gazette*, 31 August and 14 September 1861; Marysville *Daily Appeal*, 4 August, 8 and 10 September 1861; and the Oroville *Weekly Butte Record*, 14 December 1861.
27. On Confederate troop movements and Union strategy see Leo P. Kibby, "California Soldiers in the Civil War," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 40 (December 1961): 343-50; Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific* (Glendale, CA: The Arthur H.

NOTES

Clark Co., 1951); and Leo E. Oliva, "The Santa Fe Trail in Wartime: Expansion and Preservation of the Union," *Journal of the West* 28 (April 1989): 53-58.

28. McCleave, Reminiscences, Carleton Portfolio, Bancroft Library.
29. *War of the Rebellion*, 50: 733. Specific troop movements along the border and in Arizona are documented in Arthur A. Wright, *The Civil War in the Southwest* (Denver: Big Mountain Press, 1964).
30. Los Angeles *Star*, 22 February 1862. The Confederacy toyed with the idea of a southwest campaign into southern California. Yet the Richmond government never acted on these proposals due to the immediacy of the war effort in the East. See H. H. Watford, "The Far-Western Wing of the Rebellion, 1861-1865," *California Historical Society Quarterly* 34 (June 1955): 125-48.
31. James Henry Carleton to Christopher Carson, 12 October 1862, Carleton Portfolio, Bancroft Library.
32. Boyle Workman, *The City That Grew* (Los Angeles: Southland Publishing Company, 1935), 65.
33. Judson A. Grenier, *California Legacy: The Watson Family* (Watson Land Co., 1987), 161-62; and Ronald C. Woolsey "Disunion or Dissent? A New Look At An Old Problem In Southern California Attitudes Toward The Civil War," *Southern California Quarterly* 66 (Fall 1984): 185-205.
34. Statistical data in the Los Angeles *Star*, 7 and 21 September 1861; Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, 11 September 1861.
35. Los Angeles *Star*, 28 September 1861. On the immediate impact of Stanford's election see Bancroft, *Works*, 7; 290-92.
36. Augustus Ensworth to Cave Johnson Couts, 9 October 1862, Couts Collection; *Hayes Diary*, 261-62, 258.
37. Los Angeles *Star*, 28 September 1861.
38. Cave Johnson Couts to Benjamin Hayes, 14 January 1863, Couts Collection. Additional references to the smallpox epidemic are in the Abel Stearns Collection at the Huntington Library. See Couts to Stearns, 2 and 8 February 1863, 8 March 1863.
39. Henry Hamilton to Benjamin Davis Wilson, 2 February 1864, Wilson Collection, Huntington Library.
40. John Forster to Cave Johnson Couts, 8 January 1863, Couts Collection. This era of hardship is well documented in southern California history, particularly in relation to the rancheros. See Robert Glass Cleland, *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1942); and Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966).
41. Los Angeles *Star*, 23 May 1863.
42. Edward J. C. Kewen to Cave Johnson Couts, 21 January 1863, Couts Collection. On the problem of voter fraud and contested elections, see Robert J. Chandler, "Crushing Dissent: The Pacific Coast Tests Lincoln's Policy of Suppression, 1862," *Civil War History* 30 (September 1984): 235-54; Ronald C. Woolsey, "Disunion or Dissent?" 185-206.
43. Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties," 246-47.
44. John Forster to Cave Johnson Couts, 9 October 1862, Couts Collection.
45. José Guadalupe Estudillo to Cave Johnson Couts, 12 February 1864, Couts Collection.
46. Cornelius Cole, *Memoirs* (New York: McLoughlin Brothers, 1908), 158.
47. John G. Downey to Benjamin D. Wilson, 3 April 1864, Wilson Collection.
48. John Forster to Cave Johnson Couts, 22 June 1863, Couts Collection.
49. Oroville *Weekly Butte Record*, 6 April 1861. The statewide trend against the Democrat party also reflected narrow and uncreative policies. See Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties,"443-45.
50. Col Edward J. C. Kewen, "Speech Delivered at the Assembly Hall," (Sacramento, 1863), Special Collections, Bancroft Library.
51. Los Angeles *Star*, 3 October 1863.
52. Willie Blount Couts to Cave Johnson Couts, 9 November 1863, Couts Collection. Profiles on California miners are in John W. Caughey, *History of the Pacific Coast of North America* (New York: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1938), 353-55.
53. Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties," 451-52; and John W. Robinson, *Los Angeles In Civil War Days 1860-1865* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1977), 139-40.
54. John G. Downey to Pablo de la Guerra, 8 October 1860, Downey Papers, Huntington Library. Another Democratic leader, James Watson, had the same conviction as Downey regarding Lincoln's election. He, too, lost a federal position as collector after the Republican victory. See Grenier, *California Legacy*, 161-62.
55. Financial difficulties of the *Star* are outlined in William B. Rice, *The Los Angeles Star 1851-1864* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947), 252-54. Failure of the San Pedro-Los Angeles railroad line in the Civil War years is described in John W. Robinson, *Southern California's First Railroad* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1978), 29-33. The railroad issue can be viewed within the context of building the Central Pacific—a priority that dominated the attention of upstate legislators. On the Central Pacific as a dominant state issue, see Ward McAfee, *California's Railroad Era, 1850-1911* (San Marino, CA: Golden West Books, 1973).
56. Edward J. C. Kewen to Cave Johnson Couts, 5 July 1862, Couts Collection. Kewen urged Couts to attend the state Democratic convention, scheduled for August 6 in Sacramento.
57. Los Angeles *Star*, 3 and 24 October 1863.
58. "Political Statement to the People of the First Judicial District," 21 October 1863, in Benjamin Hayes, Scrapbooks, Special Collections, Bancroft Library.
59. Kewen, "Assembly Speech" (1863). Statewide, the party divided between "peace" and "war" Democrats. Ultimately, as Robert Chandler observed, "both . . . opposed the war, recognized the Confederacy as an independent nation, and almost preferred not to save the Union." Chandler, "The Press and Civil Liberties," 274.
60. Robinson, *Civil War Days*, 146-49.
61. Ibid., 150.
62. John S. Griffin to Cave Johnson Couts, 27 October 1864, Couts Collection.
63. John Forster to Cave Johnson Couts, 14 October 1864, Couts Collection.
64. Griffin to Couts, 27 October 1864, Couts Collection.
65. 1864 election totals are in Bancroft, *Works*, 24, 311; Robinson, *Civil War Days*, 151.
66. Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, 12 November 1864.
67. Benjamin Wilson to Joseph Lancaster Brent, 21 September 1865, Joseph Lancaster Brent Collection, Huntington Library.
68. Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, 26 September 1865. Economic themes and postwar adjustment are addressed in Midge Sherwood, *Days of Vintage, Years of Vision* (2 vols., San Marino, CA: Orizaba Publications, 1982), 1: 29-47; and Grenier *California Legacy*, 203-204.
69. Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, 16 and 30 September 1865; Banning's difficulty over the railroad issue and opposition from Charles Conway, editor of the *Semi-Weekly News* is noted in Lewis "Los Angeles in the Civil War Decades," 270-74.
70. Election totals in the Los Angeles *Semi-Weekly News*, 23 and 30 September 1865.
71. Robert E. Lee to Mary Rhodes, 15 March 1866, Civil War Collection, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. For information on Rhodes, see Robert J. Chandler, "The Far West Aids Suffering Confederates," *United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine* 51 (July 1988): 17-20.

California History

VOLUME LXIX 1990

CONTENTS

AND

INDEX

Compiled by Marcella Genz

California Historical Society

SAN FRANCISCO·LOS ANGELES·SAN MARINO

CONTENTS

Number 1 Spring 1990

2
California Indians and the Workday West:
Labor, Assimilation, and Survival
by Albert L. Hurtado

12
Thomas Starr King in California, 1860-64:
Forgotten Naturalist of the Civil War
by Richard Peterson

22
A Fresh Voice From the West:
Mary Austin, California, and American
Literary Magazines, 1892-1910
by Karen S. Langlois

36
Sequoia Seminar:
The Sources of Religious Sectarianism
by Steven M. Gelber

52
Maynard Dixon as Muralist:
Sketches for the Mark Hopkins Hotel Mural
by Paul O.Bingham and Beverly Bubar Denenberg

61
Reviews

74
California Checklist

Number 2 Summer 1990

86
The California National Parks Centennial:
Introduction to the Special Issue
by Alfred Runte, Guest Editor

92
California National Parks Chronology

98
Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks:
One Hundred Years of Preservation and
Resource Management
by Lary M. Dilsaver and Douglas H. Strong

118
Visiting "The Realm of Wonder":
Yosemite and the Business of Tourism,
1855-1916
by Peter J. Blodgett

134
Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops:
Nineteenth-Century Painters and
Photographers at Yosemite
by Kate Nearpass Ogden

154
From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six:
Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism,
1880-1930
by Anne F. Hyde

170
Joseph Grinnell and Yosemite:
Rediscovering the Legacy of a
California Conservationist
by Alfred Runte

182
In Harmony with the Landscape:
Yosemite's Built Environment, 1913-1940
by Robert C. Pavlik

196
Conservation Conflict and the Founding of
Kings Canyon National Park
by Lary M. Dilsaver

207
Reviews

CONTENTS

Number 3 Fall 1990

235
Greetings from the Executive Director

236
Taking the Country Barefooted:
The Indiana Colony in Southern California
by James H. Madison

250
Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Wood,
and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce
by Glenda Riley

260
Japanese Immigrant Nationalism:
The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War,
1937-1941
by Yuji Ichioka

276
"Race Prejudice is not Inborn-It is Learned":
The Exhibit Controversy at the Los Angeles
Museum of History, Science, and Art,
1950-1952
by Howard Shorr

284
"Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler":
Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898
California Golden Jubilee
Edited with an Introduction by M. Guy Bishop

293
Reviews

304
California Checklist

307
Notes

314
Donors

Number 4 Winter 1990/91

320
Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher
Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo,
1857-1864
by Gerald McKevitt

332
William James at Stanford
by Linda Simon

342
Hiram W. Johnson: The Old Progressive and
New Deal Taxation
by Arlene Lazarowitz

354
The Political Response to Urban Growth:
Sacramento and Mayor Marshall R. Beard,
1863-1914
by William E. Mahan

372
The Politics of a Lost Cause:
"Seceshers" and Democrats in Southern
California During the Civil War
by Ronald C. Woolsey

384
James D. Hart:
A Tribute and Remembrance
by James J. Rawls

389
Reviews

398
California Checklist

401
Notes

409
Index

INDEX

Abel, Don, 381
Abrams, William Penn, 137
Achilles, Gertrude, 204-205
Adams, Ansel, 87, 152, 153
Adams, Henry, 333
Adams, Virginia Best, 152
Adams (Ansel) Gallery (Yosemite), 152
"Admission Day Celebrations in 1890," by Keith Kennedy (inside front cover, Fall)
Agassiz, Louis, 339
Aguirre, José Antonio, 322
Ahern, William, 364
Ahwahnee Hotel (Yosemite), *see* Yosemite National Park
Ahwahneeches, 93
Albright, Horace M., 109, 112, 182, 194
Alcott, Louisa May, 28
Alden, James Madison, 136
Alden, Henry Mills, 33, 34
Alien Land Law (1913), 344
Allen, B. F., 104
Allen, Robert L., *The Port Chicago Mutiny: The Story of the Largest Mass Mutiny Trial in U.S. Navy History*, rev., 70-71
Alvarado, Juan Bautista, 320, 322
American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California, by James N. Gregory, rev., 214-216
American Friends Service Committee, 44
American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West Seen Through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age, by J. Valerie Fifer, rev., 293-295
Anderson, Anthony, 55
Anderson, Ralph, 152
Anthony (Edward) & Company, 137, 147
Architectural Records in the San Francisco Bay Area, ed. by Waverley B. Lowell, rev., 61-63
Argüello, Luis, 328
Argüello, María Antonia, 327
Ariss, Robert M., 276 (photo), 277-278, 281-282
Armstrong, W. W., 141
Arriola, Fortunato, 139, 142
Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850, by Roger Daniels, rev., 64-65
Atkinson, Janet I., *Los Angeles County Historical Directory*, rev., 65-68
Atlantic Monthly (magazine), 28, 33, 138
Austin, Mary Hunter, 22, 23, (photo), 24-35
Austin, Ruth, 22
Austin, Wallace Stafford, 22
Avery, Benjamin Parke, 137, 138
Ayres, Thomas A., 118, 136, 137
Azumi, Suimei, 267

Bailey, Grace Helen, 25
Baker, George Holbrook, 141
Baker, John H., 238
Bakken, Gordon Morris, rev. of Mullen, *Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco*, 210-211
Baldwin, E. J. "Lucky," 55, 144
Bancroft, Hubert Howe, 207, 286
Bancroft Library, 207, 384-387
Bandini, Alfredo, 324, 331
Banning, Phineas, 381
Banning, William, 131 (photo)
Barker Brothers Building (Los Angeles), 55
Barnard, John K., 125
Barnum, P. T. 147
Baxter, A. W., rev of Brower, *For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower*, 394-395
Beals, Ralph L., 280
Beard, Marshall Rowles, 354-356, 357 (photo), 358-371
Beard and Company, Books and Stationery, 356
Bell, George V., 188
Bella Union Hotel (Los Angeles), 382 (photo)
Benedict, Ruth, 278
Berkeley At War: The 1960s, by W. J. Rorabaugh, rev., 395-396
Berson, Misha, *The San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849-1869*, rev., 390-392
Berry, Daniel M., 236 (photo), 238-249
Berry, Fred, 239, 246
Best, Harry Cassie, 151-152
Best, Virginia, *see* Adams, Virginia Best
Best's Studio (Yosemite), 152
Beyond War, 36, 50
Bierstadt, Albert, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 149, 151
Bierstadt, Charles, 142, 147
Bigler, Henry William, 284 (photo), 285-291
Bigler, Maude, 287-288
Bingham, Paul O. and Beverly Bubar Denenberg, "Maynard Dixon as Muralist: Sketches for the Mark Hopkins Hotel Murals," 52-59
Biscailuz, Eugene, 280
Bishop, M. Guy, ed., "'Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler': Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898 California Golden Jubilee," 284-291
Black Cat (magazine), 29
Bliss, Anthony, 386 (photo)
Blodgett, Peter J., 89; "Visiting 'The Realm of Wonder': Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916," 118-133
Bloomer, Hiram, 141, 144, 146, 149
Bloomfield, Anne, rev. of Sexton, *The Cottage Book*, 302
Bodmer, Carl, 136
Book Club of California, 386
Borah, William E., 345 (photo), 346, 351
Borden, Rebecca, 255
Borein, Edward, 52
Boyden, Elizabeth, 42-43
Boysen, Julius, 152
Bradford, William, 141, 143, 150
Bradley, Harold C., 204 (photo)
Brant, Irving, 203
Breasted, James Henry, Jr., 277
Breckinridge, John C., 374, 378
Brent, Joseph Lancaster, 374, 375, 376
Brewer, William H., 17, 94, 149
Briggs, William H., 33
Brigman, Anne, 145-146
Britten, Ernest, 107
Broderick, David, 14
Brooks, George, 111 (photo)
Brooks, George R., ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*, rev., 301
Brower, David R., *For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower*, rev., 394-395
Brown, Edmund G. "Pat," (inside front cover, Spring)
Brown, James S., 285, 287
Brown, Mabel Houghton, 25
Brown, Vincent, 61
Bruce, Jay C., 111 (photo), 175 (photo)
Bryant, Harold C., 173, 177, 178, 180
Bryant, William Cullen, 143
Bryce, James, 165
Buchman, Frank, 40, 45
Buchanan, James, 374
Buel, Arthur, 254
Burgess, George, 137
Butler, Ovid, 203
Butman, Frederick, 137, 146
Butokukai, 266

Cabell, James Branch, 33
California Architecture, by Sally B. Woodbridge, rev., 61-63
"California Checklist," by Charles N. Johnson, 74-75, 304-305, 398-399
"California Indians and the Workaday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival," by Albert L. Hurtado, 2-11
California Magazine, see *Hutchings' California Magazine*
"The California National Parks Centennial: Introduction to the Special Issue," by Alfred Runte, 86-91
"California National Parks Chronology," 92-96
California Packing Corporation (Sacramento), 357
California Painters: New Work, by Henry T. Hopkins and Jim McHugh, rev., 63-64
California State Board of Forestry, 104

INDEX

California State Geological Survey, 94
California State Library, reading room, 58 (photo)
California's Golden Jubilee (1898), 286-291
California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives to Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910, by Sandra Sizer Frankiel, rev., 212-213
Californios, 321-331 *passim*
Camerer, Eugene, 137
Camp Drum, 383 (photo)
Campbell, Gregg M., rev. of Russo, *Keepers of our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s-1930s,* 68-69
Cannon, George Q., 288
Capitol Packing Company (Sacramento), 357
Caponigro, Paul, 153
Carmichael, D. W., 367
Carraghar, Edward James, 360-361, 362, 366, 369
Carter, Jane Foster, *If the Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage,* rev., 61-63
Cather, Willa, 33
Catlin, George, 136
Central Japanese Association of Southern California, 263
Central Pacific Railroad, 122, 357, 358, 360
Century Magazine, 33, 128, 152
Champney, Benjamin, 141, 151
Chandler, Harry, 167
Channing, Grace Ellery, 27
Chippewa Indian, 247
Civil War, effect on Southern California, 372-383
Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 95, 111, 191-193
Clamor Publico, El, (news.), 374
Clark, Charles, 151
Clark, Galen, 120
Clark, George H., 360
Clark, Henry B., 106
Clark, Sam, 364
Claveau, Antoine, 137
Cleenewerck, Henry, 142
Clenso, Mike, 6 (photo)
Cobb, Harriet, 327
Coburn, Alvin Langdon, 145-146
Colby, William, 104
Colby, William E., 193, 201
Cole, Thomas, 139
Cole, Timothy, 33
Colman, Samuel, 141, 143
Colusa County Court House, 61 (photo), 63
Conness, John, 120, 139
"Conservation Conflict and the Founding of Kings Canyon National Park," by Lary M. Dilsaver, 196-205
Coolbrith, Ina, 24, 26
Cooperative Land and Colonization Association (Kaweah Colony), 94, 101, 103
Cornelius, Brother, 145
Cottage Book, The, by Richard Sexton, rev., 302
Coulter, George, 125
Coulterville and Yosemite Turnpike Company, 122, 127
Couzens, James, 348
Crabtree, Lotta, 390 (photo)
Cravens, Junius, 57
Creative Initiative, 36, 38, 46, 50-51
Crocker, Charles, 143, 144, 356, 358
Crocker, E. B., 143
Crocker (H. S.) Company, 356
Croft, Thomas F., 241, 242-243, 245, 247
Crouch, Ben E., 257
Crouch, Edith M., 257
Crow, Thomas, 204 (photo)
Crump, Ed, 370
Cumiford, William L., rev. of Heilbron and Seidel, *Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory* (Vol. 1), 392-393
Cunningham, Stephen, 120
Curry, Camp (Yosemite), *see* Yosemite National Park
Curry, David A., 132, 165
Curry Camping Company, 93, 94, *see also* Yosemite Park & Curry Company
Curry Village, 93

Dana, Richard Henry, (inside front cover, Winter, photo), 17, 384
Daniels, Roger, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850,* rev., 64-65; rev. of Irons, ed., *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases,* 216-217
Dassonville, W. E., 93
Davidson, Bruce, 153
Davidson, Michael, *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century,* rev., 393-394
Davis, Horace, 339
Davis, William Heath, 323, 324
Davis, Winfield, 366 (photo)
Deakin, Edwin, 142
DeCoster, Miles, et al., *Headlands: The Marin Coast at the Golden Gate,* rev., 296-297
del Valle, Reginaldo, 330
Delacour, Jean, 282
Deming, Lucius P., 152
Denenberg, Beverly Bubar and Paul O. Bingham, "Maynard Dixon as Muralist: Sketches for the Mark Hopkins Hotel Murals," 52-59
Desmond, D. J., 165
Dewey, John, 332
DeWitt, Howard A., *Readings in California Civilization,* rev., 295-296
Dillon, Richard H., rev. of DeCoster, et al., *Headlands: The Marin Coast at the Golden Gate,* 296-297
Dilsaver, Lary M., 89; "Conservation Conflict and the Founding of Kings Canyon National Park," 196-205
Dilsaver, Lary M. and Douglas H. Strong, "Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management," 98-117
Disney (Walt) Productions, 106, 115
Divorce, migratory, 251-259
Dixon, Joseph S., 180
Dixon, Maynard, 34, 52, 53 (photo), 54-58
Domei News Agency, 264, 266
Dominguez, Maria Dolores, 323
Donahoe, Dorothy M., (inside front cover, Spring)
"Donahoe Higher Education Act, 30 Years After," by Judson Grenier, (inside front cover, Spring)
Douglas, Stephen A., 372
Dowd, A. T., 100
Downey, John G., 372, 379, 380
Drescher, Timothy W., rev. of Hopkins and McHugh, *California Painters: New Work,* 63-64
Drum Barracks (Los Angeles), 383 (photo)
Drury, Newton, 113
Dudley, Ernest, 203
Dunwoody, Charles, 203-204

Eaton, Benjamin S., 239, 245
Ebina Kazuo, 267
Echeandía, José María, 320
Education, bilingual, 320-331 *passim*
Education, higher, 320-331
Education, hispanic, 320-331
Education, role of Catholic church, 320-331 *passim*
Ehrgott, Albert, 251
Ehrgott, Albert Field, 252
Ehrgott, Katherine, 251, 252
Eilshemius, Louis, 141
Eliot, Charles William, 334, 336
Elkus, Albert, 362
Elliott, Alfred, 203-205
Elliott, Helen, 237, 238, 242, 245, 246, 248 (photo), 249
Elliott, Thomas B., 238, 239 (photo), 241-249
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 15
Ensworth, Augustus, 378
Estudillo, Jesús María, 320-331, 321 (photo)
Estudillo, José, 379
Estudillo, José Guadalupe, 323, 324, 330
Estudillo, Lola, 330
Estudillo, Luis, 323

INDEX

Estudillo, Vicente, 323
Etulain, Richard W., rev. of Wunder, ed., *Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook*, 208-209
Evans, Israel, 285

Fagersteen, Gustavus, 142, 147, 149, 153
Family Law Act, 258
Far East Research Institute, 268
Federal Power Commission, 105
Field, Mary, 251
Field, Sara Bard, 250 (photo), 251-254, 258 (photo), 259
Fifer, J. Valerie, *American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West Seen Through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age*, rev., 293-295
First Unitarian Church of San Francisco (1865), 14, 18 (photo)
Fiske, George, 142, 145, 149, 151, 152, 153
Fitch, Stephen, 255
Flagg, James Montgomery, 160
Fletcher, Calvin, Jr., 238, 242-245, 247, 249
Fletcher, Calvin, Sr., 243
Flint, Frank, 104
Flournoy, Theodore, 337, 338
Foley, D. J., 133
Foley, Daniel, 152
Folsom, Dan, 147
Foote, Mary Hallock, 27
For Earth's Sake: The Life and Times of David Brower, by David R. Brower, rev., 394-395
Forbes, James Alexander, 322
Ford, John Anson, 279, 281
Foreign Affairs Association of Japan, 268
Forester, John, 379, 381
Foster, Mark S., *Henry J. Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West*, rev., 298-299
Fox, Thomas, 360, 361 (photo), 362
Frankiel, Sandra Sizer, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives to Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910*, rev., 212-213
Frazer, J. A., 152
Frémont, Jessie Benton, 15
Frémont, John C., 6, 21, 374
French, Daniel Chester, 16, 21
"A Fresh Voice From the West: Mary Austin, California, and American Literary Magazines, 1892-1910," by Karen S. Langlois, 22-35
Friend, Washington F., 142
Friselle, Parker, 203
"From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six: Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930," by Anne F. Hyde, 154-169
Fry, Clarence, 111 (photo)
Fry, Walter, 95, 107, 110
Fujii Sei, 264, 265 (photo), 267, 268
Fukuda Yoshiaki, 269
Furusawa Sachiko, 269
Furusawa, (Mrs.) Sachiko, 268 (photo)

Gaines, John S. and Andrew Rolle, *The Golden State: California History and Government*, rev., 295-296
Galarza, Ernesto, 360
Galindo, Anita Maria, 322
Gallatin, Albert, 360
Gamlin, Israel, 100
Gardner, T. Dale, 281
Garraty, John A., 354
Gearhart, Bertrand W. "Bud," 96, 105, 203-205
Gehring, Fred, 281, 282
Gelber, Steven M., "Sequoia Seminar: The Sources of Religious Sectarianism," 36-51
General Grant Grove, *see* Kings Canyon National Park
General Grant National Park, 96, 104, 105, 107, 109, 110, 203, *see also* Kings Canyon National Park, General Grant Grove
Genthe, Arnold, 64
Gilman, Charlotte Perkins, 27
Glacier National Park, 154, 158, 168
Godfrey, Brian I., *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities*, rev., 72
Gold Rush, 6-10, 285-291
Golden Jubilee of California (1898), 286-291
Golden State: California History and Government, The, by Andrew Rolle and John S. Gaines, rev., 295-296
Goldman, Emma, 253
Goldschmidt, Walter, 282
Gordon-Cumming, (Lady) Constance Frederica, 142
Graham, Margaret Collier, 27
Grand Canyon National Park, 89, 154, 158, 168
Graves, Henry S., 104
Great Northern Railroad, 158, 164
Great Sierra Stage Company, 125
Greeley, Horace, 120, 137
Greeley, William, 203
Green, P. M., 242
Greer, Mary M., 288
Gregory, James N., rev. of Steinbeck, *The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to The Grapes of Wrath*, 71-72; *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California*, rev., 214-216
Grenier, Judson, "The Donahoe Higher Education Act, 30 Years After," (inside front cover, Spring); rev. of Atkinson, *Los Angeles County Historical Directory*, 65-68
Griffin, John S., 239, 242-243, 374, 376
Grinnell, Joseph, 91, 113, 170, 171 (photo), 172-181
A Guide to the History of California, ed. by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, rev., 207-208
Guthrie, Henry A., 368

Haddock, Harriet, 255
Hague, Frank, 370
Hahn, William, 142, 146
Haines, F. Jay., 159
Hall, Ansel F., 178, 185
Hall, E. Raymond, 174, 176, 178
Hall, Sharlott, 27
Hamilton, Henry, 374 (photo), 378, 380
Hamlin, Edith, 59
Hancock, Winfield S., 374
Harmon, Charles H., 141
Harper's Weekly (magazine), 33
Harriman, E. H., 128
Harris, Aaron, 126
Harris, W., 140
Harrison, Benjamin, 95, 104
Hart, James D., 384, 385 (photo), 386 (photo), 387
Harte, Bret, 21, 22, 24, 29
Hartesveldt, Richard, 95, 114, 116
The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to The Grapes of Wrath, by John Steinbeck, rev., 71-72
Haseltine, William Stanley, 141
Haslam, Gerald, rev. of Gregory, *American Exodus: The Dust Bowl Migration and Okie Culture in California*, 214-216
Hata, Donald Teruo, Jr., rev. of Ichioka, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*, and Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850*, 64-65
Hayden, 136
Hayes, Benjamin, 375 (photo), 380
Hays, Howard, 109, 112, 113, 115, 116
Hazeltine, Martin Mason, 142, 147
Headlands: The Marin Coast at the Golden Gate, by Miles DeCoster, et al., rev., 296-297
Hearst, William Randolph, 348
Heilbron, J. L. and Robert W. Seidel, *Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory*, (Vol. 1), rev., 392-393
Heimushakai, 263
Hellman, Irving, 44, 45
Hendrix, Lillie, 256
Henry Kaiser: Builder in the Modern American West, by Mark S. Foster, rev., 298-299
Herzog, Herman, 141, 143, 146
Hetch Hetchy, 93, 94, 104, 172, 182, 184, 192

Heyman, Therese, ed., *Picturing California: A Century of Photographic Genius*, rev., 297-298
Hilderbrand, Joel, 201
Hill, John Henry, 139, 141
Hill, Louis, 164
Hill, Thomas, 139, 140, 141 (photo), 144, 145, 149, 151, 209
Hillers, John K., 148, 150
"Hiram W. Johnson: The Old Progressive and New Deal Taxation," by Arlene Lazarowitz, 342-353
"Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo, 1857-1864," by Gerald McKevitt, 320-331
Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook, ed. by John R. Wunder, rev., 208-209
Hittel, John Shertzer, 286-288, 290
Hittell, Theodore, 27
Hōkokukai, 263
Hokubei Kōdō Gakuin (Tokyo), 266
Holdredge, Ransom Gillet, 141
Hoopes, H. E., 149
Hoover, Herbert, 346, 347
Hoover, J. Edgar, 273
Hopkins, Henry T. and Jim McHugh, *California Painters: New Work*, rev., 63-64
Hopkins, Mark, 356, 358
Hori Kōichi, 264
Horsfall, Bruce, 28
Houseworth, Thomas, 152
Houseworth (Thomas) & Co., *see* Lawrence and Houseworth
Howells, William Dean, 28, 33, 35
Hunt, Myron, 185
Huntington, Collis P., 143, 356, 358
Huntington and Hopkins Hardware Store (Sacramento), 365
Hurtado, Albert L., "California Indians and the Workaday West: Labor, Assimilation, and Survival," 2-11
Hutchings, James M., 93, 118, 122, 124, 125, 127, 136, 149
Hutchings' California Magazine, 118, 136, 137, 146, 285
Hyde, Anne, 89
Hyde, Anne F., "From Stagecoach to Packard Twin Six: Yosemite and the Changing Face of Tourism, 1880-1930," 154-169

Ichioka, Yuji, *The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924*, rev., 64-65; "Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941," 260-274
Ickes, Harold, 105, 198-200, 201 (photo), 202-205
If the Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage, by Jane Foster Carter, rev., 61-63
"In Harmony with the Landscape: Yosemite's Built Environment, 1913-1940," by Robert C. Pavlik, 182-195
Indiana Colony, 237-249
Indians, labor, 2-11
Inness, George, 141, 145
Irons, Peter, ed., *Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases*, rev., 216-217
Iseda Gōsuke, 265 (photo), 269
Issei, nationalism of, 260-274
The Issei: The World of the First Generation Japanese Immigrants, 1885-1924, by Yuji Ichioka, rev., 64-65

Jackson, Helen Hunt, 384
Jackson, Robert, 256
Jackson, William Henry, 148
James, Alice, 333 (photo), 336, 341
James, Henry, 33, 337
James, William, 332, 333 (photo), 334-341
"James D. Hart: A Tribute and Remembrance," by James J. Rawls, 384-387
Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK Radio), 269
Japanese American Citizens League, 267, 273-274
Japanese Association of America, 260
Japanese Association of Los Angeles, 263, 271
Japanese Association of Oregon, 260
Japanese Association of Pasadena, 263
Japanese Chamber of Commerce, 260-261
"Japanese Immigrant Nationalism: The Issei and the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941," by Yuji Ichioka, 260-274
"Jesus as Teacher" seminars, 38, 42, 48
Jewett, William S., 137, 146, 149
Jimmu Tennō, 263, 270
"John Muir and the California National Parks," by Keith Kennedy, (inside front cover, Summer)
Johnson, Charles N., "California Checklist," 74-75, 304-305, 398-399
Johnson, Hiram W., 199, 342, 343 (photo), 344 (photo), 345 (photo), 346, 347 (photo), 348-353
Johnson, Robert Underwood, 104, 128, 152
Johnston, (Mrs.) A. J., 369
Johns[t]on, William, 285, 287
Jordan, David Starr, 27, 333, 334 (photo) 335-341
Jordan, John E., rev. of Davidson, *The San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century*, 393-394
Jorgensen, Christian, 151
"Joseph Grinnell and Yosemite: Rediscovering the Legacy of a California Conservationist," by Alfred Runte, 170-181
Justice Delayed: The Record of the Japanese American Internment Cases, ed. by Peter Irons, rev., 216-217

Kaiser, Henry, 44, 298-299
Kashū Mainichi (news.), 266, 267
Kawai Tatsuo, 264
Kaweah Colony *see* Cooperative Land and Colonization Association
Kearny, Stephen Watts, 6
Keepers of our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s-1930s, by David J. Russo, rev., 68-69
Keith, William, 139, 141, 145, 147, 149, 323
Kemp, Harry, 253
Kennedy, Keith, "Admission Day Celebrations in 1890," (inside front cover, Fall); "John Muir and the California National Parks," (inside front cover, Summer)
Kewen, Edward J. C., 374, 378, 379 (photo), 380
Key, John Ross, 141, 151
Kigensetsu, 263
King, Clarence, 17, 98, 136, 139, 143
King, Julia Wiggin, 13 (photo), 14
King, Susan Starr, 12
King, (Rev.) Thomas Farrington, 12
King, Thomas Starr, 12, 13 (photo), 14-18, 19 (photo), 21, 120, 137, 327
King (Starr) Monument Committee, 16
King, Starr (Mt.), 19 (photo)
Kings Canyon National Park, 88, 89, 90, 98-117, 196-205; Bear Hill show, 114; Cedar Grove, 96, 105-106, 109, 115, 198, 199; Colby Pass, 200; Concession services and facilities, 109, 113, 115; General Grant Grove, 88, 94, 96, 100-101, 102, 109, 199; Infrastructure, 113; Kern Plateau, 98; Kings River Canyon, 97, 105, 198-199, 203; Mission 66, 113; Preservation and resource management, 98-117; Tehipite Valley, 96, 105-106, 197 (photo), 198, 203; Wilsonia Village, 109
Kings-Kern-Kaweah watersheds, 98-117 *passim*
Kings River Water Association (KRWA), 201
Kipling, Rudyard, 31
Kit Carson Cafe (San Francisco), 59
Kittredge, Frank, 200, 201
Kiyosawa Retsu, 269
Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai (news.), 268
Kunkel, Fritz, 40
Kyūtarō, (Mrs.) Abiko, 269

La Brack, Bruce, *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975*, rev., 69-70

INDEX

LaFollette, Robert W., Jr., 351
Lambert, Beatrice, 257
Lambert, John, 256
Lamon, James, 124, 127
Lamson, James, 137
Land, William, 360
Land of Sunshine (magazine), 26-27, 33, 35
Lane, Franklin K., 120, 163, 173, 184
Lange, Dorothea, 215 (photo)
Langlois, Karen S., "A Fresh Voice From the West: Mary Austin, California, and American Literary Magazines, 1892-1910," 22-35
Las Alas Lodge (Ben Lomond), 44 (photo)
Lavinus, Mary, 12, *see* Starr, Mary Lavinus
Lawrence, Ernest Orlando, 392 (photo)
Lawrence, James H., 137
Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory (Vol. 1), by J. L. Heilbron and Robert W. Seidel, rev., 392-393
Lawrence and Houseworth, 148
Lazarowitz, Arlene, "Hiram W. Johnson: The Old Progressive and New Deal Taxation," 342-353
LeConte, Joseph, 147
Lee, Robert E., 383
Leidig, (Mrs.) G. F., 123
Leopold, Aldo Starker, 113, 114, 174, 180, 181
Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco, by Kevin J. Mullen, rev., 210-211
Letters from the Southwest, by Charles Lummis, rev., 213-214
Leupp, Francis, 4
Levy, John, 47 (photo)
Lewis, Washington B., 176, 182, 184 (photo), 186, 187, 194 (photo)
Libby's (Sacramento), 357
Lick, James, 144
Lick House Hotel, 144
Lillard, Richard G., rev. of Lummis, *Letters from the Southwest*, 213-214
Lincoln, Abraham, 86, 372
Lindsey, Tipton, 102
Lippman, Walter, 332
Locke, Sarah, 149
London, Jack, 28, 33, 52
Long, Huey, 349
Los Angeles, domestic racial violence, 279-280; race relations, 277-283; segregated neighborhoods, 279-280; unemployment and employment discrimination, 279-280, 373 (photo)
Los Angeles Bureau of Power and Light, 105
Los Angeles County Historical Directory, by Janet I. Atkinson, rev., 65-68
Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission, 280
Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, 275-283 *passim*
Los Angeles Museum of History, Science and Art *see* Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History
Los Angeles Star (news.), 374
Lothrop, Gloria Ricci and Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., eds., *A Guide to the History of California*, rev., 207-208
Low, F. F., 14
Low, Frederick, 380
Lowell, Waverly B., ed., *Architectural Records in the San Francisco Bay Area*, rev., 61-63
Ludlow, Fitz Hugh, 138
Lummis, Charles, 26, 27 (photo), 28, 52, 212-213; *Letters from the Southwest*, rev., 213-214

McClatchy, C. K., 358 (photo)
McClaughry, Anita Baldwin, 55
McClellan, George, 380
McCone, Michael, 235 (photo)
McFarland, J. Horace, 162, 163
MacGowan, Alice, 30
MacGowan, Grace, 30
McHugh, Jim and Henry T. Hopkins, *California Painters: New Work*, rev., 63-64
Mackenzie, George G., 152
McKevitt, Gerald, "Hispanic Californians and Catholic Higher Education: The Diary of Jesús María Estudillo, 1857-1864," 320-331
McLaren, John, 289
McPherson, Aimee Semple, 296 (photo)

Madison, James H., "Taking the Country Barefooted: The Indiana Colony in Southern California," 236-249
Mahan, William E., "The Political Response to Urban Growth: Sacramento and Mayor Marshall R. Beard, 1863-1914," 354-371
Malarin, Ignacio, 330
Mammoth Hot Springs Hotel (Yellowstone), 159 (photo)
"Man in Our Changing World" (exhibit), 277-283
Manbey, B. F., 201
Mann, Andrew, 120
Mann, Houston, 120, 137
Mann, Milton, 120, 137
"'Many Wanted to Know Which Was Mr. Bigler': Henry Bigler's Account of the 1898 California Golden Jubilee," ed. with an introduction by M. Guy Bishop, 284-291
Mariposa and Big Tree Grove Turnpike Company, 122
Mariposa Battalion, 93, 118, 136
Mariposa Grove, 17, 86, 88, 93, 94, 120, 172
Mariposa Mining Company, 140
Mark Hopkins Intercontinental Hotel (San Francisco), 54, 55-58
Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867-1868, ed. by Harriet Elinor Smith, et al., rev., 299-300
Markham, Edwin, 27
Markwyn, Daniel W., rev. of Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*, Fifer, *American Progress: The Growth of the Transport, Tourist, and Information Industries in the Nineteenth Century West Seen Through the Life and Times of George A. Crofutt, Pioneer and Publicist of the Transcontinental Age*, and Vinson, *Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948*, 293-295
Marple, William, 141
Marshall, James W., 3, 285
Marshall, Robert, 104
Martial Virtue Society [*Butokukai*], 266
Martinez, Xavier, 52
Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s, by Kevin Starr, rev., 389-390
Mather, Stephen T., 105, 109, 110, 160, 163-168, 174, 177, 178, 182, 184 (photo), 185, 194, 199
Matsumoto, Frank Takizō, 268-269
Matsuoka Yōsuke, 271, 272 (photo), 275
Matthews, J. M., 238, 242
Mauger, George, 109, 113, 115
May, William, 359-360
Mayhew, E. C., 241
"Maynard Dixon as Muralist: Sketches for the Mark Hopkins Hotel Murals," by Paul O. Bingham and Beverly Bubar Denenberg, 52-59
Meinecke, Emilio, 113
Melendy, H. Brett, rev. of La Brack, *The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975*, 69-70
Mellon, Andrew, 346
Melrose, Andrew, 141
Merriam, Lawrence, 204 (photo)
Meyerheim, Paul Friedrich, 145
Michael, Enid, 178
Miller, A. J., 136
Miller, Hannah Bigler, 288
Miller, John F., 94, 96, 101, 196
Miller, Loye Holmes, 177, 178
Mills, Bill, 100 (photo)
Milton and Yosemite Stage Company, 126
Minami Kunitarō, 271
Minami Yaemon, 265 (photo), 269
Mineral King *see* Sequoia National Park
Minick, Roger, 153
Misrach, Richard, 153
Miwok, Sierra, 93
Miwoks, 5, 6, 7, 146, 168, 190 (photo)
Miyazawa Yasutarō, 269
Moley, Raymond, 349, 351
Montez, Lola, 391 (photo)
Moran, Mary Nimmo, 142

Moran, Thomas, 141, 142, 143, 144, 152
Morgan, J. P., 359
Morganthau, Henry, Jr., 350, 351
Mormon Battalion, 285
Morrison, Murray, 378
Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948, by Michael Vinson, rev., 293-295
Moulin, Gabriel, 395
Mount Diablo, 17
Mount Starr King, 19 (photo)
Mount Whitney, 95
Muir, John, (inside front cover, Summer, photo), 16, 18, 88, 93, 94, 96, 98, 104, 128, 142, 152, 156, 158, 162, 170, 174, 180, 196, 205
Mullen, Kevin J., *Let Justice Be Done: Crime and Politics in Early San Francisco*, rev., 210-211
Munger, Gilbert, 141, 143, 144, 150
Municipal Voters League (Sacramento), 369
Munsey's (magazine), 29, 33
Munson, Frederick, 52
Murayama Tamotsu, 266-267
Murphy, A. J., 125
Murphy, Frank, 256, 257
Music Corporation of America, 94
Mussina, David, 153
Mutō Shōgo, 266
Muybridge, Eadweard, 139, 140, 142, 144, 146, 148, 149, 152

Naef, Weston, 139
Nakamura, Kaju, 268
Nakamura Toshiko, 266
Nakamura Tōkichi, 266
Nash, Gerald D., rev. of Foster, *Henry J. Kaiser: Buider in the Modern American West*, 298-299
Nathan, Marvin R., rev. of Berson, *The San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849-1869*, 390-392
National Environmental Protection Act (1969), 114
National Geographic Society, 109
National Park Service, 98, 104, 107, 109, 110, 111, 115, 133, 160, 163, 173, 194, "rustic style," 185, 192-195
National Park Service Act (1916), 94, 95
Native Daughters of the Golden West, (inside front cover, Fall)
Native Sons of the Golden West, (inside front cover, Fall)
Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities, by Brian I. Godfrey, rev., 72
New Deal programs, 342-353 *passim*
Neylan, John Francis, 348
Nichibei Shimbun (news.), 264, 266, 267, 268, 269
Nihon Aikoku Fujinkai Rafu Shibu, 263
Nippon to Amerika (news.), 267
Nippu Jiji (news.), 267
Nishimura Sueji, 265 (photo), 269
Noble, John, 104, 106
Nordhoff, Charles, 237-238, 240, 241, 245
Norris, Charles, 253
Norris, Frank, 384
Norris, George W., 351
North American Institute of the Imperial Way (Tokyo), 266
Northern Methodist Episcopal Church (El Monte), 375
Northern Pacific Railroad, 158
Notre Dame College, 324, 326, 327, 328
Nozaki Kiyoshi, 266
Nugent, John B., 323
Nunis, Doyce B., Jr. and Gloria Ricci Lothrop, eds., *A Guide to the History of California*, rev., 207-208
Nye, A. B., 26

O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations, ed. by Stephen Vincent, rev., 209-210
O'Keeffe, Georgia, 152
Ogden, Kate Nearpass, 89
Ogden, Kate Nearpass, "Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops: Nineteenth-Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite," 134-153
Oka Shigeki, 269
Olin, Spencer, rev. of Starr, *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*, 389-390
Olmsted, Frederick Law, 21, 140, 141
Orland, Ted, 153
Ormsby, E. D., 147
Ota Ichirō, 263-264
Out West (magazine), see *Land of Sunshine*
Overland Monthly (magazine), 24-26, 30, 33, 144, 145, 286
Overton, Gwendolen, 27

Pacheco, Gomesindo, 331
Pacheco, Romualdo, 323
Pages, 144
Palmer, Edward, 326, 328
Palmquist, Peter E., rev. of Heyman, ed., *Picturing California: A Century of Photographic Genius*, 297-298
Parker, Theodore, 12
Pasadena, 243-249; Orange Grove Avenue, 244 (map), 247
Pattie, James Ohio, 384
Pavlik, Robert, 89
Pavlik, Robert C., "In Harmony with the Landscape: Yosemite's Built Environment, 1913-1940," 182-195
Pedrorena, Miguel, 323, 331
Peixotto, 144
Pelton, John C., 323
Pemberton, J. R., 281
Perry, Bliss, 28, 30, 33
Perry, Enoch Wood, 138
Peterson, Richard, "Thomas Starr King in California, 1860-64: Forgotten Naturalist of the Civil War," 12-21
Pflueger, Donald H., rev. of Rolle and Gaines, *The Golden State: California History and Government*, and DeWitt, *Readings in California Civilization*, 295-296
Phelps, Dryden, 40, 41
Phips, S. D., 100 (photo)
Pico, Andrés, 381
Pico House (Los Angeles), 239, 243
Picturing California: A Century of Photographic Genius, ed. by Therese Heyman, rev., 297-298
Pielkovo, Ruth, 52
Pillsbury, Arthur, 152
Pinchot, Gifford, 199
Pit, Sam, 3 (photo)
Pitt, Leonard, 322, 323
Pitts, Mabel Porter, 25
"The Political Response to Urban Growth: Sacramento and Mayor Marshall R. Beard, 1863-1914," by William E. Mahan, 354-371
"The Politics of a Lost Cause: 'Seceshers' and Democrats in Southern California During the Civil War," by Ronald C. Woolsey, 372-383
Pond, Charles L., 142, 147, 148
The Port Chicago Mutiny: The Story of the Largest Mass Mutiny Trial in U.S. Naval History, by Robert L. Allen, rev., 70-71
Porter, A. O., 242
Porter, Bruce, 52
Powell, John Wesley, 148
Prang, Louis, 139, 151
Pratt, Henry Cheever, 141
Progressive Reform Movement, 342-353 *passim*
Pullman Strike (1894), 365
Punchard, Charles P., Jr., 185

"'Race Prejudice is not Inborn—It is Learned': The Exhibit Controversy at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1950-1952," by Howard Shorr, 276-283
Race relations, urban 277-283
Radonich, George Washington, 365, 366
Rafu Shimpō (news.), 264, 266, 267
Raker Act, 94, 182, 184, 192
Ralston, William C., 143, 144
Ramirez, Francisco, 347
Rancho San Pasqual (Los Angeles), 239-244
Rathbun, Harry, 36, 38, 39 (photo), 40-46, 47 (photo), 48, 49 (photo), 50-51
Rathbun, Emilia Lindeman, 36, 39 (pho-

to), 40-46, 47 (photo), 48, 49 (photo), 50-51
Rawls, James J., "James D. Hart: A Tribute and Remembrance," 384-387; ed., "Reviews," 61-72, 207-217, 293-302, 389-396
Raymond, Israel Ward, 21, 120, 139
Raymond and Whitcomb (Boston), 130, 132, 133
Readings in California Civilization, by Howard A. DeWitt, rev., 295-296
Reamer, U. N., 137
Reilly, John J., 142, 147, 149
"Reviews," ed. by James J. Rawls, 61-72, 207-217, 293-302, 389-396
Rhodes, Mary, 383
Richardt, Ferdinand, 141
Riley, Glenda, "Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Wood, and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce," 250-259
Rives, Amilie, 252
Roberts, T. L., 375
Robinson, Charles D., 128, 141, 144-145, 149-150, 152
Roche, Thomas C., 142, 147, 148
Rolle, Andrew, rev. of Nunis, Jr. and Lothrop, eds., *A Guide to the History of California*, 207-208
Rolle, Andrew and John S. Gaines, *The Golden State: California History and Government*, rev., 295-296
Roman, Anton, 24
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 105, 191-192, 196, 198, 205, 273, 342, 344, 347, 348, 349 (photo), 350 (photo), 351
Roosevelt, Theodore, 88, 93, 128, 332, 360
Rorabaugh, W. J., *Berkeley At War: The 1960s*, rev., 395-396
Row, Nicholas, 141
Ruddell, J. H., 238
Ruef, Abe, 370
Ruhstaller Brewery (Sacramento), 368
Runte, Alfred, "The California National Parks Centennial: Introduction to the Special Issue," 86-91; "Joseph Grinnell and Yosemite: Rediscovering the Legacy of a California Conservationist," 170-181
Russ House (San Francisco), 288, 290 (photo)
Russo, David J., *Keepers of our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s-1930s*, rev., 68-69

Sacramento, Chamber of Commerce, 359; City politics (1863-1914), 354-371; Development of (1863-1914), 354-371
Sacramento Bee (news.), 358-359, 363, 365, 366, 369
Sacramento Weekly and Alta California (news.), 364
Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century, by John F. Sears, rev., 293-295
Sagitani Seiichi, 266
St. Nicholas (magazine), 28
San Francisco Art Association, 137
San Francisco Chinatown, 64
San Francisco Renaissance: Poetics and Community at Mid-Century, by Michael Davidson, rev., 393-394
San Francisco Stage: From Gold Rush to Golden Spike, by Misha Berson, rev., 390-392
San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, 242, 243, 245
San Joaquin Light and Power Company, 105
Sanchez, J. A., 381
Sandoz, Mari, 252
Sands, William L., 375
Sannomiya Miya, 268
Santa Clara College (Santa Clara University), 322-323, 324 (photo), 325-331, Philhistorian Debating Society, 325
Santa Fe Railroad, 158
Santayana, George, 332, 336
"Sara Bard Field, Charles Erskine Wood, and the Phenomenon of Migratory Divorce," by Glenda Riley, 250-259
Savage, James, 93
Schafer, Frederick F., 142
Scharnhorst, Gary, rev. of *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867-1868*, 299-300
Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 351
Schuchardt, William H., 280
Schurz, Carl, 2, 104, 101
Scoyen, Eivind, 113, 204 (photo)
Sears, John F., *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*, rev., 293-295
Seidel, Robert W. and J. L. Heilbron, *Lawrence and His Laboratory: A History of the Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory* (Vol. 1), rev., 392-393
Sepulveda, Juan, 378
"Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management," by Lary M. Dilsaver and Douglas H. Strong, 98-117
Sequoia National Park, 89, 90, 94-96, 98-117; Auto Log, 110 (photo); Bear Hill show, 114; Camp Kaweah, 109; Colony Mill Road, 107; Concession services and facilities, 108, 109, 111-112; Crystal Cave Tunnel Log, 111; Garfield Grove, 102, 103; General Sherman Tree, 99 (photo); Giant Forest, 95, 98, 99, 102, 104, 106, 109, 111-114, 116, 117; Giant Forest Lodge, 95 (photo), 109, 112; Guest Services, concessioner, 116; High Sierra Trail, 109-110; Infrastructure, 113; Interpretive programs, 110; John Muir Trail, 109; Kern Canyon, 95; Mineral King, 94, 95, 100, 106, 115, 116; Mission 66, 113; Moro Rock, 111; Pinewood Auto Camp, 109; Preservation and resource management, 98-117
Sequoia Seminar, 36, 43-51
"Sequoia Seminar: The Sources of Religious Sectarianism," by Steven M. Gelber, 36-51
Serra, Father Junípero, 14
Sesson, William T., Jr., 281
Sexton, Richard, *The Cottage Book*, rev., 302
Shapleigh, Frank, 141
Sharman, Henry Burton, 37 (photo), 38-39, 40, 42-47, 50
Sharsmith, Carl, 114
Shimanouchi, Henry Toshirō, 268
Shin Sekai Asahi (news.), 266-267
Shiozaki Kanzō, 263, 264
Shishimoto Hachirō, 267, 268
Shorr, Howard, "'Race Prejudice is not Inborn—It is Learned': The Exhibit Controversy at the Los Angeles Museum of History, Science, and Art, 1950-1952," 276-283
Show, Stuart B., 203, 205
Shufu no Tomo (magazine), 269
Sierra (ves.), 55
Sierra Club, 19, 104, 105, 106, 109, 115, 128, 152, 200, 201
Sierra Forest Reservation, 104
Sierra Forest Reserve, 95, 106
Sierra watershed, 105, 128
The Sikhs of Northern California, 1904-1975, by Bruce La Brack, rev., 69-70
Silver State (ves.), 55
Simon, Linda, "William James at Stanford," 332-341
Simpton, George, 323
Sinclair, Meta, 253
Sinclair, Upton, 253, 255 (photo)
Sino-Japanese War, 260-274
Smillie, George, 141
Smillie, James D., 141, 142, 149
Smith, Azariah, 284 (photo), 285, 287
Smith, Harriet Elinor, et al., eds., *Mark Twain's Letters, Volume 2: 1867-1868*, rev., 299-300
Smith, John C., 123
Smith, Michael A., 153
Smith-Baranzini, Marlene, rev. of Vincent, ed., *O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations*, 209-210; "*Two Years Before The Mast:* Its Significance 150 Years After Publication," (inside front cover, Winter)
Snow, Stuart B., 200
Snyder, J. O., 177

Society of California Pioneers (San Francisco), 287, 291
Solari, Juan, 324
The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827, ed. by George R. Brooks, rev., 301
Southern California and the Civil War, 372-383
Southern Pacific Railroad, 100, 103, 128, 129, 130, 159, 344, 358, 359, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369
Sovulewski, Gabriel, 187
Spear, J. I., 287
Spring Valley Water Company (San Francisco), 55
Stanford, Jane Lathrop, 333-334, 335 (photo), 340
Stanford, Leland, 14, 43, 144, 333-334, 356, 358, 378
Stanford, Leland, Jr., 333
Stanford University, 332-341; Earthquake (1906), 338-341; Memorial Church (1906), 338
Starr, Kevin, 14, 15, 16, 19, 120; *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*, rev., 389-390
Starr, Mary Lavinus, 12
Starr, Susan, *see* King, Susan Starr
Starr, Thomas, 12
Stearns, Abel, 324, 376, 378, 381
Steffens, Joseph, 359, 360
Steffens, Lincoln, 360
Stein, Gertrude, 332
Steinbeck, John, *The Harvest Gypsies: On the Road to The Grapes of Wrath*, rev., 71-72
Steinman, B. U., 359
Stevens, Otheman, 55
Stevenson, E. A., 10
Stevenson, Robert Louis, 386
Stewart, George W., 94, 102, 103, 104
Still, Mark S., rev. of Frankiel, *California's Spiritual Frontiers: Religious Alternatives to Anglo-Protestantism, 1850-1910*, 212-213
Stockton, Robert F., 6
Stoddard, Charles Warren, 24
Storer, Tracy I., 174, 176, 178, 180
Strong, Douglas, 89
Strong, Douglas H. and Lary M. Dilsaver, "Sequoia and Kings Canyon National Parks: One Hundred Years of Preservation and Resource Management," 98-117
Strong, Ray, 59
Stuart, James Everett, 141
"Sublime Vistas and Scenic Backdrops: Nineteenth Century Painters and Photographers at Yosemite," by Kate Nearpass Ogden, 134-153
Sullivan, J. E., 363, 364
Sumner, Charles, 185
Sumner, E. V., 376
Sumner, Lowell, 113-114
Sutter, John A., 5, 6, 7, 10, 285
Sutter's Fort, 285
Sutter's Mill, 98, 285
Suzuki Kamenosuke, 267

Taber, Isaiah W., 149
Takashimaya Department Store, 271
"Taking the Country Barefooted: The Indiana Colony in Southern California," by James H. Madison, 236-249
Tanaka, Togo, 273
Taylor, Bayard, 120
Taylor, Paul, 215
Tharp, Hale, 94, 98
Themis (news.), 357
Thiebaud, Wayne, 152
Thomas, George L., 282
"Thomas Starr King in California, 1860-64: Forgotten Naturalist of the Civil War," by Richard Peterson, 12-21
Thompson, Gerald, rev. of Brooks, ed., *The Southwest Expedition of Jedediah S. Smith: His Personal Account of the Journey to California, 1826-1827*, 301
Thomson, C. G., 189, 194
Thoreau, Henry David, 14, 15
Tibbets, Jonathan, 376
Tingley, Katherine Augusta Wescott, 212
Tirrell, George, 137
Toft, Peter, 141
Tomlinson, Owen, 113
Tōyama Mitsuru, 266
Toyoji, Abe, 267
Tsukamoto Matsunosuke, 269, 271
Tulare County Grange, 102
Tuohy, John, 102
Twain, Mark, 28, 299-300, 387
Tweed, William, 370
"*Two Years Before The Mast:* Its Significance 150 Years After Publication," by Marlene Smith-Baranzini (inside front cover, Winter)
Tygiel, Jules, rev. of Rorabaugh, *Berkeley At War: The 1960s*, 395-396

Udall, Stewart, 114, 180
Uelsmann, Jerry, 153
Umbstaetter, Herman D., 29
Underwood, Gilbert Stanley, 168
Union Pacific Railroad, 168
United States Forest Service, 106
University of California's Fifth Class, 321
Uno, Kazumaro "Buddy," 267

Vallejo, Mariano G., 323
Vallejo, Napoleon, 323, 325, 331 (photo)
Van Sloun, Frank, 55, 57, 58
Vance, Robert H., 148, 152
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 359
Vandever, William, 102, 103
Varsi, Luigi, 327 (photo)
Vawter Family, 245
Veblen, Thorstein, 335
Viehe, Fred W., rev. of Godfrey, *Neighborhoods in Transition: The Making of San Francisco's Ethnic and Nonconformist Communities*, 72
Villegas, Ygnacio, 331
Vincent, Michael, *Motoring Tourists and the Scenic West, 1903-1948*, rev., 293-295
Vincent, Stephen, ed., *O California! Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century California Landscapes and Observations*, rev., 209-210
Vineyard, J. R., 378
"Visiting 'The Realm of Wonder': Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855-1916," by Peter J. Blodgett, 118-133
Vroman, Adam Clark, 149

Wagner, Theodore, 101
Walker, Frank, 102
Walker, Joseph, 93
Walker, S. C., 142, 147
Walker, Joseph R., 137
Walnut Grove, 261, 263, 267
Walter, Carrie, 25
Wandesforde, Juan Buckingham, 142
Warnecke, Frances, 42-43
Watkins, Carleton E., 90, 92, 120, 122, 128, 137-140, 141, 144, 146, 148-149, 152, 155, 213
Watkins' Yosemite Gallery (San Francisco), 149
Watson, James Alexander, 323, 331
Watson, John A., 378
Watson, Patrick, 323
Watson, Robert, 323
Weaver, Buck, 59
Weed, Charles L., 120, 136, 138, 140, 146, 147, 152
Weeks, Charles P., 55
Weinstock, Harrison, 358
Welch, Thaddeus, 151
Weston, Edward, 153
Wharton, Edith, 33
Wharton, William, 203
Wheeler, Burton K., 345 (photo)
Whipple, O., 288
White, Andrew D., 334, 359
White, Clinton L., 358, 360, 362, 363, 368
White, John R., 95, 101, 109, 110, 111 (photo), 112, 113
Whitney, Josiah Dwight, 17, 86, 140, 149
Whittier, John G., 21
Widforss, Gunnar, 152
Wiggin, Julia *see* King, Julia Wiggin
Wilderness Preservation Act (1964), 94, 95, 114
Wiles, Lemuel, 141

INDEX

Wilkie, Robert, 151
"William James at Stanford," by Linda Simon, 332-341
Williams, Otis, 256
Williams, Virgil, 138, 139, 140, 141 (photo)
Willmott, Earl, 40, 41
Wilson, J. Stitt, 369
Wing, Alfred E., 346
Winter, Robert W., rev. of Carter, *If the Walls Could Talk: Colusa's Architectural Heritage,* Lowell, ed., *Architectural Records in the San Francisco Bay Area,* and Woodbridge, *California Architecture,* 61-63
Wirth, Conrad, 113, 204 (photo)
Wollenberg, Charles, rev. of Allen, *The Port Chicago Mutiny: The Story of the Largest Mass Mutiny Trial in U.S. Navy History,* 70-71
Women's Patriotic Society of Japan (Los Angeles), 263
Woodbridge, Sally B., *California Architecture,* rev., 61-63
Woolsey, Ronald C., "The Politics of a Lost Cause: 'Seceshers' and Democrats in Southern California During the Civil War," 372-383
Wood, A. E., 93
Wood, Charles Erskine Scott, 251, 252 (photo), 253, 259
Wosky, John, 190
Wright, George M., 113, 180
Wunder, John R., ed., *Historians of the American Frontier: A Bio-Bibliographical Sourcebook,* rev., 208-209

Yamada Waka, 269
Yamashita Sōen, 267
Yamazaki Masato, 269
Yelland, Raymond Dabb, 141, 146
Yellowstone National Park, 88, 89, 101, 103, 104, 106, 116, 154, 158, 159, 168
Yelverton, Therese, Viscountess of Avonmore, 147
Yokuts, 5
Yosemite Board of Commissioners, 122
Yosemite Museum Association, 185
Yosemite National Park, 88, 89, 90, 93-94, 95, 101, 103, 114, 118-195; Accommodations, 157-159; Ahwahnee Hotel, 94, 166-169; Bear pits, 188; Barnard's Hotel, 126, 149; Black's Hotel, 125, 157 (photo), *see also* Yosemite National Park, Lower Hotel; Built environment, 182-195; Camp Ahwanee, 132; Camp Curry, 132, 133, 165, 167, 169, 177; Camp Lost Arrow, 132; Camping and campgrounds, 126, 161-163; Cascades power plant, 182, 184; Chapel, 93; Clark's Station, 120, 122, 124, 125; Concessioner service and facilities, 132-133, 154, 157, 159-169; Conservation of, 170-181; Cosmopolitan Bath-House and Saloon, 123, 124, 125, 146, 157; Del Portal Hotel, 132, 133; Fictitious landscapes, 137; Glacier Rock, 119 (photo); Hutchings' House/Hotel, 122, 124, 125, 146, 156 (photo), 157; Impact of automobiles, 160-169, 186-187; Indian Village, 189-191; Interpretive programs, 110, 177-178; John J. Cook's Hotel, 149; John Muir Trail, 109; La Casa Nevada, 124; Leidig's Hotel, 123, 124, 125; Lower Hotel, 93, 120, 122, 124, 157; Mann Brothers Trail, 119, 120; Medical facilities, 189-191; Mirror Lake dam, 93; Moran Point, 142; Mt. Starr King, 19 (photo); Mt Watkins, 142; Mountain View House, 124; New Village, 184-195; Ostrander Lake Ski Hut, 193 (photo), 194; Painters and photographers, 134-153; Ranger's Clubhouse (1920), 185; Road construction and improvement, 122, 130; Sanitation and health, 187-189; Sentinel House, 125, 132, 133, 157; Stoneman Bridge, 183 (photo); Stoneman House, 125, 126, 132, 158; Souvenirs, 148-151; Tioga Road, 93; Toll roads, 120; Tourists and tourism, 118-133, 134, 136, 147, 148-151, 154-169; Upper Hotel, 122, 146, 157, *see also* Yosemite National Park, Hutchings House; Wawona Hotel, 93, 125, 126, 132; Yosemite Village, 132
Yosemite National Park Company, 94, *see also* Yosemite Park & Curry Company
Yosemite Park & Curry Company, 94, 166-169, 189
Yosemite State and Turnpike Company, 125
Yosemite Tourist (news.), 133
Yosemite Turnpike Road Company, 127
Yosemite Valley, 15-16, 86, 88, 89, 93, 94, 118-133, 134-153, 172, 184-195
Yosemite Valley Railroad, 130, 160
Young, Brigham, 285
Young, Charles, 109
Young, Edmond, 325 (photo), 326, 328
Young, H. O., 141
Youth's Companion (magazine), 29, 33
Yusa Keizo, 264

Zorach, William, 152
Zumwalt, Daniel K., 103

1281